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CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN,

PRESERVED IN

THE ARCHIVES AT SIMANCAS, VIENNA, BRUSSELS, AND ELSEWHERE.

Vol. VI. Part II.

HENRY VIII.

1542–1543.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

S.	Archivo General de Simancas.
L.	Legajo or bundle.
Bul. Suel.	Bulas Sueltas.
Pat. Re.	Patronato Real.
R.	Rome.
Cap. c. l. cas. d'Austria	Capitulaciones con la casa de Austria.
A.	Alemania (Germany)
B.	Brussels.
E.	Estado or Affairs of State.
F.	Flandes (Flanders).
Fr.	Francia.
I.	Inglaterra (England).
W.	Wien or Vienna.
L. de Ber.	Libros de Berzosa, or copies from the Vatican, made by order of Philip II.
Sec. de Guer.	Secretaria de Guerra.
Mar y T.	Mar y Tierra.
P.	Paris, Archives de l'Empire, now Archives Nationales.

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INTRODUCTION.

Soon after the Emperor's disastrous expedition to Algiers, king Francis, tired of waiting for the much-coveted and oft-promised investiture of Milan, decided to break the truce concluded at Nizza in 1538, and afterwards ratified at Aigues Mortes in the Roussillon. In retaliation, as it were, for the murder of two of his ambassadors returning from Constantinople,* he gave orders for the archbishop of Valencia,† then crossing France into Belgium, and for several Spanish officers residing at Avignon, to be arrested and cast into prison, whilst by means of a treacherous plot he got possession, in time of peace, of Marano, in Friuli, a fortress belonging to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand).

It was natural, under these circumstances, that the Emperor should seek the alliance of England, and probable enough that Henry, who began then to be displeased with the French, should meet him half way. On the 2nd of January 1541, Chapuys wrote to the dowager queen of Hungary:—"As to the bishop of Winchester (Stephen "Gardiner), I fancy that, whatever be the answer [there "at Brussels] to his overtures and representations, he will "follow the Emperor into Germany for the purpose men-"tioned in my last despatch." Again, on the 18th of

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* Cesare Fragoso, a Genoese, and Antonio Rincon, a Spaniard. Both were murdered near Pavia by Gasto's orders at the end of June 1541. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 336–8, 345, &c.

† George of Austria, natural son of Emperor Maximilian, and uncle of Charles.

June:—"Your Majesty has no doubt been informed that "this King's ambassadors at the Imperial Court * have "lately been soliciting that a treaty of closer alliance and "confederacy with the Emperor be made and concluded "within a period of six, eight, or ten months, at the will "and pleasure of the latter, provided in the interval "neither of the two contracting parties should treat to "the prejudice of the other, and that His Imperial "Majesty has agreed to this, and made the required "promise to the English ambassadors on condition "that their master take the same engagement with me." To carry this into effect Chapuys repaired to Court, when king Henry with much good-will and grace made the required declaration.†

Some months, however, elapsed before the negotiations fairly commenced, and much time was lost, intentionally perhaps, on both sides, in settling the preliminaries of the treaty. Mary, the Regent, was too much preoccupied with the threatened invasion of Flanders by the French to think of preparing for Chapuys the necessary powers and Instructions for him to act at the Court of England; perhaps, also, she relied too much on Henry, who, she thought, would assist her with men or money in conformity with the old treaties between England and the Low Countries. On the other hand, Henry was not particularly anxious for an alliance which, at first, seemed to be fraught with danger as well as with considerable expenditure of treasure —the thing in the world which he disliked most—rather than to promise beneficial results to him and to his kingdom. When at last Mary's powers came, they were declared insufficient, Henry's privy councillors maintaining that unless drawn in the Emperor's name, and signed by him, they would not be considered valid for the purpose of

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* p. 362. The ambassadors were the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) and Sir Henry Knyvett.

† *Ibid.* No. 167, p. 332. It was at Ratisbon where the Conferences between the bishop of Winchester and the Emperor's Lord Privy Seal (Granvelle) took place.

negotiating a treaty between England and the Emperor. The latter was then far away in Spain, in the centre of Castille, or on the Mediterranean coast, at that time infested by Turkish corsairs, or French privateers. Granvelle, who who was still at Genoa, had to be consulted both as to the nature and wording of the Instructions, which after that had to be sent to England to Chapuys, by sea, as it was not supposed that an Imperial courier with despatches would be allowed to cross France. These and other excuses, more or less plausible, were alleged by Chapuys whenever Henry's privy councillors twitted him as to the delay in the transmission to him of the Emperor's powers.

With these powers, bearing the date of Valladolid, 2nd of May 1542, this Part Second of the sixth volume begins, though it must be said that they did not reach London till the 16th of June, when the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) sent them on from Greenwich, together with a letter from the Emperor to Chapuys and other papers in a sealed packet, which Sir Henry Knyvet* had forwarded from Orleans, in France. "Shortly after the receipt of " the packet in question," wrote Chapuys to the Emperor, " which was put into my hands *quite safely, and without* " *having been in the least tampered with*, the Bishop himself " called at this embassy as usual, and manifested great joy " at my having received the long-expected powers from " your Imperial Majesty." They then conversed together for awhile on the best means of inducing and persuading the King to the alliance, the Bishop approving thoroughly of the ambassador's ideas and arguments, save on one single point, which was that his (Chapuys') favourite

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* This Sir Henry, or Master Quenebet, as Chapuys calls him, had been Henry's ambassador in Spain since 1540. On his return home through France, the fatigue of the journey and some slight indisposition obliged him, as it appears, to stop at Orleans, whence, with many excuses, he forwarded to the Privy Council the packet of papers from Spain. Chapuys, however, assigns another cause for this English ambassador not proceeding on his journey. " He was waiting for the return of one of his secretaries, " whom he had sent to England to ascertain how his own affairs there were " going on."

Navarre in Spain, were included; and if so, the help and assistance to be furnished by England was to be well specified, defined and made certain. If possible, the assistance to consist in money, not in men. The king of England to help to the recovery of the duchy of Gueldres and county of Zutphen,* and should king Francis attempt to prevent it and defend the duke of Clèves' usurpation of those estates, the ambassador was to try and induce the king of England to remain neutral, and not favour nor help in any way the said Duke. The ambassador was likewise to do everything in his power to set the king of England against the duke of Holstein,† lately elected king of Denmark to the prejudice of the Emperor's niece ‡ to whom the Crown belonged by right. Should the king of England or his ministers allude by chance to any sort of security to be offered for the payment of the French debt to him, or in other words suggest that the Emperor should indemnify him (the King) for the loss of his money, the ambassador was to excuse his master as graciously as he could from such an obligation, considering that the greater part of that debt was, as is well known, contracted when both king Francis and king Henry were at war with the Emperor. It will be advisable to avoid as much as possible treating of the alliance and confederation with Scotland, or of matters directly or indirectly connected with the Princess (Mary) which may hereafter turn out to her injury—such as her legitimacy, or her right to the Crown of England. Lastly, the ambassador will try to induce the king of England to give now, as well as in future, his help and assistance against the Turk, as he himself and his ministers have often promised.

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* Guillaume (William) de La Mark, duke of Clèves and Juliers, brother of Anne of Clèves, Henry's repudiated wife, had after the death of Charles d'Egmont taken possession of the duchy of Gueldres and county of Zutphen.

† Christian III., son of Frederick.

‡ Dorothea of Denmark, daughter of Christian II., the dethroned king of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and of Isabella, sister of Charles.

Such were, in the abstract, the Instructions which Chapuys received from the Emperor along with the powers,* from the substance of which it may easily be imagined what difficulties the Imperial ambassador must at once have met with in treating with the Royal deputies. In fact, however inclined Henry may have felt to a closer alliance with the Emperor, certain it is that his privy councillors, who knew his naturally suspicious temper, had to proceed with the utmost caution in the negotiation of the treaty. Henry knew that for some time past pope Paul had been trying to bring about peace of some sort between the Emperor and Francis; he also knew that if effected, that peace would be the signal for a joint war against England. On the other hand, he was aware that the Admiral of France (Philippe de Brion-Chabot), who had lately succeeded Anne de Montmorency as prime minister of king Francis, had made certain overtures, and that Mr. de Marvol, the Imperial ambassador in France, though the hostilities had already commenced, had not yet quitted Paris, waiting no doubt for an answer to those overtures.

So it was that the article about the defensive league—apparently one of the easiest to settle—was at the very outset of the negotiations warmly disputed, Chapuys himself proposing that it should last "five months" at least, whilst the Royal deputies refused to grant it for more than "four." The inclusion of the Emperor's Spanish subjects was also opposed, though later on, when the offensive league against France, or in other words against the "common enemies" of the allied parties, came to be debated, a clause was introduced to comprise the Emperor's dominions in Flanders, the Low Countries, Milan, Naples, etc. Again, whether the mutual help and assistance was to consist in men or money, or whether it was to be afforded according to the corresponding article of the treaty of Cambray, or subject to a new clause framed for the purpose, was a matter of contention. Last, not least, the Royal deputies refused to the very end to specify and name the "common enemies" of the allies, and although the duke of Holstein (Christian III.) and he of Clèves and Juliers (Guillaume de La Mark) were professedly the Emperor's enemies, Henry would never consent to have them individually named in the clause of the defensive alliance.

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* The Instructions end with the following words: "Should you, how-
"ever, perceive that there is duplicity on the part of the King, or of his
"ministers, you are not for that to break off the negotiations altogether,
"but to report to Us or to our good sister the Queen, as soon as possible, on
"any untoward event or pretension likely to impede the negotiation." It is doubtful whether these are or are not the "private Instructions" to which Chapuys alludes in his despatch to queen Mary, above quoted, when he says on the 7th of June that he has not yet received from Spain the private Instructions which had been promised to him since the 3rd of April. At any rate, no other set, private or general, I am told, is extant in the Imperial Archives of Vienna.

Nor did the clause concerning the "extradition of rebels" offer less difficulty, both the English ambassadors in Spain, and the Royal deputies in London, insisting upon its being worded exactly as in the rough draft taken by the bishop of Westminster to Spain, whilst Granvelle and the Emperor's ministers wanted the whole article to be couched in the same terms as the corresponding one in the treaty of Cambray. The words uttered by Bonner and Thirlby in defence of the article, as it was originally drawn, sufficiently implied that any foreigner residing in England, whether a layman or an ecclesiastic, who refused his adherence to the new opinions on religious matters, would at once be declared rebel to the King, and obliged to fly from England unless he would submit to the new doctrines and regulations. The extradition of such people, whether English or foreigners, was stoutly resisted by Chapuys in the Emperor's name: the clause should be amended, or at least worded exactly as in the treaty of Cambray.*

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* *See* the Emperor's remarkable letter to Chapuys of the 12th of August (No. 48, pp. 91-111), stating his objections to the draft of the treaty as it was sent to him for approval.

Next came the article about the "spirituality," as it was then called, in which all "ecclesiastics of every denomina-"tion, and of whatever degree, quality, or dignity," were virtually comprised in the allies' defensive league against them, if proved to be enemies of one of the contracting princes. "That is a thing," wrote the Emperor to Chapuys, "to which We cannot agree. It is evident that king "Henry's intention, in making the article so general and "comprehensive, is to include the Pope, the more so that "in the rough draft of the proposed treaty there is lower "down another clause stipulating that no interpretation "whatever of the article shall be admitted likely to "modify or alter the sense of it; but, on the contrary, the "said article is to be observed in its totality, really and "truly, and according to its precise terms."

The titles of "Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head of the Church of England" were likewise strongly objected to. Chapuys having consulted the Emperor on the subject, received the following answer:—"With "regard to the titles which the king of England chooses "to assume in the treaty, the difficulty will be avoided by "using, as We have written to Our sister the Queen, "those pointed out in Our preceding letter to her. We "enclose to you a copy of the article."*

No wonder, therefore, that the negotiations for the alliance dragged on more or less for several months—perhaps not altogether unintentionally on the part of king Henry, as there is reason to think—if the relative position of affairs in England and the Empire, as well as the great efforts made by Francis and pope Paul conjointly to prevent that alliance, be taken into consideration. There was still another cause—not a minor one—for hesitation and delay. Charles had from the very beginning entrusted to his sister Mary, the dowager queen of Hungary, and regent of Flanders and the Low Countries, the very difficult task of communicating with the Imperial ambassadors in England, and deciding on all knotty points when consulted, and she most times either returned a vague and evasive answer to their applications, or advised them to temporise and wait until the Emperor's pleasure should be known. Very frequently the Emperor was in the centre of Spain, at Valladolid, and a messenger sailing from England or the Low Countries could not be expected to land on the coast of Biscay, ride post to Barcelona, where the Emperor was then holding his Court, and return to Flanders in less than one month's time; and yet, so pressing and urgent were at one time Chapuys' applications for a definitive answer on points consulted, that queen Mary could not do less than assume the whole responsibility, and decide. On the other hand, the invasion of the duchy of Luxemburg by the French, and the rapid success of their arms, must have made Mary particularly anxious for the conclusion of a treaty which was to ensure her aid and protection from England. That explains sufficiently her repugnance to grant her approval to those articles of the treaty which related chiefly to the intercourse of trade with England, or the extradition of rebels, whilst we find her always ready to make concessions in others perhaps more important for the Emperor. In short, it may confidently be stated that, without actually contravening her brother's orders and instructions, she did all she could to hasten and facilitate the conclusion of the treaty of alliance.

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* Neither the Emperor's letter to his sister, nor the copy of the article alluded to, has been found in the Imperial Archives of Vienna.

So it was that on the 30th of June 1542 the negotiations terminated, at least in London. On that day Chapuys wrote to Granvelle: "Your Lordship knows better than I
" do how important it is for the Emperor to make friends
" of the English under present circumstances. . . . .
" The friendship of England must be secured at any cost.
" Were the present negotiation to fail—which may God
" forbid—it would be much better that it had never

" been begun, for this King might, in his disappointment, " do something that we should not like at all. Never at any " time would it be so inconvenient as at this present " moment for the Emperor's subjects to have this King " for their enemy, etc." (p. 41.)

In the same letter to Granvelle he adds: " I am almost " sure that His Imperial Majesty is aware of half the toil " and labour, both physical and mental, which this blessed " negotiation has brought upon me ever since Ascension " Day up to the present moment, and of the services " I have rendered without interference or reminder from " any one, and that I have thereby made myself worthy " of some reward or other. As His Imperial Majesty, " however, might not be fully aware of the above facts, " I will again beg your Lordship to intercede for me, " and add this new favour to the many I have already " received at your hands." (p. 43.)

Thus wrote Chapuys on the last day of June 1542; and on the 3rd of July, bishop Thirlby,* recently appointed English ambassador at the Imperial Court, left London for Exeter, there to embark for Spain, accompanied by one of Chapuys' secretaries. The Bishop was to be the bearer of a rough draft of the treaty as it was after its many amendments, suppressions of words and even of sentences, according to agreement between the Royal commissioners and the Imperial ambassador. By way of precaution, however, the latter had entrusted to his own secretary another copy of the draft with a private letter to Granvelle, in which he said: " I have frequently, and as it were by stealth, " during the conferences with these Royal deputies, " caused a faithful transcript to be made out of the " projected treaty, as it was proposed in the first instance, " and since then changed and modified in many places, as " your Lordship will see by comparing it with that which " the bishop of Westminster is now taking to Spain. In " addition to that, I have considered it necessary to

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* Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster. p. 46.

" forward a separate copy of each of the articles, as they " were originally drawn, discussed, and almost approved; " but I beg and entreat your Lordship to keep the whole " thing secret, and not mention it to any one for fear of " these people suspecting that I have been unfaithful to " them."

Chapuys' precautionary measures in this instance proved to be useful. When examined in the Emperor's Privy Council, the draft brought by the Bishop and the copy sent by the Imperial ambassador were found to differ materially in the wording of certain clauses, which, however amended and modified owing to the ambassador's active representations, could not conscientiously be approved by the Emperor, as he himself formally declared to Chapuys in his letter of the 23rd of January 1543. "Unless " articles *sixth* and *seventh*, which are so closely connected " with Our faith and ancient religion, be couched in " exactly the same words as they are in Our letters and " instructions to Monsr. de Courrières, We cannot possibly " ratify the treaty. In case, however, of your being " unable to persuade the Royal deputies, you will, without " actually coming to a rupture, try to temporise, and from " time to time inform the dowager queen of Hungary, Our " Sister, as well as Monsr. de Granvelle, of the progress " of the negotiation."

Thus did the Emperor express himself in January 1543.* On the 23rd of the same month he wrote to Chapuys that it had been resolved in his Privy Council, that a worthy and confidential personage should visit king Henry in his name, assure him of his perfect willingness, and desire to bring the treaty of alliance to conclusion by all honest, reasonable, and mutually convenient means, and at the same time declare his objections to certain clauses of the treaty. Fresh instructions, of course, were sent to Chapuys in conjunction with De Courrières, the ambassador appointed on the occasion, to endeavour that the obnoxious sentence in the article of the "defence," in which sentence the Pope, though not individually named, was evidently included, should be changed into "all kings, princes and powers, secular and temporal," so as to ensure the king of England against the person of the Holy Father. (p. 237.)

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* p. 236–8.

At last, on the 13th of January, after a long conference with the privy councillors, though a formal and expressly worded declaration against the dukes of Holstein and Clèves could never be obtained, the wording of the article relating to the defensive league and the spirituality was so amended that the Imperial ambassador seemed satisfied.* As to other disputed articles, the privy councillors said there would be no difficulty to obtain the King's approval; they would wait on him next day and get his final answer on the whole. Three days passed away and no answer came, upon which Chapuys began to feel rather uneasy and to suspect that something was wrong. On the 15th he wrote to the Emperor:—"Besides the Scotch affair, "which, as I stated in my last despatch, is partly the "cause of all this delay, I strongly suspect that the "practices and intrigues of the French have much to do "with it. Perceiving the ill success of their arms at "Perpignan, seeing too that their allies, the Scotch, have "also completely failed, and that king James is dead, those "practices have been renewed more warmly than ever. "The King, on the other hand, will most likely listen to "their proposals, and amuse them with fair words, for "fear they should in any way interfere with his projects. "Indeed, I have every reason to think that they (the "French) are now intriguing more than ever, for the "bishop of Westminster, the personage at this Court best "inclined, most ready for your Imperial Majesty's ser-"vice, and likewise the most frank, truthful, and reliable "minister of this King—a man, in fact, without feint or

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* "Instead of the words proposed to Mr. de Courrières and to me (Chapuys), those contained in the enclosed schedule (not in the packet) have been substituted, which after all are substantially the same, and, as I think, more to your Imperial Majesty's advantage." pp. 214–5.

" dissimulation of any sort—told me the other day that he
" regretted that the treaty of closer alliance had not been
" concluded and ratified to the common satisfaction of the
" parties concerned. He would willingly (said the Bishop)
" part with everything he possessed in this world to see
" the end of it."

Chapuys' fears, however, were not confirmed; on the 12th of February 1543, two of the Royal deputies, the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner) and he of Westminster (Thomas Thirlby), called at the Imperial embassy, and brought with them the treaty for him to sign. No sooner, however, had Chapuys cast his eye on it, than, perceiving that the titles in full of "Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head of the Church of England" had been given to Henry, he refused to append his signature to it as the Emperor's plenipotentiary. Upon which great altercation arose between him and the two bishops, these latter declaring that unless the above titles in full were given to the King their master in the preamble to the treaty, they considered the work done hitherto as entirely lost; for the very moment that the King heard of the newly standing difficulty, he would refuse altogether to go on with the treaty. Both parties, however, seemed to be equally anxious for its conclusion and consequent ratification, for on Chapuys hinting that if the instrument after being signed came again into his hands, he could easily, as he fully intended, cancel and erase the titles objected to, the Royal deputies replied that he might do as he pleased; they themselves were perfectly satisfied with having carried out their master's orders in that particular.*

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* Chapuys to the dowager queen of Hungary, 12 Feb. 1543, p. 339. In another of the 17th to the Emperor he adds:—"Though your Imperial
" Majesty has not yet ratified the treaty, or in any way consented to the
" titles this King assumes, the matter has been so arranged that it may be
" interpreted and understood in a different manner from that which the
" deputies presume, besides which I have caused the following words to be
" intercalated after the King's titles: 'according to the computation and
" 'rite of the Anglican Church.'"

Nothing more was wanted, and on the 12th of April, at Valladolid, the Emperor signed and ratified the treaty of closer alliance, "defensive and offensive, against all "enemies," in the presence of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, Henry's ambassador in Spain, and in the following month of May, as soon as the Emperor's ratification was known in London, king Henry did the same, with due solemnity.

During the whole of the above-named period (May 1542 to April 1543), until the treaty was sworn to and ratified at Valladolid in Spain,* as well as in London,† Chapuys was now and then assisted in the negotiations by various personages or officials of the Imperial Court, either in Spain or in the Low Countries. In June 1542, Jehan de Le Sauch, a Belgian, was sent by Mary of Hungary with instructions to promote the treaty, and to enlighten the Imperial ambassador on points particularly connected with the Low Countries and the intercourse of trade with England. He was at the same time to ask for help and assistance, in consequence of king Francis having suddenly, and without a previous challenge, as customary in such cases, invaded Luxemburg. Le Sauch had resided in England as early as the year 1523, first as secretary to Adolph de Bourgogne, lord of Bèvres, and Josse Laurens, ambassadors and commissioners of Margaret of Savoy, aunt of the emperor Charles V., and at that time regent of Flanders and the Low Countries. When the above-named ambassadors left, Le Sauch remained in charge of the Imperial embassy until August 1526, when he himself was succeeded by Jehan Jonglet, seigneur de Des Maretz. Mary's Instructions to him may be seen under No. 34, pp. 69–71.

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* "After having it examined in Our Council of State, We have signed, "ratified, and sworn to it in Our private chamber during Mass, and in the "presence of the English ambassador only, that it may, as We are told, "remain secret longer." *The Emp. to Chapuys*, 12 April 1543, p. 129.

† "In consequence of the secretary who has all the papers and documents "relating to the treaty being out of town, the King's ratification will be "delayed a few days." *Chapuys* to *Queen Mary*, 20 May 1543, p. 336.

After him, came François de Fallaix,* at that time the Emperor's esquire in Flanders, and some time after his herald for the Order of the Golden Fleece (Toison d'Or). He was sent from Brussels to London, his mission being to apply urgently to Henry for assistance in "men or money," whilst the treaty of closer alliance was being negotiated, considering that the French had already entered Artois and taken several fortresses there. The Emperor's herald went twice to Court, accompanied by Chapuys; they did not see the King, but communicated with the privy councillors, who did at once signify to them that no help or assistance in men or money could be given to the Low Countries until an answer came from Spain. The King himself, from whom both Fallaix and Chapuys had audience on the 5th of September, resolutely declared to them that it would be a great folly on his part to send his money away, and make enemies of his friends without knowing first on what terms he stood with the Emperor. "Neither he nor my own ambassadors at his Imperial Court," said the King, "have written to me for a long while." Henry was then engaged in war with Scotland; he had sent a large force to the Borders, and, therefore, it was not to be expected that he would, without sufficient security, and before the conclusion of the treaty of alliance with the Emperor, send to queen Mary of Hungary the succour applied for. Fallaix, therefore, had to go to Spain, and ride post to Barcelona, where the Emperor was then holding his Court.

Later on, in May 1543, Fallaix was again employed on a mission of a different nature. Both Henry and the Emperor having decided upon declaring war to Francis, he

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* François de Fallaix was his real name, though we find him elsewhere as Franchois du Phalaix. According to the anonymous author of *Généalogies historiques*, Vol III., p. 332, he was the natural son of Baudouin de Fallaix. The author of the above-mentioned work adds that he was king-at-arms to the Order of the Golden Fleece from 1541 to 1546, when he was deprived of his office. He married Nicole Chalon, natural daughter of Philibert de Chalon, prince of Orange, and had a son called Jean.

(Fallaix)* as herald of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and Christopher Barker, holding the same important office in that of the Garter, were instructed to go to Calais, and ask for a safe-conduct to proceed on their journey and deliver their message. Upon the refusal of the governor of Boulogne-sur-Mer to grant the safe-conduct applied for, Garter and Toison d'Or came back, and by the advice of Chapuys, the intimation of war was made in London on the 22nd of June, the Duke of Norfolk reading that of king Henry, whilst Chapuys himself read his own in the Emperor's name.

Philip de Montmorency, seigneur de Courrières, also a native of Flanders, and captain of the Emperor's body-guard in that country, was the next ambassador extraordinary to Henry. As early as the 14th of March 1542, he had been appointed by the Emperor to sail for some port in Flanders, and thence cross over to England with the necessary powers from Mary for Chapuys to commence the negotiations.† In August he was again sent with letters of credence for king Henry, to declare Charles' intentions respecting the "charge brought by the bishop of Westminster."‡ This latter, who a few months before had gone to Spain with the rough draft of the treaty of alliance, was returning to England by sea, and the Emperor considered it necessary that Courrières should accompany him and explain verbally to king Henry his reasons for delaying his approval and ratification of the treaty hastily concluded by Chapuys. Owing to stress of weather, the big ship, as we are told, on board of which were the two ambassadors (Thomas Thirlby, the bishop, and Montmorency, seigneur de Courrières), hovered for some hours in sight of Plymouth, unable to enter that port. A fishing boat was then provided, but Courrières would not land, the wind being very strong at the time, and the sea boisterous. The Bishop, however, landed safely on a Tuesday, and on the same day the Imperial ambassador did the same at Falmouth. He was there met by Sir Thomas Wyatt * and other courtiers, whom Henry sent to receive and accompany him, with due honour, to London. On the 16th, he and Chapuys, the Emperor's resident ambassador, went to Hampton Court, presented their joint credentials, and explained, as well as they could, the Emperor's unaccountable delay in returning a final answer. "The councillors' reception," wrote Chapuys (p. 160), "was meagre enough when compared with that " of other times, nor was the King's, when we were intro- " duced to his presence afte rdinner, much better. He said " to us that he had been so often cheated in the treaties he " had formerly made, and had found in them so many " flaws, misinterpretations, and cavillings, that nowadays " he intended to remedy that evil by treating with us so " clearly, and having all the articles and clauses so explicitly " worded, that there should be no opening in future for mis- " understandings and dispute. 'I am very much astonished,' " said king Henry to the Imperial ambassadors, 'at the " 'difficulties raised by the Emperor, and at his scruples. " 'He ought not to have been stopped by mere trifles, " 'thereby preventing the accomplishment of a work of such " 'importance as this treaty is. Neither the article about the " 'rebels, nor the clause specifying the ecclesiastical digni- " 'taries to be included in the defensive league, is worthy of " 'the scrupulous examination bestowed upon them.'" After accepting, or feigning to accept, the Emperor's excuses, Henry referred the ambassadors to his Privy Council, where the question of the two obnoxious articles was again debated in succeeding conferences, and Courrières left

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* On this occasion, Fallaix is distinctly called "herald"; on his former visit he was designated only as "Councillor of Flanders." Mary, in her letter to Chapuys of the 17th of August (No. 51, p. 113), excuses herself for not having been able to send to England a personage of higher rank, owing to most of her courtiers being then out of Brussels, engaged in the defence of the country.

† *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 480–1, 483, 503.

‡ Or in other words, to state the Emperor's objections to the draft of the treaty which Thomas Thirlby took to Spain. *See* above, p. xi.

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* Sir Thomas, however, is said to have died on the road, p. 159.

for Brussels, on the 30th of October, "with the articles about the 'defence' and the 'extradition of rebels'" so modified and amended, that the Emperor, as Chapuys thought, could have no objection to pass them.

The difficulty about the titles given to Henry in the preamble to the treaty was soon got over, through one of those diplomatic shifts so common in that age,* and the treaty was finally ratified.

The alliance both defensive and offensive once settled, and the treaty itself ratified at Valladolid and in London, the next question to be decided was when, with what force, and on which side of the French frontier the invasion was to be attempted. For this particular purpose Thomas Perrenot,† better known as sieur (lord) of Chantonnay, and count of Cantecroix, was sent to England in June 1543. The Emperor's Instructions to him are at pages 397-403, followed by a letter to Chapuys, both the Instructions and the letter bearing the date of Cremona, the 17 June 1543, three days before the declaration of war to Francis's ambassador by the duke of Norfolk at Westminster.‡ Monsr. de Chantonnay, however, did not land in England until the 2nd of July. On the 3rd he had audience from King Henry, "as courteous "and gracious," writes Chapuys, "as it could possibly be, "the King showing great pleasure at his arrival, and making "most particular demonstrations of joy when he heard from "that ambassador's lips the substance of his Instructions." The King's answer was perplexing and ambiguous. He admitted that an invasion of French territory was needed; he himself would readily join in it, provided there was a good prospect of success. In the meantime he would harass the common enemy as much as he could by sea, though in case of his wanting the assistance of the

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* *See* above, p. xiv.

† Second son of Nicholas Perrenot, sieur de Granvelle, the Emperor's Lord Privy Seal.

‡ As to the date assigned to the Instructions there is some difficulty. *See Add. & Cor.* at the end of this volume, p. 588.

Imperial fleet for some maritime undertaking or other which he was then meditating, he hoped that the war vessels of the Low Countries would be kept in readiness. As to the point in question, that is, on which side of the frontier the attack by the allied armies was to be made, not a word was said; at least, Chapuys—who was not present at the audience, owing to a fit of the gout, which kept him indoors—did not know. Most likely, following his usual tactics Henry evaded the answer; for, a few days after, Chapuys wrote to Mary: "As I have no doubt that Monsr. de Chantonnay has "already explained to your Majesty the result of his "conference with the King, I am afraid that for this "year at least there will be no invasion of France, though "I must say that the King does not positively say so, nor "do his ministers either." Chantonnay had been at Rome in December 1542 apparently to visit the Pope, and excuse his father, the Lord Privy Seal, if his various engagements at Nürnberg and elsewhere had prevented him from kissing His Holiness's hands. He was at the same time to assure him of his constant veneration and respect for his person, as well as of his great wish to be useful in every way to the Holy Apostolic See. Such was the avowed purpose of Chantonnay; but if we are to believe the Marquis of Aguilar's account of the conferences, which he (Chantonnay) and the bishop of Aquila held with Paul, the object of the former's political mission must have been to try to induce Paul to declare against France. This happened at the time that the former had eagerly besought the Emperor, first through the Cardinal of Viseu, and afterwards through his own Nuncio, Riccio da Montepulciano, to hold an interview with him and king Francis at Bologna for the promotion of peace. The Emperor's refusal, though respectful, is contained in a letter of Charles to Paul, which is a master-piece of Granvelle's diplomacy. It was translated into Latin by Alfonso Valdés, the Emperor's secretary for the Latin tongue, and the reader will find an abstract of it in English at pp. 116–22.

The last ambassador extraordinary in England was Ferrante Gonzaga, duke of Guastalla and prince of Molfetta by his wife, whose arrival and reception in London is graphically described by Chapuys in his letter to the dowager queen of Hungary.* Ferrante, who belonged to the ducal family of the Gonzaga, marquises of Mantua, was the brother of Frederico II., whom the Emperor in 1530 had raised from the rank of *marquis* to that of *duke*, giving him besides the fief of Monferrato.† Out of gratitude for his promotion the new duke followed the Emperor's party in Italy till his death in June 1540, being succeeded by his son Francesco III. Ferrante had already been several years in the Emperor's service, as general of the light horse, and viceroy of Sicily from 1536 to 1547;‡ he died at Brussels in 1557, shortly after the celebrated battle of St. Quentin. Towards the end of 1543 he came to England for the purpose of settling definitively the time at which the preconcerted invasion of France by the allies was to take place, with what combined forces, and on which side of the French frontier. The Instructions for his mission, bearing date Brussels, 7 December 1543, may be seen at page 527 under No. 268; but on the 13th of the same month he received another set of them, the former being intended for Henry's perusal, if he wished to see the original ones signed by the Emperor, whilst the others were secret and only meant for his own particular guidance—a practice much in use then and afterwards. In these latter, in which the style and diplomatic talents of Granvelle are easily recognisable, Gonzaga was instructed to ascertain with dexterity if there was any doubt or scruple in Henry's mind about the future invasion of

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* No. 270, p. 542.

† Monferrato had formerly belonged to the Palæologi. After the death, in 1533, of the last marquis, Giovan Giorgio, the marquisate passed into the hands of Frederico Gonzaga, already duke of Mantua.

‡ Elenco universale delli Re dominanti di questo regno di Sicilia. Palermo 1678. 4to. The author's name was Vicenzo Talamanca, who dedicated his work to Don Pedro Manuel de Colon, duke of Veraguas and La Vegu, at that time captain general and viceroy of Sicily. pp. 69–73.

France, lest at the eleventh hour king Henry should change his mind, and leave the Emperor to fight single-handed against the French. Without a positive assurance that king Henry will persevere in his intention the Emperor cannot make the necessary preparations for the invasion. Should the stipulated English force be unable to cross the Channel owing to bad weather, or should king Henry suddenly withdraw his army before the appointed time to employ it in Scotland or in some other country, the Emperor would be obliged to carry on the war against France alone. (p. 541.)

Notwithstanding the above and other like representations which Gonzaga failed not to make in pursuance of his secret instructions, all that could be obtained from king Henry was his engagement to invade France on whatever side of the frontier seemed most convenient for himself with a force amounting altogether to 35,000 foot and 7,000 horse. Not a word more was said on the subject; and as to the date at which the invasion of French territory was to commence, neither Henry nor his privy councillors could be persuaded to fix one before June 1544, though they were told that April or May would be more suitable months for all purposes. No difficulty, however, was made to England contributing with a sum of 20,000 ducats towards the expenses of the war in Piedmont, though on condition of the Emperor helping with 1,000 Spanish harkbutiers on the Scotch borders, if required, 600 of them to be paid by the Emperor, and the remaining 400 by the King. Perceiving that nothing more could be obtained from the privy councillors, and fearing lest the negotiations should be suspended, Gonzaga yielded, accepted the said conditions, and left England to take the command of the Imperial army about to invade France.

Three other minor agents, bearers of letters or messages from the Emperor to king Henry, are occasionally mentioned in the pages of this volume, namely Holbeck, Herbais, and Scepper. Of the first, whose name is also written Holbeque and Hollebec, we only know through

Chapuys that he was in London in November 1542, and that he left England for Flanders on the 22nd of that month. It is not said what mission he had, but as Chapuys in his despatch of the 2nd (p. 1) gives us a detailed account of the conference he himself had held with the Royal deputies concerning the disputed articles of the treaty—that of the "extradition of rebels," and that of the "spirituality"—it is natural to suppose that Mr. de Holbecq was the bearer of queen Mary's definitive answer with reference to the above-mentioned articles and other minor points.

As to the sieur de Herbays, or Harboys, as his name is otherwise written,* we are told by Chapuys that his arrival in London took place about the 27th of the same month of November, and that his mission was to acquaint king Henry with "the shameful flight of the French "King."† That he was a native of Flanders, and gentleman-in-waiting to the Emperor, seems almost certain; perhaps too he may possibly be identified with that Orton, sieur d'Arbois, who in March 1537 was appointed to assist Don Diego de Mendoza in his embassy to England.‡ At any rate, he was merely the bearer of letters for king Henry and for Chapuys announcing the Emperor's victorious march from Landresis, and the sudden retreat of the French army encamped at Cateau Cambresis.

Of Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus (the latinised name of Cornelis Scepper), a Hungarian, according to some writers, though others, with greater reason perhaps, make him a native of the Low Countries, a short notice was published in the Introduction to Vol. VI., Part I., of this Calendar, p. xxii. He is there called seigneur or lord of Ecke in the Low Countries, and said to have been employed by Margaret of Austria, the aunt of Charles V., as well as by his sister Mary of Hungary, in various embassies to Poland, Denmark, and Transylvania. In July 1538 he was sent to France as ambassador extraordinary, and in May or June of 1539 was replaced by Bonvallot.* In 1542 he became treasurer or keeper of the Emperor's privy purse and councillor in Flanders, and later on we see him bearing messages or letters from the Emperor's camp to Sir Henry Seymour, Sir John Wallop, and other commanders of the English army on the other side of the Channel.†

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* Also Arbois, Arbais, and Arbés.

† *See* the Emperor's letter to Henry, No. 257, p. 519. As the letter is dated Ligny in Belgium, it must have announced the retreat of the French.

‡ During Chapuys' short absence from England, in 1537, Don Diego was appointed in his room. His Instructions, bearing the date of March 1537, are addressed both to him and to Orton, sieur d'Arbois; but this latter did not accompany him; perhaps the return of Chapuys from Flanders was the cause. *See* Vol. IV., Part II., pp. 165, 336, and 429; and Vol. VI., Part I., *Intr.* p. i. I must add that this individual is sometimes called Mons. Arbois de Orton. On the other hand, Mr. Gairdner believes that *Ourton,* as he is called in the *State Papers*, and *Herbais* are two different persons. *Calendar*, Vol. XII., Part II., p. 50*n*.

The above summary account of the work done by the Imperial resident ambassador and his various colleagues during the long negotiations for the treaty of closer alliance with England—which forms almost exclusively the subject of the present volume—was, in my opinion, quite indispensable, considering the nature and number of the letters and papers abstracted. Without it, the reader could scarcely form an idea of the many difficulties standing in the way of the negotiation, or of the unusual delays—natural or intended—with which it was attended. Over sanguine at times, almost despairing at others, Chapuys had periodically to write and inform the Emperor, queen Mary of Hungary, and later on prince Philip, of the progress and results of his negotiations, and, as the reader may have observed, there is not always between his official despatches and his private letters to Monseigneur de Granvelle that perfect conformity which would have been desirable.

II.—France.

Chapuys had a most formidable rival to encounter in the person of Charles de Marillac, that shrewd "Master in diplomacy," whose ingenious devices, and bold, though unscrupulous, assertions must frequently have startled the readers of his correspondence. He first came to England in April 1539, some time after the truce of Nizza, and when there seemed to be a chance of king Francis and the Emperor coming to terms together. Of his negotiations enough has been said in the Introduction to the preceding volume[*] of this Calendar; but as only a part of his official letters and despatches between 1538 and 1542 has hitherto appeared in print,[†] we should have been deprived of much reliable information concerning him and his doings up to the date of his departure, in April 1543, had not the Imperial ambassador continued to watch closely his movements, and to bribe his servants or secretaries for the purpose of obtaining copies or decipherings of the letters he received from king Francis or his ministers during the above-mentioned period.

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* François Bonvallot, abbot of St. Vincent, brother-in-law of Nicholas de Granvelle, who had married his sister.

† Pp. 483*n*, 484, and 489.

On the 1st of April[‡] Marillac left London for Calais, where he remained, as it were, under arrest, till the necessary arrangements for his preconcerted exchange for Henry's ambassador (Sir William Paget), at a place between Boulogne-sur-Mer and Calais, were completed.[‡] On what day of that month the delivery of the respective ambassadors took place we are not informed; but as Marillac wrote from Calais on the 9th, and Paget himself was back in London on the 14th and attended a meeting of the Privy Council at Westminster, it may safely be conjectured that his detention at Calais did not last above a week. As his official correspondence with Francis' ministers above alluded to does not go beyond the 21st of December 1541, we have no details concerning his own diplomatic labours in England, except perhaps the few facts to be gathered from his own intercepted letters, or the information furnished by Chapuys' spies.

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[*] Vol. VI. Part I., pp. iv–xxi.

[†] Kaulek, *Correspondance politique de Castillon et Marillac*, Paris 1885, 2 vols., 8vo., published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France. That of Marillac, however, is incomplete, for it only reaches to May 1541.

[‡] It has been stated, and I myself have unconsciously repeated the statement, that Marillac left England in September or October 1542, but Chapuys' letter to queen Mary of the 2nd of April 1543 (No. 124, p. 396) leaves no doubt as to the day of his departure. Besides which, another letter from Lord Maltravers, the Deputy at Calais, of the 2nd of that month, confirms the statement. *State Papers*, Vol. IX., p. 340. *See* also Chapuys' letter to queen Mary of the 2nd: "he (Marillac) has left France whilst I have been writing this letter."

That he did all he could to nip in the bud the growing alliance of England with the Empire cannot be doubted. As long as king Henry seemed to waver between accepting Francis' offers, or those of the Emperor, and there was a chance of securing England's neutrality for the approaching contest, Marillac only made use of such diplomatic arguments and means as his well-known talent and capacity might suggest in order to forward his master's views. But when piracies in the Channel and French intrigues in Scotland had alienated king Henry's old affection for Francis, when the negotiations for the treaty were no longer a secret, and all hope of success was lost, the French ambassador became at once violent and aggressive. In January 1543, at Hampton Court, while demanding redress for certain French merchant vessels taken by the English in the Channel, in just retaliation for similar captures made by French privateers, Marillac got into a towering rage, and made use of very abusive and threatening language against Henry's privy councillors (p. 218–9). On another occasion, insisting too sharply perhaps upon getting a categorical answer to his overtures, king Henry sent him a most unpleasant message through one of his Royal household gentlemen (p. 234).

Marillac, like the Imperial ambassador, his competitor, had also from time to time colleagues to assist him in his diplomatic labours. The first was Guillaume Gellimard, sieur (lord) of Neuf Chastel* in France, collector of taxes at Chasteauneuf,† and secretary to Admiral Brion-Chabot, whose arrival in London took place on the 2nd of May 1542. He was, as Chapuys informs us, secretary to the Admiral of France, Philippe de Brion-Chabot,* prime-minister of king Francis at the time. His charge was, as may be gathered from his Instructions—a copy of which the Imperial ambassador obtained in his usual way—to prevent, if possible, the much-talked-of alliance between England and the Empire, and secure at least king Henry's neutrality. A partial payment of Francis's debt to England, and the marriage of Charles, duke of Orleans, to Mary, the Princess, seem to have been the principal baits offered to king Henry on the occasion. Gellimard, however, was anything but successful in his mission. Unable to see the King, who was still at Dover,† he went to the Privy Council in company with the resident ambassador (Marillac), and verbally explained then and there the avowed object of his mission. He was (we are told by Chapuys) rudely treated, and went off a few days after without seeing the King, though (p. 39) on the very same day of his departure from London, a courier was despatched with letters for the English ambassador in France (Paget). "There is no longer question," observed Chapuys, "of the practices that brought him ‡ over, nor "of the Orleans marriage either. True it is that these "people, thinking they might gain something by communicating the intelligence, have indirectly given me to "understand that, their ambassador in France having "mentioned to Admiral Brion-Chabot the non-success of "his secretary's mission here, the latter had said: 'Well "'and good; if the negotiations for the Orleans marriage "'have proved unsuccessful, other offers will be made—

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* Neuf Chastel (Neuchatel) en Braye (dep. Seine Infreieure).

† Guillaume Gellimard," le Recepteur or Receveur d'Impots de Chasteauneuf, gentilhomme de la suite de l'Admiral de France," were his name and titles as given by Chapuys, p. 9.

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* More correctly Philippe Chabot, sieur (*lord*) of Brion, and comte de Busançois.

† King Henry left London for Dover the last week of April 1542, *See* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 569.

‡ Still Gellimard, who, however, is here designated as "Le recepteur de Neuf Chastel, sieur de Chasteau Neuf," a difference in the name and title which is rather puzzling, considering that *Neuf Chastel* and *Chasteau Neuf* have the same meaning in French. *See* above, p. xxvi.

" 'perhaps more agreeable and acceptable—to the king of " 'England, so as to ensure, if possible, his friendship, or " 'at least his neutrality' " (p. 39).

Nor was Claude de L'Aubespine, Francis's secretary, who came shortly after on a similar errand, more fortunate. His arrival in London took place in July 1542,* just at the time that the political relations between England and France were waxing less and less cordial, owing to the frequent capture, in the Channel, of English merchant vessels by French privateers, and the consequent seizure of French ships in or about the ports of England, ordered in retaliation. Neither king Henry nor his ministers could, under the circumstances, feel inclined to listen to L'Aubespine's overtures. Thus, although immediately after the latter's landing in London, on the 16th, Marillac applied for an audience for himself and for his colleague, as bearer of letters and a message from Francis, they were not admitted to the King's presence till the 24th. What the contents of those letters may have been we are not informed; but as Francis's instructions to his own secretary† have been preserved among the many papers and documents procured by Chapuys through the agency of Jean de Honz,‡ it may be safely conjectured that L'Aubespine's mission had different objects: 1st, He was to show to king Henry the draft or copy of the treaty he himself had recently concluded with the kings of Denmark and Sweden, and the duke of Prussland (Prussia), to which treaty James, king of Scotland, the duke of Saxony, the Easterlings of the Teutonic Tongue, and many other princes and powers were ready to append their signatures.§ 2nd, He was to try to induce the king of England to confirm the words uttered by Paget in the presence of Admiral Brion-Chabot,* and above all, to watch Henry's countenance and mien on the occasion. 3rd, He was to report on the immense preparations he (Francis) had already made, and was still making, to attack the Emperor in Spain, in Flanders, and in Italy, and, above all, contradict the calumnious imputation cast upon him by the Emperor and by his brother Ferdinand, the king of the Romans, of his being actually in league with the Grand Turk. And 4th, He was to assure king Henry that the Landgraf of Hesse-Cassel (Philip), the duke of Saxony, and other German Princes, his allies, were on bad terms with the Emperor, and on the point also of invading Brunswick, whose Duke (Henrich IV.) followed the Imperial party in Germany.

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* *See* No. 23, p. 65, with holograph letter and credentials from Francis.

† p. 54, No. 23.

‡ About this secretary or clerk of the French embassy, who during Marillac's stay in England sold copies of his chief's ciphered correspondence to Chapuys, see pp. 8–10, 16, 54, 115.

§ The envoy or agent sent to negotiate it was Christophe Richer—*see* Vol. VI., Part II., p. 464; but according to Chapuys it was never shewn to king Henry, p. 85.

L'Aubespine's reception, however, was cold and ungracious. On the 2nd of August Chapuys wrote to queen Mary:† "The two French ambassadors, Marillac and Maistre "L'Aubespine, had no audience from the King until the "24th, which audience, as I hear from our friend,‡ was "very short and meagre. Both had formerly met with a "very cold reception the day before at the Council; not "only had they not been visited or accompanied thither by "gentlemen courtiers, as is the custom is such cases, but "even those among the privy councillors, who in former "days were mostly in favour of the French ambassadors and "their pretensions, did not deign to speak, or hardly dared "look at them on the occasion. And yet the said L'Aubes-"pine has employed all means in his power to persuade "people that he has been well received and treated at Court, "which is completely false, for no sooner had he seen the

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* Compare Paget's letter to king Henry in *State Papers*, Vol. IX., p. 265; and also pp. 64 and 66 of this volume, where one of king Francis's to king Henry is mentioned.

† No. 37, p. 79.

‡ That is, Jean de Honz, whom Chapuys generally designates as *l'homme de l'ambassadeur de France; notre ami; notre confident, &c.* It is only in one instance (p. 115) that he gives his name as Jean de Honç, Honz, or Houz.

" King than he went off to France without taking leave " of anyone."*

His departure took place at the end of July 1542, when he and his colleague, Marillac, went together down the river from Greenwich to a certain port (Gravesend ?), to inspect and watch the naval preparations there, and ascertain, if possible, when the warships would be ready to go to sea, against whom the armament was intended, and what the people of that port said about it.†

The ill-success of these two extraordinary missions did not deter king Francis and the admiral of France, still then at the head of affairs, from their purpose, for on or about the 2nd of March 1543, a certain lawyer,‡ known by the name of Prothonotary D'Orthez, arrived in London with fresh instructions, and powers to assist Marillac in his negotiations with king Henry's Privy Council. That those negotiations were getting every day more difficult is proved by the fact that, according to Chapuys (p. 276), the French were then looking out for some opportunity or excuse "for openly molesting the English in some way " or other, or sending their fleet with a landing force to " Scotland." The new ambassador was, we are told, prothonotary, or chief registrar, of a town in the south-west of France (dep. des Hautes Pyrénées) called Orthez, and nephew of Gabriel de Grammont, archbishop of Bordeaux.§ He is described by Chapuys as a man of courteous and polite manners, who, at his very first audience, instead of offending or irritating king Henry, as his hot-tempered colleague

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* p. 79, in Chapuys' letter to the Queen of the 2nd of August 1542.

† A similar commission had formerly been entrusted to Marillac. *See* p. 87. On this occasion Marillac is said to have accompanied L'Aubespine to Gravesend, where the latter was to embark for France, not so much out of respect and courtesy for his person as for being himself witness of Henry's naval preparations in that port, and reporting upon them. p. 87.

‡ A man of the "long robes," brother of viscount D'Orthes, says ambassador Paget in his letter to king Henry. *State Papers*, Vol. IX., p. 543.

§ Being here mentioned by his title or employment, as was then usual in France, I have ventured to call him "Grammont," since he is said (p. 276 *n.*) to have belonged to that family, but subsequent researches make me doubt, as will be seen hereafter, whether his family name was not D'Aspremont.

Marillac had frequently done, made use of very moderate, gracious, and friendly language, with plenty of fine words and fair promises. The chief object of his mission* seems to have been to explain, if not altogether apologise for, Sir William Paget's detention at Boulogne, for shortly after his arrival in London, about the 2nd of March, his colleague Marillac, on the receipt of letters from home, called at Court, and applied for his passports, which application, however, was flatly refused. "Indeed," says Chapuys, "so obstinate was the King about it that he "absolutely declared that rather than let him and his "colleague depart from England he would let his own "ambassador die in prison at Boulogne." (p. 276). The circumstances were certainly not favourable for a renewal of French overtures. The still pending dispute about the respective capture of merchant vessels in the Channel was yet unsettled; everywhere in England, and principally in London, the property belonging to Frenchmen had been sequestered,† and last, not least, the conclusion of the treaty of alliance against France, though not yet ratified, was no longer a secret.‡ All this rendered the position of the two French ambassadors in England exceedingly precarious and critical. On the 12th, both called again at the Privy Council in Greenwich, and again asked for permission to depart for Calais, engaging to remain there until Paget should return to England. Not only was the permission refused, but on the return home of the ambassadors, they found Master Charles Howard, the brother of the late Queen Catharine Howard, and another gentleman of the King's Chamber installed within the embassy, with order to watch their movements and prevent their departure. Marillac, as previously stated, managed some way or other to cross over to Calais in April; his colleague, D'Orthez, did the same in July.

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* Jean de Honz being no longer in England (he had left in August), Chapuys could no longer procure copies of the French ambassador's Instructions and correspondence.

† "In fact, the diligence and industry displayed by this king's ministers "to find out and discover French property in the country, even that retained "under false names, is really wonderful," wrote Chapuys to queen Mary in March. p. 276.

‡ Notwithstanding the repeated prayers and positive engagements that the negotiations for the treaty should remain a secret, there is perfect evidence that one of the contracting parties, perhaps the two, must have divulged it. Of queen Mary of Hungary there is no doubt, for on the 10th of March 1543 Chapuys wrote to her: "Though this king desires that the "treaty be kept secret for some time to come, Your Majesty, in my opinion, "might without great risk communicate the substance of it to your "ministers and clerks, which would be a help to yourself, and enable them "to make their profit in standing negotiations, and especially in what "relates to the dukes of Clèves and Holstein." p. 273.

On the 2nd of April, after the departure of his colleague for Calais, the Prothonotary is said to have received letters from his master. "He himself counted," says Chapuys, " upon having an audience, but I went to Court first and " prevented his seeing the King. His predecessor in the " French embassy (Marillac) has left for France whilst I " have been writing this letter, and, although the English " ambassador at the Court of the Most Christian king of " France has already been set free at Boulogne, yet " Marillac, now going down the river, will have to stay " a little while at Calais until the English ambassador " returns;* at least, such is my information from one of " the King's privy councillors." (p. 296.)

The Prothonotary was still in London at the end of May, for on the 1st of June Chapuys wrote to Queen Mary: " The courier sent by the French ambassador to his " master, the King, with the declaration and intimation " of war on the part of England returned yesterday, the " 31st of May.† It appears that king Francis asks for

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* *See* above, p. xxv. The exchange of the arrested ambassadors was effected at a place equidistant from Calais and Boulogne with all possible precautions, namely: only six persons on each side were to accompany and escort the ambassadors, "lest," said the privy councillors to Chapuys, "led " by their wicked and treacherous propensities, the French should all of a " sudden attack the English party, and gain some small advantage at the beginning of the war, the delivery to be made at the same time; &c." p. 302.

† This date must refer to a previous intimation made by Garter and Toison d'Or, respectively, to the governor of Boulogne, Oudard de Biez, for the more formal declaration was not made until the 22nd of June (p. 407). The above-mentioned governor having refused a safe-conduct

"the prolongation of the term granted to him on the plea "that he is unable to reply to the various charges specified "in the challenge" (p. 360). Again, on the 3rd.: "The "French ambassador went yesterday to Court to complain "that his couriers are stopped at Dover." It was to him (D'Orthez) that the declaration and intimation of war to France by king Henry was made on the 22nd of June in the Council Room, the duke of Norfolk reading it aloud, whilst Fallaix, the herald of the Golden Fleece, read that of the Emperor.* Two days after, on the 24th, D'Orthez sent a message to the Privy Council purporting that king Francis had written that his affairs were in the most prosperous condition possible; he had under him a very considerable force, to which he expected to add soon 10,000 Germans, and 12,000 Swiss. The vanguard of that army he had entrusted to marshal Hannebault, and he, himself, would soon follow with the rest of his forces. And Chapuys in his letter to queen Mary remarks: "Such boasting language from the lips of the "French ambassador was received by the King and his "privy councillors with much derisive mirth."†

Chapuys relates an anecdote with reference to this D'Orthez, which shows how very strained the relations of the

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to the heralds to proceed to Paris and deliver their message to king Francis in person, as they were ordered to do, it was decided by Chapuys' advice that it should be read to the French ambassador by the duke of Norfolk, as it was, on the said day, the 22nd of June.

* The Emperor being already at war with Francis, it was considered advisable that the preliminaries to the challenge should differ. That explains why the intimations were made separately, one by the duke of Norfolk in the Privy Council, king Henry being present; the other by the Emperor's herald. Both may be seen under Nos. 167 and 168, respectively (pp. 407–13): and, although the causes and motives of the challenge, as well as the specific demands of the allies, differ considerably, yet the principal ground of complaint is described as "the troubles and divisions at present "prevailing in Christendom, and proceeding entirely from king Francis, and "his alliance with the Turk, the common enemy of Our Holy Religion." *See* Vol. IX., p. 388–91 of the *State Papers*, where the same document, though considerably curtailed, appears in the form of a letter of the Privy Council to D'Orthez.

† Chapuys to queen Mary, No. 167, p. 420.

latter with king Henry's Privy Council were already in March 1543. "The other day," writes he to the dowager queen of Hungary, "the French ambassador went to the Privy " Council and remonstrated against the formal declaration " of war to king Francis, on the ground that it was entirely Garter's fault that that herald had not proceeded at " once on his mission and journey to France. 'The King's " 'herald,' the French ambassador said, 'needed no safe-" 'conduct at all for that.' Upon which one of the privy " councillors argued that Garter had his reasons for acting " as he had done, and for asking for a safe-conduct, knowing that the King's late ambassador in France had been " unjustly detained. Hearing this, the Frenchman did all " he could to excuse and justify Master Paget's arrest; he, " however, could not persuade the assembly, for Paget " himself, happening to be present in the Council room, " got up and flatly contradicted him, stating how and " by whose orders his own arrest had taken place," &c. (p. 420).

Not at all discountenanced by these and other rebukes, which he was almost daily suffering at the hands of Henry's privy councillors, the Prothonotary went again to Greenwich, to ask for the prolongation of the term of 20 days within which his master, the Most Christian king of France, was summoned to reply to the challenge, at the same time proposing certain means of conciliation.* The application was refused by Henry himself, who said to the ambassador, "That I cannot grant, nor would I, if " I could, listen to it without the express consent of the " Emperor, my ally. At the expiration of 20 days, " which is the term fixed, king Francis will find me " his sworn enemy, and quite ready to do him all " possible harm. As to you, his ambassador, you would " do well to withdraw immediately from my presence." Chapuys, who, though not present on the occasion, got his information from one of the privy councillors, adds that D'Orthez did not take the hint, but asked permission to return to Court the Sunday after, on the excuse of getting his *congé* in a more formal manner, which he did, receiving from the King a present of silver plate to the value of 600 or 700 ducats, and leaving for France two or three days after.*

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* p. 444.

Such are the particulars to be gathered from Chapuys' correspondence respecting Charles de Marillac and his colleagues from May 1542 to the end of March 1543. But who was his successor in the French embassy? That is a question which cannot be answered without full notice of all and every one of Francis' representatives in this country; their names, conditions, qualities, dates of appointment, and so forth. Unluckily, neither the general historians of France, with their meagre details, nor the memoirs and private correspondences of the time, enable us to fill the existing gaps and get at historical truth.

On the 1st of January 1543, Chapuys wrote to queen Mary of Hungary (p. 192), that having inquired from the Princess (Mary of England) what could have been Marillac's late doings at Greenwich, she answered that Francis' affairs in England were not likely to improve, except perhaps by preventing the Emperor from gaining his object, and that the French ambassador (Marillac) would shortly be succeeded by Le Sieur de Morvilliers,† the same who went the year before last to Scotland. Again, on the 15th of the same month, Chapuys repeats the statement,‡ adding that the Princess, whom he frequently consulted on the state of political affairs in England, had assured him that the intrigues of the

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* On the very same day that the Prothonotary got his passports Chapuys suggested that the agent of Clèves ought to have received his; but, although the Imperial ambassador himself tried to have him dismissed, he could not succeed. p. 447.

† Chapuys to queen Mary, No. 90, p. 192.

‡ The Same to the Same, No. 94, p. 219. "The French ambassador "expects his recall from day to day; he will be succeeded by Mons. "de Morvillier (*sic*), the same who went to Scotland the year before "last" [1541].

French ambassador could hardly do any harm, for she had overheard her father, the King, say to one of the gentlemen of his privy chamber: "Go and tell the French ambassador," &c.

After this, Chapuys, fully believing the information imparted by the Princess, enters into details as to Morvilliers' person and antecedents, explaining how he had formerly come to London on his way to Scotland, being the bearer of a treaty between king Francis and the king of Sweden and his adherents,* and how the object of his mission was to induce king James of Scotland to commence war against England. But is it likely that Henry, knowing as well as Chapuys did what sort of a mission Morvilliers had taken to Scotland in 1541, would again tolerate his stay in England? In my opinion, if Morvilliers was really appointed to succeed Marillac, as stated, Francis' ministers changed their minds, or else he himself fell ill on the road; in short, he never came a second time. Nor can Chapuys' remarks about him be adduced as a proof of his actually having come to this country, but only as a sort of presentiment or warning of what king Henry might have to suffer if Morvilliers came to England again, charged with the affairs of France. True it is that at p. 409, in one of the paragraphs of the declaration of war read by the duke of Norfolk to D'Orthez in the Council rooms, allusion is made to him as having openly invited James of Scotland to break the peace and invade England; but again, that is only an occasional reference to Morvilliers' former doings in 1541, when he went to Scotland after staying only a few days in London in concealment, and hardly daring to show his face outside the French embassy.†

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* Some reference to this treaty, which was negotiated in 1541 by Cristophe Richer, may be found in Vol. VI., Part I., p. 436, though, according to Chapuys, neither Marillac nor L'Aubespine did actually show the copy of it to Henry.

† In his letter to the Emperor, dated 11th December 1541, Chapuys gives a full account of Jean de Morvilliers' visit to London. He arrived

In January 1543 Morvilliers could not have replaced Marillac in the French embassy, for in that month the latter was still in England (he only left on the 1st of April), and he had besides a colleague (D'Orthez), who resided as French ambassador till July.* Just about that time French intrigues were warmer than ever in Scotland. King Henry was not likely to tolerate the arrival at his Court of the very man who scarcely two years before had tried to defeat his plans in that country. In my opinion there is no evidence at all of Jean de Morvilliers having come to England a second time, much less as ambassador of France. If appointed, he fell ill on the road, as Chapuys says in one of his despatches, or else Francis' ministers had a hint that his arrival in England, under the circumstances, would be anything but acceptable and pleasing.† However this may be, there can be no doubt that Marillac's successor could not be Morvilliers, but Prothonotary D'Orthez, as already stated.

This first difficulty once got over, let us pass on to another, and try to solve a problem no less important respecting Francis' representatives in England during the period immediately preceding the declaration of war. If implicit faith is to be placed in Chapuys' despatches, it is a settled fact that Prothonotary D'Orthez, the nephew, as he is called, of the archbishop of Bordeaux (Gabriel

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on the 5th on his way to Scotland ; would have gone thither straight, without passing through England, had not contrary winds and a very high sea obliged him to come to London. He and Marillac, the resident French ambassador, were much engaged in devising excuses for fear king Henry and his ministers should find fault, and refuse him a passport to proceed to Scotland. The excuse alleged was that the mission to king James was for the purpose of condoling with that monarch on the death of his mother [queen Margaret Tudor], and certain business of Mons. de Guise. He did not stir out of the embassy for fear of being seen, &c. Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 412–3.

* *See* above, p. xxx.

† In January 1543 Chapuys wrote to queen Mary : "The French ambas-
" sador (Marillac) cannot go to France as soon as he expects, owing to the
" one who is to succeed him having fallen ill on the road." p. 232.

de Grammont),* came to England as French ambassador about the 2nd of March, and remained in London till the 18th of July. And yet the readers of this Calendar will be much puzzled to find (p. 367) the copy of a letter from one Mons. D'Aspremont to king Francis, complaining that his couriers are detained at Dover, and that he himself is obliged, if he is to report on English news, to employ in the transmission of his despatches "those very people who bear the name of enemies of France."† The letter is dated London, 7th June 1543, at which time the declaration of war had not yet been made, and Prothonotary D'Orthez was still in London. On the 11th, Chapuys wrote to the queen of Hungary that a ciphered letter of the French ambassador had been intercepted and sent to him by Henry's privy councillors to decipher, which he had done, forwarding the deciphering to queen Mary. As this letter has not been found in the Vienna Archives, and if there, is most likely mixed up with papers of a later date—a thing unfortunately too common—it is impossible to guess what its contents may have been, unless the intercepted letter was the same to which Chapuys alludes in his despatch of the 12th July.‡ At any rate, here we have two French ambassadors, one called *Prothonotary D'Orthez*, with whom we are already acquainted, and another, who signs "*D'Aspremont*," and must necessarily have also been an agent of king Francis, since he complains of his couriers being detained at Dover,* and of his letters being intercepted, which letters, as above stated, were sent to Chapuys to decipher. Were those two ambassadors, though differently designated, one and the same person?

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* "Whose name is Prothonotary de Ortez (Orthez), of the house of "Grammont, and a nephew of the archbishop of Bordeaux, who came a "week ago." *See* above, p. xxx., and Chapuys' letter to queen Mary, 10 March 1543, p. 276.

† English or Venetian merchants? If so, they were unfaithful to their employer, for the only letters of the French ambassador that have been found with the dates of June or July never reached their destination, and are now preserved in the Imperial Archives of Vienna or in Simancas.

‡ Chapuys to prince Philip, No. 183, pp. 434–8. Chapuys had been able, as he himself says, to procure from Jean de Honz a copy of the deciphering key employed by Marillac to read the ciphered despatches of king Francis and his ministers.

I confess that, all matters considered, I am strongly in favour of this newly started conjecture, and that for lack of proofs to the contrary I am ready to admit that D'Orthez and D'Aspremont were really one and the same person, and that *D'Aspremont* was the real name, and *Prothonotary d'Orthez* the French ambassador's title. Indeed, if we are to believe the editor of the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, D'Aspremont was the name of viscount D'Orthez, which fact, if accepted, leaves no doubt as to the personal identity of only one French ambassador mentioned under two different names; though, on the other hand, it is no easy matter to explain how the chief registrar of Orthez, a town of Gascony, and the nephew of the archbishop of Bordeaux, a Grammont, "a man of the long robe," as ambassador Paget calls him, could be the brother of viscount Dorthe, or Dorthez.†

However this may be, let it be settled—unless further evidence of a contradictory kind be hereafter produced—that Prothonotary D'Orthez, Monsr. D'Aspremont by name, was Marillac's real successor in the French embassy. To him was the declaration of war addressed on the 22nd of June; he again was the French ambassador who, about a month after, unable to obtain for the Most Christian king, his master, the prorogation of the term of 20 days during which he was to answer the challenge of the allies, quitted London with a present from Henry, and last, not least, got accidentally, as he himself says, possession of Lartigue's treacherous reports on the weak points of the coast of Bretagne.*

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* It must be observed that on the 2nd of June D'Orthez is said to have gone to Court and made a similar complaint. Chapuys to queen Mary, No. 147, p. 363.

† Paget's letter to Henry VIII. in *State Papers*, Vol. IX., p. 585–6.

And, now, who was Lartigue or L'Artigue, and what were his real name, nationality, and profession? I should have limited my remarks to the few conjectures brought forward among the "Additional Notes and Corrections" at the end of this volume,† had I not found several months after, and when this volume was in print,‡ and the present Introduction about to be finished, a short letter of Eustace Chapuys to the queen dowager of Hungary (Mary), where a captain L'Artigue is mentioned, as having once had the command of a French war vessel, and been taken prisoner by the English. This naturally led to further researches, and by applying to the *State Papers*, I found a letter of Sir William Paget to king Henry, dated June 10, in which mention is made of a naval captain named *Artigo*, an "errant thef," who in company with another of the name of La Ferronière § was taken prisoner by the English at sea.

In confirmation of the above I will abstract a passage of one of Chapuys' letters to the Emperor. In August 1543 that ambassador wrote that king Henry wished that the naval contingent to be furnished by Flanders and the Low Countries according to treaty should join his Royal fleet in some English port, and that both together should make an

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* Nos. 150 and 151, pp. 368–74. As a further proof of the conclusion arrived at respecting the identity of D'Aspremont and D'Orthez, I may add that the former's letter to king Francis, No. 150, pp. 367–8, is dated the 7th of June, the declaration of war the 22nd, and his own departure from London the 18th of July.

† Vol. IX., pp. 585–6.

‡ Owing to the accidental discovery in Vienna of several bundles (*stucks*) of unclassified papers belonging to the reign of the Emperor Charles V., and of which no immediate use could be made for this volume, considerable time has elapsed between the printing of the text, and the present Introduction to the volume.

§ Artigo and La Ferronière are the names given by Paget to these two commanders of privateer vessels, *State Papers*, Vol. IX., p. 309–10; but who was Ureica, "the corsair," who was brought from Falmouth to London in November 1542?. After all Artigue or L'Artigue might easily have been transformed by a deciphering clerk into Arica or Urica. *See* p. 159.

undertaking against the coast of France. "No hint, how-
" ever," writes Chapuys, "has as yet been thrown out to me
" of what kind the enterprise is to be; but, if I am to judge
" from the preparations this King has ordered to be made
" here [in London], I should say that the whole must be
" 'chose du moment'; for two war-ships are now being
" fitted out, a considerable number of cast-iron guns is
" to be mounted in them, besides eighteen other guns,
" whilst the crews of the two ships are to consist of 1,200
" men for the express purpose of landing. All this
" makes me suspect that some expedition or other to the
" coast of France is intended, the more so that captain
" Lartigue has lately been suggesting, as he did some time
" ago, that the said force should be directed against La
" Rochelle. I hear, however, that the attack, of whatever
" sort, or wherever it may be, is not to be made until next
" year" (p. 459).

There can be no doubt that this captain L'Artigue is the same "ce miserable de Lartigue" denounced by Mr. D'Aspremont in his despatch of the 7th of June 1543. If so, the French captain's real name must have been L'Artigue, and be the same as the "Artigo" in Paget's letter to Henry.* This at once clears up the mysterious nature of the report and the appellation given to him by D'Aspremont. Artigo, or L'Artigue, was no doubt in command of one of the vessels that in May 1543 were prepared by Francis for a settlement in Canada under La Valle, the crews of which in their voyage to Newfoundland had amused themselves with pirating on the western coast of England. Some warships from Portsmouth being sent in pursuit of the marauders, L'Artigue's ship was taken and burnt by the fishermen of Lundy Island, and her commander taken prisoner. It is natural to suppose that in order to obtain his liberty, and he himself being perhaps a native of La Rochelle, then in open rebellion against Francis, L'Artigue made the reports at pp. 368 and 371–4.

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* *State Papers*, Vol. IX., p. 374.

As to the reports themselves, the least that can be said of them is that, being copies of the originals, they swarm with orthographical errors of the worst kind; the names of towns and individuals mentioned in them being so spelt and written that it is almost impossible to recognize some of them.* Indeed, supposing Lartigue's reports to have been the very originals that fell accidentally, as he says, into Mr. D'Aspremont's hands—which is not at all certain—they contain errors which can hardly be ascribed to him, if he knew at all what he was about. His paper about the weak points on the coast of Brittanny (p. 368) does not prove that he himself had much knowledge of the subject; and as to the names of governors of fortified towns on the frontiers of France, or commanders of men-at-arms (*gendarmes*) throughout that kingdom, some, if not all, are awfully corrupted.

In France, during the above-mentioned period, a certain sieur de Marvol (Philippe), of whom little or nothing is known, was for a short time the Emperor's representative.† He had formerly resided at the French Court from September to November 1541, as Charles' ambassador, and been temporarily replaced by Don Francisco Manrique, a kinsman of Don Juan, marquis de Aguilar. Marvol was still residing at the Court of Francis at the time that the latter declared war against the Emperor, and published his celebrated manifesto,‡ which circumstance, coupled with the current report that pope Paul was making the greatest efforts to bring about a peace between the Emperor and Francis, so aroused king Henry's suspicions, that one day, whilst debating with Chapuys the article of the "Defence" against all common enemies, and giving his own reasons for not declaring war immediately until the Emperor's definitive answer had come from Spain, he suddenly turned round to Chapuys and asked him point blank: "I hear " that Mr. de Marvol is still in France.* What is he doing " there? I am told that he has lately made certain over- " tures and even offers of peace." At what time Marvol left France is not stated. In February 1542 queen Mary alludes to him as being in correspondence with Granvelle,† then at Genoa. He was still in France in May 1543, for on the 19th of June the Emperor wrote to Chapuys that his ambassador (Marvol) had written that the Admiral of France, Philippe de Brion-Chabot, had lately proposed certain terms of peace in the name of king Francis. The Emperor's answer had been: "Should the Admiral himself " declare beforehand what his proposals are, and should " those proposals be acceptable, We will at once send Our " powers to Mr. Marvol. We have considered it needful " to enter into these particulars in order that should the " French hereafter try to make use in that Court of Eng- " land of the overtures which they themselves have been " the first to make, and represent Us as the originators of " the whole thing, as they are in the habit of doing, you " may be prepared to answer in accordance with the " truth" (p. 17). The Emperor ends by informing Chapuys that he really believes, nay, is certain, that pope Paul is at the bottom of all this affair, and that it is at his instigation and through his intervention that the overtures for peace are being made, though the French themselves pretend, as the rumour is, that it is at his (the Emperor's) own request and persuasion that His Holiness has taken up cards in this game.‡

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* A few instances will be quite sufficient as a proof: Routiers, at p. 374, is evidently a mistake for *Boutières*, French general, who succeeded Hannebault in Piedmont; Martin de Lange (*ibid*) is for *Martin du Bellay, sieur* (lord) *de Langeais ;* and many others, whose names have been most likely vitiated by successive copyists.

† Introduction to Part I. of Vol. VI., p. xxii.

‡ *See* No. 28, p. 62–3. It is in the form of a letter from king Francis to his prime minister, Philippe de Brion-Chabot, High Admiral of France.

Marvol must have left the Court of France some days after the date of the above letter, for on the 20th of June, without any previous declaration of war, as customary in such cases, a French army, under the duke of Vendôme, invaded the Artois.*

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* p. 33.

† Vol. VI., Part I., p. 476.

‡ The letter is dated Burgos, the 10th day of June (No. 10, pp. 16-7). It must have arrived in England time enough to remove the suspicions raised in Henry's mind, no doubt by Marillac himself, making him believe that the overtures for peace had originated with the Emperor himself.

III.—Rome.

At Rome, where the Emperor's alliance with England had seriously preoccupied Paul's mind, and made him display all his energy to dissolve, if possible, that alliance, and at the same time bring on a reconciliation between the Emperor and Francis, so that both princes might afterwards assist and help him in his favourite plans and Henry's excommunication, Don Juan Manrique,† marquis de Aguilar, was still, in May 1542, Imperial ambassador. On his return from Sienna, whither he had gone, by the Emperor's commands, for the express purpose of quelling the dissensions that had sprung up among the citizens of that Republic, he held several conferences with Paul, and did his best to re-establish on a firm footing the relations of the Empire with the Roman Court. Two of his despatches—dated respectively 14 December 1542, and referring to the various conferences held with pope Paul on the convocation and meeting of the General Council, the creation of cardinals, and last, not least, the peace with France, at that time Paul's favourite scheme, that he might after that turn his ecclesiastical arms against Henry – are well worth the reader's attention, as well as the Emperor's respectful though sharp letter to His Holiness, refusing to make peace with Francis and forsake altogether the English alliance, which letter, or at least a copy of it, was sent over to Chapuys that he might show it to king Henry. The bishop of Aquila,[*] who had lately attended the Nürnberg diet with Granvelle, was present at the Marquis's conferences. What that prelate's mission may have been, we are not told; but it may be inferred both from the Marquis's letters and from the Bishop's reports that his instructions were to assist and help the Imperial ambassador in his difficult negotiations at the Roman Court at a time when pope Paul must have been rather discontented with the Emperor. Shortly after the Marquis left for Genoa, there to embark for Spain in one of Doria's galleys.[†] He landed at Barcelona a few days after the Emperor had sailed for Italy, and, as a reward for his services during the Roman embassy, was appointed Lord High Steward to the Royal household in Spain, and Captain-General of Catalonia and Spanish Rousillon. This last appointment, however, or at least the words in which it was couched, seems to have given offence to the young duke of Alba (Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo), better known in history as "the Grand Duke of the Low Countries," who, after his glorious defence of Perpignan against the French in Aug.–Sept. 1542, had obtained a similar nomination. The Duke's proud, though respectful, letter to the Emperor, stating his case, resigning all his offices and honours, and asking to be enlisted as a private soldier for the Emperor's future wars, will be read with pleasure by his admirers.[‡]

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* pp. 70, 72, 74, 78, 80.

† *See* Introduction to Vol. VI., Part I., p. xxii. The Marquis D. Juan was the son of Don Luis Fernandez Manrique, fourth count of Castañeda, and second marquis de Aguilar. He had two brothers, one a cardinal (Pedro ?), who died October 7th 1540, and another (D. Francisco), who was for a short time ambassador in France (September–November 1541).

After Aguilar's retirement from the Roman embassy Juan de Vega was appointed. His general instructions, bearing the date of 4th July 1543, from Trent, came to hand too late to be calendared in their proper place, but will be found in the Appendix or Supplement at the end of the present volume. As no despatch from him has yet turned up (the very first that I find at Simancas being dated Rome, January 1544),* I would willingly have omitted any notice of Vega and his antecedents, had I not considered it necessary to allude to him and to his instructions, to which I shall have to refer more than once in the next volume of this Calendar. For the present I will only say that he was sixth lord of Graxal, commander of Ornachos, and XIII. of the Order of Santiago, viceroy of Sicily from November 1547 to September 1554, and president of the Council of Castille till the 19th of December 1558, when he died.†

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[*] The Marquis had always Spanish ecclesiastics like Santacroce, Sarmiento, Fr. Vincencio Lunel, and others, to help and assist him in Church affairs, etc. Most probably the bishop of Aquila (Berardo or Bernardo Sanchez ?) was one of them.

[†] *See* p. 384, the Emperor's order to Andrea Doria to prepare one of his galleys for the Marquis' passage. If one was not sufficient for the security of his person, another galley was to be sent as an escort.

[‡] The Duke's spirited letter may be found under No. 191, pp. 448–51.

Of other minor agents in Italy, accredited to Venice, Florence, Siena, or Genoa, no letters occur within the year 1543 in connexion with English affairs of State. To the Signory or Republic of Venice the much celebrated Don Diego [Hurtado] de Mendoza had been accredited ever since his return from England in April 1539. His Venetian mission this time seems to have been for the express purpose of watching the political relations of the Signory with the Turk, and, above all, preventing their joining the Pope in his attempt to uphold Francis' ambitious plans concerning Milan and the rest of Italy. At one time Mendoza appears to have been at the head of a sort of plot or conspiracy, the object or purpose of which is not sufficiently explained: most probably a truce with Solyman was intended, for which it was necessary to bribe with money some of his favourites, and especially Janu Bey. "As soon as we " reach Trent," wrote Mendoza to the Emperor, on the 3rd of January, "I am thinking of personally taking the " negotiation in hand by means of a friar, brother of " Solyman Bashaw, the man now most in favour with the " Grand Turk, and who has, as it were, the government

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* At Simancas, not in Vienna. *See* Bergenroth's Collection in the British Museum *Add.* 28,593. f. 295.

† Sandoval, *Hist. del Emp. Carlos V.*, Lib. XIV. § Garma y Duran (Francisco Xavier de). *Theatro Universal de España.*, Tom. IV. p. 259.

" of the country in his hands. The friar has promised " to go to Constantinople, and there serve your Imperial " Majesty, and I have engaged that should he do service " he will be made a bishop. I consider him a worthy man, " but rather vain, and, therefore, will take my precautions " when I open my plans to him. I some time ago wrote " to Your Majesty that the government of Turkey is " almost entirely in the hands of slaves, that being the " cause of all being venal and easily corrupted. It would, " therefore, be expedient that whoever at Constantinople, " or elsewhere in Turkey, should stir in our favour, and " bring this affair of ours to a conclusion, should have a " large sum of money promised to him, as much as 40,000 " or 50,000 ducats; but we must before all things " prevent the French, the Venetians, and even the Pope " himself, from becoming aware of this plan, for fear each " of these powers individually, or joined together, should " do their utmost to defeat our plans."

Mendoza's letters, as may be judged by the above abstracts, are full of information respecting Turkey and the Levant, and bear the vigorous stamp of the author of "El Lazarillo de Tormes." *

In Genoa, Gomez Suarez de Figueroa continued to reside as Imperial agent; whilst in Florence, where Cosmo de' Medici ruled since 1537, capt. Don Alvaro III. de Luna represented the Emperor as a sort of accredited agent, and at the same time as governor of the citadel and the castles of Leghorn and Pisa, which the latter retained as pledge and security for the investiture. When, in June 1543, the sum of 150,000 crowns was paid down, the citadel and the rest of the castles in Tuscany were surrended to Cosmo, and D. Alvaro went to Siena to represent the Emperor there.

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* In my opinion this far reputed and not sufficiently appreciated novel, though anonymous, is the work of Don Diego, who, amidst his serious and grave diplomatic labours, found leisure to indulge in such witty and entertaining books as the above quoted, and that entitled *Dialogo de Mercurio y Caronte ó el Alma de Alexandro Farnesio.*

As to the marquis del Gasto, and Pescara (D. Alonso), governor of Milan, and he of Villafranca del Bierzo (D. Pedro de Toledo), viceroy of Naples, there is no need to mention them here. The duke of Alburquerque, or Albuquerque (D. Beltram de la Cueva), is also alluded to in a despatch (p. 213) of the marquis de Aguilar, the Imperial ambassador at Rome, as having by his sudden and unexpected appearance in that city in January 1543 excited the curiosity of Italian politicians, and aroused Paul's suspicions (p. 201); but, as in 1544 he came to England with the duke of Nájera (D. Juan Manrique de Lara), accompanied Henry in his expedition to France and siege of Boulogne, I will postpone until then all notice of their persons and doings.

The Emperor's relations with Portugal, though not so intimate as at the time that a marriage between the Infante Dom Luiz and the Princess of England was in contemplation, yet continued to be close and amicable. The only instance, however, in which the former country had indirectly to apply to Henry's Privy Council was in March 1543, when at the Emperor's intercession certain Portuguese, accused and convicted of Judaism, were released from prison, and their confiscated property restored to them (p. 270). In July 1543 the Imperial ambassador at Lisbon (Sarmiento de Mendoza) prepared the way for the marriage of the Infanta of Portugal, Doña Maria, daughter of Joaõ III. and Catharina, the Emperor's sister, with the Royal Prince Philip, which took place at Salamanca on the 12th of November of the same year; but on the 12th of July 1545, the Princess died in her confinement, leaving one son, the Infante Don Carlos, whose untimely and mysterious death in a dungeon has since given rise to many romantic stories.*

Besides the letters and despatches above abstracted or alluded to, the present volume contains a few from Cardinal Loaysa, from Francisco de Los Cobos, and Alonso Idiaquez, as well as from one or two more noblemen or officials of the Imperial Court; but as, generally speaking, little reference, if any, is made therein to English politics or French affairs, there is no necessity for making mention of the writers. Those, however, of prince Philip, the Emperor's only son, deserve particular attention, as emanating from a sort of Council of regency to which the latter at his departure from Barcelona in May 1543 entrusted, during his absence, the government and administration of his various Spanish kingdoms.* The young Prince, not yet seventeen years of age, transmitted regularly to his father the reports of the Spanish Council of State on such important questions as the investiture of the duchy of Milan and the relations with Rome, all the time keeping up a correspondence with Chapuys, Perrenot (Thomas), and Montmorency, thus becoming an early adept in the science of government, and acquiring that wonderful assiduity for State business which made him so distinguished during his reign.

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* A letter of Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza to Cobos in answer to inquiries made about the Princess's state of health, personal qualities, accomplishments, and so forth, is a curious specimen of the manner in which Royal marriages were made at the time. *See* p. 442, No. 187A.

Having so far given, as usual, a concise account of the writers, a few cursory remarks about the letters and papers contained in this volume will perhaps not be amiss. With the exception of a few still preserved at Simancas notwithstanding the wilful spoliation so frequently alluded to in preceding Introductions to the volumes of the present Calendar,† the rest proceed almost exclusively from Vienna or from Paris, where all those having reference to the reign of Francis I. were removed during the Peninsular War, and where they still remain. Of most of these latter, we have transcripts (not always correct) in Bergenroth's Collection (*British Museum*, Nos. 28,572–97); but the Vienna papers may rightly be considered as the most important, since they constitute, by themselves, an almost complete collection of the original despatches of Don Iñigo de Mendoza, Eustace Chapuys and other Imperial ambassadors at the Court of Henry VIII. Without them, I do not hesitate to say, the history of Henry's reign with regard to England's political relations with France and the Empire would have been rather incomplete. Unluckily, as has been remarked elsewhere,* the papers are not always arranged in such chronological order as to enable the historical scholar to grasp at once the subjects treated of, and keep in mind the events or opinions recorded; besides which, as the rough drafts or minutes are frequently undated,† it becomes at times exceedingly difficult to assign them a proper place. If to this be added that a new system of classification is now being adopted in the Vienna Archives, which, instead of helping to clear up the already existing confusion, renders it still more intricate and perplexing,‡ and that letters, despatches, and State Papers in general, bearing no date at all, or being wrongly endorsed by some clerk in the Imperial Archives, often make their appearance three or four years after, the readers of this Calendar will be able to appreciate the many difficulties encountered in its compilation. The whole volume was already in print, and this Introduction almost finished, when a set of original letters were found, of no great importance, as I presume, being chiefly from king Henry to the Emperor, or from the privy councillors to Chapuys, for the abstract and insertion of which there was no time, though a list of them has been published among the "Additional Notes and Corrections" at the end of this volume. Let this be an explanation, and at the same time an excuse, for the long Supplement at the end (pp. 547–75), which promises to be still longer in the following volume, unless the re-arrangement of the State Papers for the reign of Henry VIII. in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, which has already begun, is steadily carried on and completed in strict chronological order, so that editors in future may at once judge which paper is to be abstracted and which is to be left aside as useless. Owing to the above causes and to the necessity of intercalating letters which seemed important, occasional errors have been committed in the numbers of order in which the letters or papers abstracted are placed in the text, though this imperfection may be obviated by respective notes in the Table (pp. 598–601) or by corrections among the "Errata."

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* It was at Barcelona on the 1st of May 1543, before sailing for Italy, that the Emperor appointed his son, prince Philip, to the government of his Spanish kingdoms, giving him as ministers the young duke of Alba and Francisco de los Cobos, the former for war, the latter for home.—Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V.*, Lib. XXV., Vol. II. p. 432.

† Herr Gustav Bergenroth was the first to indicate the fact in the Introduction to Vol. II. of his Calendar—London: 1862, pp. vi–vii.

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* *See* the Introduction to Vol. VI., Part I, p. xxix.

† These undated minutes or original drafts are more frequently met with in Spanish letters and papers proceeding from Simancas, and written whilst the Emperor was in Italy, in Germany, or encamped within French territory, the dates being almost always left blank, and not being filled up by the clerks of the Imperial Foreign Office.

‡ The reader must have observed that instead of the usual marginal note of *Rep.* P.C. *Fasc.*, the Vienna Papers are now docketed *Eng. Correspondenz*, and that the papers are now divided into Letters of the Emperor to Chapuys, of queen Mary to Chapuys, of king Henry to the Emperor, of the Privy Council to Chapuys, and so forth.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS.

SPANISH, HENRY VIII.

1542.

2 May.

B. Neg. d'Ang., Vol. I.

1. The Emperor's Powers to Eustace Chapuys.

Charles, &c.—To all those who will see these present, &c. Whereas, between the ambassadors and ministers of Our dearest and most beloved good brother and "bel oncle," the king of England, and Our own there has been some talk of closer friendship, amity, and confederation, the said king of England having signified to Us that he is affectionately inclined towards it, as his ambassador, the bishop of London,* has again lately declared to Us; wishing, on Our part, to respond sincerely to such sentiments, and reciprocally cultivate the friendship and alliance which has at all times existed between the king of England's predecessors and Our own; trusting, moreover, as from long experience We may trust, on the loyalty, fidelity, wisdom, good sense, and discretion of Our dear and faithful councillor and Master of Requests in ordinary, Messire Eustace Chappuys (*sic*), Our ambassador † near the person of the said king, We have deputed and appointed him Our procurator and "mandataire," to treat of, discuss, and conclude with the said king and his ministers a treaty of closer friendship, intelligence, and confederation, and to render the same firm and perpetual between Us and Our respective sons and heirs. Also to treat of a defensive and offensive alliance—whether general or particular—approving, declaring, amplifying, or curtailing past treaties as he, the above-mentioned Messire Eustace Chapuys, shall find just, reasonable, or convenient to Our interests.

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* Edmund Boner, at this time Henry's ambassador in Spain.

† This is perhaps the first time that the name of the Emperor's ambassador in England is written with two p's, *Chappuys.* In all documents emanating from the Imperial Chancery I have found it written *Chapuis* or *Chapuys*; in Spanish or Latin papers, *Capucius, Capucis, Capucia,* and *Capucio,* and *Eustacius, Eustachio,* and *Eustaquio.* He himself always signed "Eustace Chapuys." As to his title of "Maître des Requêtes de l'Empereur" and "Doctor," they only occur once or twice. He seems also to have been at one time "conseiller de l'Empereur" in Flanders. The document itself, as may be observed, is not in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, being one of the few left behind at Brussels, when those relating to the reign of the Emperor Charles V. were suddenly transferred from the latter city to Vienna after the battle of Fleurus in 1794.

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Binding and engaging Ourselves and Our successors, as well as all Our kingdoms and dominions generally and entirely, to the approbation and ratification of whatever be stipulated by the parties respecting the said alliance, and to do in that affair as above stated, or its circumstances and dependencies, whatever Our ambassador and procurator may think right and expedient, though there be things that require special mandate and fuller powers from Us. Hereby promising verbally and engaging Our Imperial word to consider the terms agreed upon by Our said ambassador and procurator, or whatever he may treat, agree to, or conclude on the matters above specified, or those connected with them, as firm, standing, and agreeable for ever after. Also to give Our letters of ratification of the same as often as We are required. In testimony of which declaration We now append Our name and signature in Our own hand with Our grand seal.—Valladolid,* the 2nd day of May 1542.

Signed ; "Charles."

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

3 May. **2.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Venerable, chier et feal, &c.,"—Since Our letter [*of the 6th of April*], *We have received yours of the 25th of February and 14th of March, the former from Flanders under cover to Mr. de Granvelle, the latter † forwarded by Our good sister, the queen dowager of Hungary. We thank you very much for the advice contained in both your despatches, to which, however, there is for the present no particular reply to make, save to praise and extol the dexterity and care as well as the vigilant eye you have kept and keep upon everything concerning Our service, besides the wonderful activity displayed by you in investigating the political tendencies of that country, and transmitting to Us the news thereof, as well as defeating the plans and intrigues of the French, and persuading the king of England to make closer alliance with Us.*

Although that King and his ministers, as may easily be perceived, seem still inclined to temporize and wait for the result of the political affairs at issue, in order to treat with Us or with the French, according as their own interests may dictate, yet, at all events, wishing on Our part to keep the agreement taken at Ratisbon (Regensburg) to treat within the period of ten months of closer alliance and confederacy with England, We have ordered Mr. de Granvelle, on his return from the Diet, to put himself into communication with the

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* The Emperor had been at Valladolid since the 26th of January. *See* Gachard, *Itineraire de Charles V.*, p. 201.

† *See* Vol. VI., Part I., No. 232, pp. 470–5 ; that of the 14th is under No. 238, pp. 481–3.

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bishop of London, as well as with the other bishop * *ambassador now going back home. It must be owned that during the conferences thus held the bishop of London has shewn himself well-disposed, and repeatedly assured Us of his master's good-will and sincerity, asserting that the King wishes for the speedy and favorable issue of the present negociation, which was (the bishop said) the sole and exclusive object of his mission. And yet, in his conferences with Mr. de Granvelle, the English ambassador has not been so explicit as We might have desired, for, notwithstanding all the efforts of Our Privy Seal,*† *all that could be got out of him was reduced to this, namely, that past treaties must be carefully looked into, in order to see what is to be confirmed in, added to, or retrenched from them, at the same time insisting upon the revocation of the edict promulgated in Flanders, as the measure which would most please the King, his master, and make him more inclined to grant anything We might ask of him. Also that all causes and occasions of old enmity should be put on one side, all injuries forgiven and forgotten.*

Perceiving that it was impossible to draw the ambassador out of his intrenchments, Mr. de Granvelle limited himself to saying that treaties of alliance and confederation between princes are generally founded on defence and offence, which axiom the Bishop did not exactly admit, since he gave Our Privy Seal to understand that his master would not go beyond a defensive league between England and the Low Countries. True is it, that he said in general terms that his master would do in that affair all that was reasonable and just, as well as compatible with his own honor, should We consent to negociate. No more could be got out of him. Whether the King's objection arose from matters concerning Papal authority or from his former treaties with France, We cannot positively say.

It was at last resolved that, besides the powers which the dowager queen of Hungary, Our most beloved sister, must already have sent you for the purpose of the closer friendship and alliance, We Ourselves should send you fresh ones to treat exclusively of the said alliance and of other matters appertaining thereto or connected with the subject; and that respecting the amplification or limitation of old treaties, as well as declaration or approbation of the same, you shall do whatever is just and convenient. That in case of difficulty, for the quicker settlement of the affair, you (Chapuys) are to consult Our sister, the dowager queen of Hungary, and proceed with the negociation, unless the case consulted be of such importance as to be referred to Us. That with regard to the revocation of the edict, which the king of England seems to have so much at heart, We will write to the said

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* That is Edmund Boner or Bonner, and Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster.

† Perrenot de Granvelle (Nicolas) had been appointed lord Privy Seal (Guardasellos) to the Emperor as early as 1540.

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queen, Our sister, to see and advise what can be done in the matter to please the King without notable injury to Our own kingdoms and dominions, and, above all, to the Low Countries. That is why We send you likewise a copy of the memorandum, drawn up here in Spain, of the points relating thereto, that the indemnity of the Low Countries may be ensured, as otherwise it will be impossible for Us not to promulgate in Our Spanish dominions prohibitory measures similar to those proclaimed in the ports of England.

*It has likewise been resolved, as well as settled, between Our said Privy Seal and the English ambassador, that during the conferences, and as long as the negociations for the closer friendship and alliance last, neither of the two contracting parties shall do or treat of anything to the prejudice of the other, as was agreed at Regensburg.** *And as We have already declared Our full intention in all matters concerning the closer friendship and alliance, and other political matters in general. And as We suppose that you have already by you copies of all the treaties between Us and the king of England, and that Our beloved sister, the dowager queen of Hungary, has also acquainted you with all particulars concerning the intercourse of trade, amicable relations, and good neighbourhood of Our said Low Countries with England, and sent you copies of all commercial treaties with that country—whether they be considered as expired or existing still—with such explanations and comments as the Queen herself may offer you of the old differences or debatable points in them, We need say no more about it than refer you entirely to Our instructions on the matter. We, therefore, are now writing to Our good sister to send you fresh copies of all the treaties—general or particular—with England, and to keep you* "au courant" *of every fresh incident relating to the said treaties which may be of use nowadays. The same commendations have by Us been addressed to Mr. de Praët, whose knowledge and experience of political affairs in England, and especially of Our relations with king Henry, are very great.*

To sum up, you (Chapuys), are to bear in mind that on no account are you to stipulate or agree to, tacitly or expressly, anything against what We consider to be Our duty towards the Holy Father or the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, nor consent to anything likely to give the King's ministers or subjects occasion and ground to speak disparagingly of Him, or in favor of the new religious sects, or of that which is called the "reformation or correction of abuses [*of the Clergy*], *and scandalous life of the same in the countries under Our sway." For that*

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* The very first negociations for a treaty of closer alliance between Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Mons. de Granvelle began at Ratisbon in January 1541. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 304.

1542.

very purpose and declaration you will take your stand on what the English ambassadors themselves have stated and declared at the conferences, namely, that the honor of the contracting parties is to be safe-guarded, and that neither on one side nor on the other is there to be any proposition likely to affect or injure the honor and reputation of the other. You are, moreover, to proceed in the negociation of the treaty with such secrecy that the French may never know, through you, at least, what passes between you and that King's ministers; much less that the alliance and confederacy likely to be formed against France has any other object than to compel the said English ministers to fulfil the promise they have so frequently made under oath, in general terms, and particularly concerning the king of England. Notwithstanding which promise they have written to the Holy Father that We were in close and amicable relations with the king of England, thus breaking the oath they once took, and endeavouring by that means to provoke the Holy Father's indignation, and, on the other hand, washing themselves free from the stain cast upon them in consequence of the marriage of the duke of Orleans, Francis' son, with the princess of England, which he (the King) is trying hard to bring about.

For the above reasons and considerations it will be your duty to do your best towards contracting an offensive alliance against the king of France. Should it be stipulated at first that the alliance is to be merely defensive, you will take care that the whole of Our dominions—the Low Countries, as well as Navarre—be included, and let the help and assistance to be given by Our ally be well specified and made certain. If possible, let the help be in money; if not altogether, at least for the most part, and with such securities that We may, in case of need, be sure of touching the sum agreed upon. In this manner you will try to induce the king of England to help Us to the recovery of the duchy of Gheldres and county of Zutphen. Should king Francis attempt to prevent that, you will make the king of England promise, if nothing more can be got out of him, that neither directly nor indirectly will he favor or help the duke of Clèves. You will likewise do everything in your power to set the king of England against the duke of Holstein, who has been elected king of Denmark to the prejudice of Our niece, the daughter of king Kristiern, to whom the right to the crown belongs; and if that cannot be obtained, procure at least that the said duke and the Austrian towns under his rule keep the obedience they owe Us as Emperor, and submit in all other matters concerning theLow Countries.

We have no doubt that in all the above particulars, as well as in the alliance and confederation about to be made with the king of England, you (Chapuys) will do little by little whatever you think proper and most advantageous for Us, so as to induce king Henry to take part against the

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French, taking care, however, that Our honor and reputation, as aforesaid, be perfectly safe-guarded, as well as the welfare and interests of all Our kingdoms and subjects. We expect this much from your wisdom, as well as from the habit you have of negociating with the English. It will be for you to take care that in the transcript or translation of the treaties of commerce and alliance between the Empire and England no phrase or word be introduced to Our disadvantage, or explained in a manner contrary to Our interests—a sort of thing in which the English are not over-scrupulous. If, however, you should observe that there is in them any doubtful clause, you will let Us know as soon as possible.

Should the king of England allude by chance to the security to be offered by Us that king Francis shall pay his debt to him, or otherwise indemnify him for the loss of his money —to which security it would seem as if We were somehow bound by previous treaties, in case of a war with France, or otherwise—you will try to excuse Us as graciously as you possibly can, from such an obligation, giving the King and his ministers to understand that Our friendship and good neighbourhood is as useful—nay, as necessary—to him, as his is to Us, especially in a war against the French. Yet that, considering his frequent quarrels with them, so deeply-rooted and of such old standing; considering also that it is not to be supposed that so wise and prudent a prince, and one so anxious, as he is, to preserve the rights of his predecessors on the throne of England, is likely to abandon those very rights, We cannot stand security for the French debt to him. He (the King) ought to hold as certain that the French have always, now more than ever, tried to do away with those rights, and to get scot-free out of the game, without paying one farthing of their debt to him, most of which debt, after all, with interest, was contracted, as is well known, at a time when both he (the King) and he of France were Our enemies. Besides which, it is notorious that the latter's intention in soliciting the hand of the Princess for his son, the duke of Orleans, is simply to gain time, and lull king Henry to sleep so long as he lives with the hope of being paid, and after his death rid himself entirely of the claim. Indeed, if the king of France ever entertained seriously the idea of such a marriage, it was merely for the sake of usurping the crown of England, either during king Henry's life or after his death, thus depriving his son and heir of it at the earliest opportunity. With this very idea does he cultivate so much now the friendship of the Scotch king, whom he is cajoling merely for the purpose of thwarting the king of England's future plans. If, however, We succeed in contracting an alliance with England, then king Francis must despair of carrying out his ambitious plans, and will find that the very means he is now putting into practice, will only serve to

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*assure and consolidate the legitimate succession to the throne of England, and that he will thereby be obliged to pay, not only the annual pension he owes, but also the arrears of it, amounting already to a very considerable sum.**

It will be likewise advisable to avoid treating of the alliance and confederation We had once with the king of Scotland, or of matters directly or indirectly connected with the Princess, Our cousin, which may turn out to her injury, such as her legitimacy or her right to the crown of England. You must try not to enter into conversation upon such matters for many reasons, which you (Chapuys) are sure to appreciate, and since the English ambassadors have assured Our Privy Seal (Granvelle) that the King, their master, intends proceeding frankly and sincerely in the affair, We must for once trust in him. It is for you to negociate as you think best for Our service. Should you, however, perceive that there is duplicity on the part of the King or of his ministers, you are not to break off the negociations altogether, but to write to Us or to Our good sister, the Queen, and report as soon as possible on any untoward event or pretension likely to impede their progress.

Lastly, We ask you whether it would not be possible to induce the king of England to give now, as well as in future, his help and assistance against the Turk, since he himself and his ministers here and there have often assured Us that he was ready and desirous to grant such aid against the Infidel.—Valladolid, 3 May 1542.†

French. Original draft, ciphered. pp. 6.

6 May.
S. E., L. 52, f. 375.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 129.

3. The COUNCIL'S OPINION on the ANSWER to be made to the PAPAL NUNCIO.

The subjects which, in the councillors' opinion, the Emperor will have to treat with the Papal Nuncio, are as follows:—

1st. The peace and the help against the Turk.

2nd. The Cardinals' hats.

Respecting the first point, that of the peace, His Imperial Majesty might refer to his letters and instructions to the marquis de Aguilar, wherein it is stated that His Imperial Majesty is sure of His Holiness doing whatever is needful for the welfare of Christendom at large, and that of Italy in particular.

Respecting the assistance in money, His Imperial Majesty ought to insist upon His Holiness helping as much as possible in Hungary by land, as well as by sea, and upon his formally

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* One million and two hundred thousand gold crowns, as stated elsewhere.

† Two drafts of this letter, both dated from Valladolid, 3 May 1542, are preserved in the Imperial Archives of Vienna. One is entirely ciphered, though it has a deciphering appended in the handwriting of one of Chapuys' clerks; the other, also written at Valladolid, where the Emperor stayed from the 26th of January to the 27th of May 1542, when he left for Burgos, seems to be only an abstract. *See* Gachard, *Collection des Voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas; Itineraire de Charles V.*, Vol. II., pp. 201–7.

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declaring as soon as possible with what contingent of troops and galleys he purposes to assist thereto. The reputation and authority of the Holy Apostolic See are very seriously concerned in a declaration of that sort, lest its enemies should say that the present Pope is looking more to his own domestic affairs and advancement than to those of the Christian Republic at large.

With regard to the cardinals' hats, His Imperial Majesty will be pleased to speak to the Papal Nuncio in conformity with the resolution which this Council of State will soon take in the matter, and submit for his approval, namely, that His Holiness will be earnestly requested, whenever he proceeds to a new creation of cardinals, to bear in mind how few hats have lately been bestowed on subjects and vassals of His Imperial Majesty, or natives of the various kingdoms under his rule, such as Castille, Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, the States of Low Germany, and other countries, France having already eleven, whereas the number of cardinals in all other Christian States put together—Italy not comprised—does not amount to fifteen, a very remarkable fact indeed that after His Imperial Majesty's signal undertakings for the service of God, after his strenuous efforts to secure the peace of Christendom at Rome and at Lucca, no more hats should have been given to his subjects!!

His Imperial Majesty will not forget to speak to the Papal Nuncio,[*] in favor of the king of Portugal (Joaõ III.), and his present differences with the Holy See.—Valladolid, 6 May 1542.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

7 May. **4.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 119-20.

"*Sire,*"—*The French ambassador's man*[†] *has just this moment sent me a duplicate and summary of certain letters, one of which is from the King, his master.*[‡] *Not having time, before the departure of this courier, to decipher these letters, I enclose the whole of them to the queen regent of the Low Countries, that she may have them deciphered and forwarded to Your Imperial Majesty.*

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[*] The Papal Nuncio at this time was Giovan Riccio da Montepulciano, Paul's "camarlengo," or chamberlain. He went first to Spain in August 1539, the bearer of a letter from the Pope on the matrimonial differences between his grandson, Ottavio Farnese, and the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret of Austria. He arrived at Aranjuez in September, and returned to Rome one year after, in 1540. In December 1541 he was again sent to Spain as Papal Nuncio, no longer on Paul's private and family business, but on political affairs of more importance, such as the peace with Francis, and help against the Turk. The paper above abstracted contains the opinion of the Emperor's Council of State as to the manner in which the Emperor was to answer the Nuncio's overtures.

[†] Jean de Honz. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 341–2. The ambassador on this occasion was Charles de Marillac.

[‡] The letters here alluded to will be found in Marillac's correspondence, pp. 410–5.

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The man himself had not yet been able to learn any particulars of Receptor Chateauneuf's mission,[*] who arrived in this city five days ago. He is one of the gentlemen of the Admiral's suit, and his secretary. Neither he nor his colleague (Marillac) has yet attempted to procure an audience from the King. I believe they are waiting for his return to town, which is to take place in about six or seven days,[†] for there is no longer a talk, as there was some time ago, of his going over to Calais. The two ambassadors went the other day to the Privy Council, upon which some of the councillors who are here sent a courier to France with letters for the English ambassador [‡] in that country. This is all we know about the doings of the French. Should I hear anything more, I shall not fail to inform Your Imperial Majesty.—London, 7 May 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph ciphered. p. 1.

7 May. **5.** The Same to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 24–31.

"Madame,"—Since the 19th ult., the date of your last letter to me,[§] Your Majesty must have learnt, through my various despatches, the state of perplexity and uncertainty in which I am at present. True it is that for some time back this King's ministers, waiting no doubt for the arrival of the instructions from His Imperial Majesty, which I said to them were shortly expected, have not further mentioned the affair to me; otherwise, I should have been at my wit's end on more than one occasion. There can be no doubt, however, that, sooner or later, the privy councillors deputed by this king to debate the affair with me [||] will bitterly complain of the delay, and, if so, I will do my best to mitigate their displeasure and disappointment by offering similar excuses to those contained in Your Majesty's last letter to me.

With regard to the statute and ordinance forbidding the export of woollen-cloth exceeding the value and price of seventeen ducats for each piece unless they be properly prepared, I must say that although it passed through the

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[*] Gellimard, (Guillaume) sieur de Chasteauneuf, whose arrival in London took place on the 27th of April 1542, or on the 2nd of May, as here stated; *see* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 508. He was the secretary of Philippe de Brion-Chabot, admiral of France, who succeeded the Grand Master (Anne de Montmorency) as king Francis' prime minister.

[†] King Henry was then at Dover.

[‡] That is Sir William Paget, who in 1542 was appointed ambassador to the court of France.

[§] No letter of the queen of Hungary to Chapuys has been found with that date. Her last to the ambassador was of the 1st. *See* No. 242, pp. 487–9, of Vol. VI., Part I.

[||] The King's deputies were, as stated in p. 497 of Vol. VI., Part I., Fitz William, the bishops of Durham and Westminster, and the two secretaries, Sir Ralph Saddler, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley.

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Chamber [of Parliament] years ago, yet it was not enforced or executed until 1539, to the great annoyance, not only of the weavers and drapers, but likewise of the shearers themselves, between whom and the former there was at the time much contest and altercation, as I had the honor to inform Your Majesty. The matter was finally settled in favor of the shearers. Nothing, I am told, will ever induce this king to change his decision, and give the clothiers and drapers the advantage, notwithstanding the urgent requests and remonstrances of the latter; nor will he ever feel inclined to revoke the statute, especially since he derives (as is said) great profit from the licences he grants from time to time to merchants to export that quality of cloth.

To remedy this evil it would be necessary to adopt there, in the Low Countries, measures in counter-balance of those taken here, and such as would oblige these people to listen to reason. Perhaps at present, considering the position of the Emperor's affairs, the occasion is not favorable for making this king revoke or modify his statutes on trade and navigation; but, at all events, I shall conform with Your Majesty's instructions and commands in this respect, and remonstrate against the innovations lately introduced here.

An hour ago the French ambassador's man sent me the enclosed documents in cipher, which I send as they are, not having had leisure to decipher them. A copy might be made to be forwarded to the Emperor in Spain, should their contents be, as I presume, of some importance. The man himself has not yet been able to ascertain what the mission of Receptor Chasteauneuf, mentioned in the papers, may be. The Receptor arrived in this town five days ago. Neither he nor the French resident ambassador (Marillac) has yet called on the King. I suppose they will wait for his return to town, which is to take place in a week or so. True it is that they have called once on the Lord Privy Seal and on secretary Wriothesley, but I hear they have transacted no business at all.*†—London, the 7th day of May 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries."

French. Holograph, partly in cipher. pp. 7.

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7 May. 6. The Same to Monseigneur de Granvelle.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 7.

"Monseigneur,"—*The French ambassador's man, whose name is Jehan de Hons, fears that his chief will be shortly re-called. He has no doubt whatever that once back in France, he will*

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* That is Gellimard, the admiral's secretary. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 508.

† The concluding paragraph of this despatch is, as usual, devoted to his own private affairs, and to the settlement of the arrears of pay, &c.

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still find the means, through ambassadors and other personages of his acquaintance, of procuring such information on political matters as to enable him to continue his services to His Imperial Majesty, provided some allowance be fixed for his support by way of an annual pension. He also begs His Imperial Majesty that should any of the prebendary chaplainships in Notre Dame of Arras—the appointment to which belongs by right to His Majesty—happen to be vacant, it should be given to his brother Charles, now a student at Orleans in France. He himself intends to petition His Imperial Majesty on that score.

My last letter must have informed Your Lordship of the Princess' long illness, and how after some days of anxiety she had been declared out of danger. *Three or four days ago she sent to thank me for certain letters I had written to her during her illness, saying that they had acted as a most health-restoring cordial to her. To say the truth, I did my very best to comfort and cheer her in the midst of her ailments.*

With regard to the Prince (Edward), whatever has been said of his indisposition and want of health, has turned out to be untrue. There was nothing at all the matter with him.

If Your Lordship (*) *wishes to escape further annoyance, or to be less frequently importuned by me, I make bold to say that you ought to intercede with His Imperial Majesty in my favor, and ask for the settlement of my arrears. My wants, indeed, are so pressing that I cannot for a single moment forget my piteous situation.*

I forgot to say that a month ago the Venetian secretary who resides here † *tried to obtain again the privilege which his Republic once had of buying here wool, and lading its "galleons" with it; but the King replied so coldly to his demand and in such words that there is no probability of his ever getting it, or of the Signory of Venice renewing the application. That refusal, however, will by no means profit Spain, for among other things the King told the secretary that "his superiors were too great friends of the Pope, and, therefore, not the class of people on whose friendship and alliance he could safely rely."*—London, 7th May 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A Monseigneur de Grandvelle, Garde-sceaux de l'Empereur."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered.

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* Here the text reads, "Monseigneur, si vre. ma^{te} se veult quitter dennuy et importance," which is evidently wrong; for *vostre maieste* ought to be *vostre seignurie*, since the letter is addressed to Granvelle, and *importance* should be *importune* or *importunité*.

† Hironimo Zuccato, the secretary, who remained in charge of the Venetian embassy in England until August 1544, when he was replaced by Jacomo Zambon.

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7. NEWS from the COURT OF FRANCE contained in a Letter to MR. MARILLAC.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
f. 9.

On the xviii. of April Mr. de Langey,* after dining with the English ambassador, took him by the hand, and made him understand in conversation with him that it was not king Francis' fault, but the Emperor's, if the affairs of Christendom were not in a better state.

The Pope had again written to king Francis, begging him to treat of a marriage between the duke of Orleans and the Emperor's daughter; but, knowing very well that such a proposal on the part of His Holiness had no other object in view than to prevent and impede, with the Emperor's acquiescence, the Duke's marriage in England, the king of France had flatly refused to entertain that subject, lest the Pope and the Emperor together should laugh at him, and afterwards say: "Whoever cannot grind his corn at one mill, must needs go to another."

The Chancellor of Alençon,† who was the King's ambassador at the diet of Spires, had talked by far too much and too long, exceeding his instructions, at which the King was greatly displeased.

Every day ambassadors from the German princes are expected at the Court of France. The Emperor is doing all he can to keep them in good humour, and make them turn round against the King; notwithstanding that, they remain perfectly neutral, and will not decide in his favor.

The Marquis de Pescaire ‡ had reinforced the garrisons of Ivrea and Castle Vulpan with five companies of Spanish infantry for fear of the 3,000 Swiss of the King's, who are in the neighbourhood.

Captain Poulain§ had passed through Ragusa on his return from his embassy to the Grand Turk. The Spaniards, whom the marquis de Pescaire had placed on his passage in order to seize and make him prisoner, having failed in their enterprise, had, on the banks of the river Po, met with eighteen French students on their way to the University of Padua. They had made them prisoners and cast them into the river, at which the King was so highly incensed that he thought of nothing short than commencing war at once.

The last piece of intelligence is that the King, after his return from Burgundy, which will take place towards the end of this month of May, will pass a general muster of his army

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* Guillaume du Bellay, or his brother Jean, archbishop of Paris? Most likely the former.

† Jean Brinon, sieur de Vilaine d'Humières, chancellor of the duchy of Alençon.

‡ Pescara, that is Don Alfonso Davalos de Aquino, marquis del Gasto, governor of Milan. By the death of his cousin, Don Fernando marquis de Pescara, he inherited this title.

§ About this naval captain, whose real name seems to have been Antoine Paulin, baron de la Garde, *see* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 464.

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on or about the 15th of June, and that he is strongly advised to march at once towards Picardy rather than in any other direction.

French copy in cipher.

21 May. **8.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Monsieur l'ambassadour,"—We have just received a packet of letters from the Emperor, Our good lord and brother, and among them the copy of one for you,* which is to serve as Instructions of what you are to say and do in your negociation for a treaty of closer alliance between him and the king of England. Those Instructions will be a sufficient guide for your conduct in the affair, but should you require any further information or more papers from Us relating to the old commercial treaties between these Low Countries and England, you had better apply for them, and they shall be sent to you forthwith. We also send you along with this a new cipher, different from the one you have hitherto used, in order that, if you have to write to the Emperor, to his ambassador in France, to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), or to Ourselves, you may, if the case be of importance, make use of it, that our affairs in England may remain secret.

We are in receipt of your letters of the last day of April and 7th inst.,† and We thank you for the news they contain.—Anvers (Antwerp), 21 May 1542.

Addressed: "To the Imperial ambassador in England."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

7 June. **9.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Madame,"—As I wrote in my preceding despatch, dated Easter Eve,‡ I went to Antoncourt (Hampton-Court), where, during the four first days of my stay, I had several audiences from the King, for no other purpose, as Your Majesty may imagine, than that of executing Your commands with respect to the treaty of closer friendship and alliance between His Imperial Majesty and the king of England now in contemplation. But, to my great regret, as neither from the Emperor in Spain, nor from Your Majesty in the Low Countries, have any Instructions come for my guidance,

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* No doubt one of the ciphered letters alluded to in Chapuys' despatch, No. 4, p. 8.

† *See* No. 250 in Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 509–10. As to that of the 7th of May, *see* No. 5, p. 9, of this Part II. of the same volume.

‡ No letter dated Easter Eve is to be found among those of Chapuys to the queen of Hungary, but there is instead one of the 16th of April, addressed to the Emperor, in which a long account is given of the audiences here alluded to. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 491–505.

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and as I do not know in the least how I am to act in so important and delicate a negociation as the present one is, I must naturally apply for orders urgently. Owing to this cause, and to my not having received the private ones, which the Emperor himself announced to me by his letter of the 3rd of April *—in which, moreover, reference was made to another set of Instructions, fuller than the first, which were to come by way of Flanders—Your Majesty may easily conceive the awkward position in which I am placed. For, certainly, had either of the two sets come to hand, they would, under present circumstances, have served admirably both the Emperor's and Your Majesty's purpose, since I might thus have enlightened You sufficiently as to this king's intentions and will in the matter of the treaty. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, this king and his privy councillors seemed then, as they do seem now, so well disposed and inclined to that closer friendship and confederacy with the Emperor, that had I been able to make any overtures whatsoever, I have not the least doubt that they would have met me half-way; for this king, as a good, wise, and virtuous prince that he is, thinking that the treaty in question is the sole efficacious remedy in the dangerous and irksome position of the Emperor's affairs just now, would have done anything to unite his cause to that of His Imperial Majesty. This he would have done, not only on account of the almost paternal affection he bears him, but also because he seems now very ready and willing to ward off the inconveniences, dangers, and, I would say, imminent ruin, by which the whole of Christendom is now threatened, and to risk in that holy and Christian undertaking his throne and his life, although he knows very well what an intricate maze of difficulties and dangers he may run into, if he joins and allies himself with His Imperial Majesty, and the trouble and outlay of treasure he will have to undergo; all of which he might easily avoid if he only consulted his own pleasure and convenience, for enemies he himself has none. The French do not actually refuse paying their debt to him—which they would certainly do the moment they heard that he had made an alliance with the Emperor.

For want of the private Instructions that I was to receive from Your Majesty according to promise, and which, I again say, have never come to hand, I have been seeking for outward means of ascertaining how far this king might be induced to treat of, and conclude, the said alliance. It seems to me that,

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* Neither the letter here mentioned of the 3rd of April, nor the private Instructions to which Chapuys refers, are to be found in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, and yet there is a previous letter of the 14th of March (No. 237), wherein the Instructions are alluded to in these words, "Though We have no doubt that the Instructions for your guidance contained in Our letter of the 3rd from Valladolid will already be in your hands, &c." *See* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 481.

however strong the remonstrances I have from time to time addressed to him or to his ministers respecting the need in which he himself is of the Emperor's alliance and friendship, not only as concerns the security of his own person and that of his heirs on the throne, but likewise for the tranquility and peace of his kingdom—the possession of which the French are evidently aiming at—and on many other considerations, which I omit for brevity's sake, not a step has been advanced. Indeed, all my arguments and warnings have literally been thrown away; all I could obtain from him was his declaring to me that he is ready to agree to certain general articles, the most important of which is that of the help and assistance he purposes affording the Emperor in case of an invasion of French territory, namely, a contingent of 3,000 foot and as many horse. And certainly, Madame, it seems to me that, at this present juncture, and considering the state in which the general affairs of Christendom, and particularly those of His Imperial Majesty, are, should this king consent to join his forces, or part of them, to ours, or at least those he has at Calais, Guisnes, and other towns, for a sudden invasion of French territory, it would be capital work done. And I fancy, moreover, under correction, that it would be unwise not to accept at once the King's offers, and that we ought not to look too closely into the articles of the agreement proposed by him; for if we study his nature and character, we shall find that whenever he takes a fancy for a person or a thing, he goes deliberately the whole length: there is no limit to his affection, and, in fact, he plays the highest stakes at the game. Besides which, it is to be supposed that the present is, as it were, only a preamble of the lasting friendship and good intelligence that is to exist between the Emperor and him, and that once engaged in the conquest of France, there will be plenty of opportunities and occasions to amend and modify the said articles to the greater satisfaction and contentment of the parties. I would, therefore, humbly beseech Your Majesty to consider these observations of mine, and believe that it is expedient, under the circumstances, and whilst matters are so well disposed, to decide quickly; for besides the danger of these people attributing the delay to disdain and contempt, we must dread the diabolical practices of the enemy, who does not sleep. Above all, Madame, let there be the greatest possible secrecy, so that no one speak about it, for should the negociation come to be divulged through our fault, it would be one of the greatest injuries ever inflicted on the Emperor's reputation and Your own, after the trust and confidence, inclination, and good-will manifested by this king. That would be also a source of immense regret to me after the great trust and confidence which the King has placed in me. Meanwhile, the Emperor and Your Majesty (as his privy councillors tell me) could greatly gratify this king by a mere trifle, which consists in not addressing him in holograph letters, chiefly in those of

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Your Majesty, under the appellation of "bel oncle" (fair uncle), for, after all, it only serves to recall to memory and re-open old wounds; and that it is nowadays convenient, for the preservation of the closer friendship and alliance now being discussed, to do away with all scruples, great or small, and remove every occasion for them. For the same reason, I would suggest the omission of the title of "Princess of England," generally given in letters and despatches to this King or his ministers, since the King has now a son and heir, to whom that title belongs without controversy.*

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

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10 June. **10.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

L'Empereur et Roi, &c.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—Your letters of the 18th of April and 8th ult.† have come to hand. We are thankful to you for the news therein contained, but until We get your answer to Our last We do not think that there is occasion to say anything more, save to request you as earnestly as We can to keep Us well informed of the occurrences in that country as quickly and as often as you possibly can.

Respecting your letter to Mr. de Granvelle,‡ and the mention therein made of the French ambassador's man—who (you say) is about to return home with his chief, and promises, when back in France, to furnish Us with such information as he can procure there on political and other matters—you will tell him in Our name that We accept his offers at once, and request him to continue his good services. Should he, as he says, return to France, he will present himself to the sieur de Marvol,§ Our ambassador at the court of France, and communicate all authentic news he may have gathered from his friends and acquaintances in office, as he has done hitherto to you. We now write to Our ambassador there, acquainting him with the man's name,‖ and the nature of the confidences he has hitherto made, and promises to make in future, at the same time commanding him to keep the thing secret, as it ought to be. We write also to the dowager queen of Hungary, Our beloved sister, recommending her to attend to the man's wants, and likewise provide his mother with some sort of pension for her support. With regard to the prebends of the church of Arras, that are in the archbishop's gift, should one of them become vacant, We have no doubt that when the archbishop, who has already been written to, knows that it is for Our service, he will elect to it Charles, the man's brother.

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* This letter, which seems to be unfinished, has no date. On the dorse of it, in a hand of the 18th century, I read "29 June, 1529" (*sic*), but this is evidently a mistake of the clerk or whoever endorsed it. Easter Day in 1542 fell on the 28th of May; Chapuys himself alludes to a preceding letter of Easter Eve (27 May), and therefore this one must have been written early in June. As to the date of 1539, it is not easy to explain how it came to be the dorse of a document which belongs evidently to the year 1542.

† *See* No. 244 in Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 491–5, but the date is the 16th, not the 18th, of April.

‡ *See* above, No. 6, but the letter again is dated the 7th, not the 8th, of May.

§ That is Philippe, who seems to have replaced St. Vincent in the embassy. Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 119.

‖ Jean de Honz or Hons.

Our ambassador in France has lately sent Us word by one of his clerks that the admiral of France (Brion-Chabot) had lately, by king Francis' order, proposed to him new terms for a lasting peace, adding that there was no need now of the Pope or any other sovereign intervening, and that if king Francis appointed him, and We Ourselves named Our ambassador at the court of France, it would be quite enough, as between us two the affair might be adjusted in no time. Our answer to that overture has been that We are extremely glad to hear of the King's good disposition and will towards peace, and also of the Admiral's good wishes and kind offers, and that certainly We are as much inclined as ever towards peace, provided the Admiral himself declares beforehand what those new terms are which he proposes, and We find them reasonable. Should the Admiral do so, and his proposals be acceptable, We would at once send Our instructions to Mr. de Marvol, and the conferences might at once begin. We have considered it needful to enter into these particulars in order that, should the French hereafter try to make use in that court of England of the proposals they themselves have made, and represent Us as the originators of the whole thing, as they are in the habit of doing, you may be prepared to answer in accordance with the truth—that is, supposing that the king of England or his ministers speak to you about it, because if they do not, you had better take no notice at all, and keep the whole thing secret, as if the said overtures had not been made. You can, in like manner, vouchsafe and certify that the Pope's intervention in the affair has been entirely of his own doing; if not, as We apprehend, at the instigation of the French themselves, though they pretend, as We are told, that it is at Our own persuasion that His Holiness has taken cards in the affair.—Burgos,* the 10th of June 1542.

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

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* From the 26th of January till the 27th of May of this year the Emperor was at Valladolid, where the Cortes (States) of Castille were sitting. After voting him a grant of 1,200,000 ducats the meeting was dissolved, and on the 27th the Emperor himself went to Burgos, where he was hospitably entertained by the High Constable of Castille, Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, third duke of Frias, son and heir of Don Iñigo, the second duke, under whose custody the two sons of king Francis, *i.e.* the Dauphin (François) and the duke of Orleans (Henri), were temporarily placed as hostages when the king, their father, recovered his liberty after Pavia.

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28 June. **11.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

" Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—Waiting for news of what you may have already negotiated with the ministers of the king of England, We send you the enclosed packet of letters from the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), Our good brother, addressed to councillor de St. Moris,* together with credentials and instructions to the same, as you will see. As the said St. Moris, now employed on an important mission to the Emperor, is not likely to return soon from Spain, We have thought of sending you, as We actually do, the enclosed copy of his instructions, that you may exhibit them to that king, and at the same time excuse Mr. de St. Moris, if by illness, or some other accident you may think of, he has been detained on his road thither, and prevented from personally delivering his credentials. Mr. de St. Moris' mission had for its object to beg and entreat the king of England to give assistance against the Turk. It is for you to represent him in that court, and for a time regard his credentials and instructions as if they were your own, making use of such arguments and exhortations, as may seem to you most conducive towards the proposed aim, and the present state of affairs. The king of the Romans has already been informed by Us of this unavoidable substitution.

The king of France, We hear, is daily increasing his army on the Luxemburg frontier, not only in men, but likewise in ammunition and stores. The same is to be observed with regard to the infantry force (*pietons*) which his ministers have lately raised on the side of Clèves and Gueldres (Ghelders), and although We have remonstrated through the Emperor's ambassador at his court, and asked for an explanation of the daily concentration of troops on Our frontiers, if he at all intends to observe the truce of Nyce (Nizza). The king has returned no satisfactory answer save saying that the assembly of men on the frontier of Clèves, which his ministers have ordered, is not intended for the invasion of these Low Countries as long as We do not give him cause and occasion for it, but merely for the defence of his own territory, especially as he has received news from England that king Henry is about to make closer alliance with the Emperor, and that count de Rœulx is meditating an attack on some of the French towns bordering on his government. Whatever reply the Imperial ambassador made on the occasion, the King refused to give any further explanation of his armaments.

King Francis, moreover, has lately sent a gentleman to give Us notice that he intends sending his own officers to the country of St. Pol,† to administer justice there and collect the revenue. He has requested Us not to interfere, but to allow

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* Elsewhere *St. Maurice.*

† St. Pol, a town of France (dep. Nord).

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his officers to fulfil their duty, all of which in Our opinion is a formal demonstration that he intends declaring war and invading Our territory. That is why We have ordered the immediate levy of 25,000 foot, and 4,000 horse, with which force, added to that of the King's subjects in these parts, We hope not only to defend efficiently Our threatened frontiers, but likewise to keep the field everywhere against the enemy, who, according to their usual mode of warfare, are threatening to invade Us from every quarter, by land as well as by sea. In this emergency We have made such provision as to enable Us to defeat most of the enemy's plans. Already treacherous dealings of theirs have been discovered here and there to surprise and get hold of various towns and fortresses, and it is to be hoped that, seeing Us on the alert, they will desist from their intrigues.—Brussels, 28 June 1542.

Addressed: "To the Imperial ambassador in England."

Indorsed: "La Reine à l'ambassadeur en Angleterre, le xxviii^{e} jour de Juing 1542.

French. Original Draft. pp. 3.

29 June. **12.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 32–5.

"Madame,"—I have just received Your Majesty's letter of the 25th inst.* I am really sorry not to have been able to write sooner the account of what passed in the Privy Council the last time I went to Court; but I could not have done it however much I wished, for immediately after my return from Greenwich I was seized with a fit of gout in my right hand to that extent that I could not hold a pen until this morning, in addition to which *not one single step has been advanced one way or the other, the difficulty lying, as it appears, in the determination these privy councillors seem to have taken—nay, one on which they particularly insist—of having an additional clause appended to the treaty of Cambray relating to the intercourse of trade; by which clause, if I am not mistaken, their object is to render the said intercourse everlasting and not subject to change in future. The other difficulty is that in the article concerning the rebels, the privy councillors stoutly refuse to comprise the Emperor's subjects in those parts,† and will only admit those of Spain.* They insist, likewise, upon the defensive league, that is, the help or assistance to be bestowed on account of it, beginning precisely at the time when the offensive one commences, and on the obligatory engagements of the defensive not lasting more than four months in every year, consecutively or at intervals,

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* "Du xxv. de ce mois;" not in the Archives.

† Mais en larticle des rebelles ilz ny veuillent comprendre les subjects de sa ma^{te} en tiltre imperial."

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just as the necessities of the war may require.[*] And, moreover, that if at the end of that time any of the contracting princes should wish to employ the troops sent to his help, he may make use of them as long as he pleases, at his sole and exclusive expence, unless the other Prince wants them absolutely for his own defence. They also want to stipulate that the prince so helped may employ the said auxiliaries, not only for the protection of his own territory, but likewise for the pursuit of his enemy within his own kingdom, until it be proved that the said enemy, whoever he may be, has no longer the powers or the wish to return to the attack. They wish, likewise, that should any prince or power attempt to invade the dominions or territories of one of the contracting parties, the Emperor and this king are to hold him as their common enemy. This is, indeed, an article on which the privy councillors insist most particularly, alleging several reasons, the pith and tendency of which Your Majesty understands too well for me to have to explain. They have also insisted, most pertinaciously indeed, upon the time and period of the invasion of France being fixed beforehand, not later than the 1st of July of next year. With regard to the assistance against the dukes of Clèves and Dolst (de Holstein) respectively constituting one of the articles of the treaty, on which I myself have insisted more than once, the privy councillors refuse to give any sort of explanation, or negociate further about it, pretending that the article is quite sufficient for all purposes, since by both dukes being considered common enemies of the two contracting parties, it stands to reason that, should they attempt anything against His Imperial Majesty, this king is bound to help and assist you.

After long altercation and debate on these points; after the privy councillors had tried every means of persuasion to draw me on their side, occasionally making use of any piece of news likely to turn out to the Emperor's disadvantage, as if they wished to convince me that we are actually in need of their help and assistance; after their declaring with their usual bravadoes that they are in no want of our services, but on the point of rupture with France, without waiting for further news or answers on the part of His Imperial Majesty, it has been decided and agreed to between the English deputies and myself—though not without some mystery, which time will unravel—that the promise contained in Your Majesty's note (which I once showed to them) of keeping the matter secret, and not treating to each other's prejudice, should be prorogued till the month of October next, and that the King, on the assurance I should give him of Your Majesty's good intentions and affectionate sentiments towards him, would send to Spain the bishop of Westminster,* one of the deputies, to settle amicably those points on which we still differ. That in order to reconsider (*ruminer*) the matter before the Bishop's departure (for Flanders), and that the deputies themselves might see and peruse what I wrote to Your Majesty in favor and for the advancement of the affair in question, the King would request me—as he has actually done—not to leave him, but be near his person—which, by the way, I have always done since my return from Flanders—until a final settlement be arrived at, which I hope will be within the next 24 hours. The Bishop is to leave immediately for a sea port one hundred and fifty miles distant from this town; he will be accompanied by one of my own men, who will be the bearer of this my despatch, which I have hitherto been unable to send. Should, however, George, the Imperial messenger, arrive in the meantime—which would be a most fortunate coincidence—and should I find that his stay in this country is not to be a long one, then I will try all possible means of having the Bishop's departure delayed on some pretence or other, and let George himself be the bearer of this my despatch, so that Your Majesty may have time to have an answer prepared. Should I not succeed in delaying the Bishop's departure, I trust that the Admiral, to whom I also purpose writing, will help my man to get a passage in the same vessel, so that George may land at the same hour, and be the bearer of my despatch.

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[*] "Ilz veullent precisement que laide deffensive se doibge (doibve) bailler du temps de lexecution de la ligue offensive, et que lobligacion de la deffensive ne durera que quatre mois chasque annee, ou continuelz, ou comme la necessite le requerra."

I forgot to mention that on my return [to London] I was informed that the King had willingly enough granted that the defensive league should comprise the Emperor's Spanish subjects, as well as those of the Low Countries, in case of an invasion from the French or from Mr. Dallebrecht (Albret), though not from any other belligerents, and that the article should be drawn first in English and afterwards in Latin; but four or five days after the whole was changed, and there was no more talk of it.

Monsieur de Reuz (Rœulx), whom I met at St. Omer, related to me, by way of pastime, that with a few English soldiers, and such a force of infantry and cavalry as could hastily be collected in the Artois without giving umbrage, it would be an easy matter to fall suddenly on Monstreul and take it by surprise, and that there would be plenty of time to fortify it during the next winter, that being precisely the season during which the French could not attempt to besiege it. That after overrunning and wasting the

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* The copy before me reads *Vuesmaistre*, which, according to the spelling of the time, would be Westminster, not Winchester, which Chapuys generally writes *Vuinchestre*. There can be no doubt, however, that in the present case, as in the following letters, Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster from 1539 to 1550, is meant.

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neighbouring country, Hesdin, Therouenne, Ardres, and even Boulogne, would have to surrender for the reasons and considerations which he (Mr. de Rœux) then and there explained to me. Which plan, immediately after my return, I failed not to submit to the King, who listened attentively, and was marvellously pleased with it, asking me point-blank whether I had any mandate from Your Majesty about it, or whether I thought that Mr. de Rœux had any orders from the Emperor or from Your Majesty to that effect. Having answered him that I only knew of Mr. de Rœux' uncalled-for suggestion to me, he (the King) replied: "What do you think I had better do?" My answer was that the surest way of ascertaining the fact was to dispatch a messenger to the Emperor, and at the same time write to the captain of Guinez (Guisnes) to put himself into communication with Mr. de Rœux; that being done, the Emperor's opinion of the affair would be soon known. The King found my advice good.

The King is now actively arming a number of war ships, for he dislikes exceedingly, as he says, to be taken unawares and injured by his enemy, whoever he may be.

There is no other news from this country, except that the King has still by him count Desmont (the earl of Desmond), the chief lord of Hirland (Ireland), who has come to do him homage, a thing which many of his ancestors never consented to do.—London, 29 June 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 6.

30 June. **13.** The Same to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 121–44.

The bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner), having on these last days been obliged to quit his own house owing to the sudden illness of lord ————,[*] and to take another one near the place where I myself am lodging, I (Chapuys) have had every opportunity to be courteous and civil to him. No sooner was he installed in his new house, than he came one day to dine with me, when from the early morning to very late in the evening I had the opportunity of talking to him of public affairs in general, and particularly of Christendom and the Turk, of the strange, dangerous, and detestable practices of the French, and other political matters, in such a way and manner as to advance and promote the present negociation for closer friendship and intelligence between Your Imperial Majesty and this king, to which the Bishop himself seems very admirably well inclined.

The day after the Bishop was with me the Lord Privy Seal invited him to dinner, and on his return home he again came and spent a few hours in my company, as he also did

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[*] The name is omitted in the copy, which reads thus:—"Ayant ces jours levesque de Wyncester este constrainct pour craincte de la maladie du sieur de desemparer sa maison et soy retirer aupres de mon logis."

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on the two following days. Again was there much talk on the subject of closer friendship and alliance. The Bishop having previously communicated with the Lord Privy Seal—who, I must say, seems perfectly well disposed—and with secretary Vrisle (Wriothesley), a gentleman of no less credit and authority with this king than the two above-mentioned personages, and similarly well inclined, it was decided between the three that I should apply at once for an audience, and tell the King that I had reason to fear his deputies had misunderstood my words, or else had not reported exactly all I had said or offered in Your Imperial Majesty's name, inasmuch as since then they (the King's deputies) had sent me no message at all. For that reason, said they, I ought to go personally to the King, and repeat to him the very same arguments and persuasions of which I had made use in conversation with the Bishop, adding that my visit to the King for such a purpose would, at this present moment, admirably suit and serve to counteract French intrigues, and promote the closer friendship and alliance which we were negociating. The opportunity could not be fitter or more favorable (said the deputies), owing to their having lately rendered him the signal service of bringing forward and promoting in Parliament the national loan, by means of which an incalculable sum of money had already been paid into the Royal Treasury. On this account they (the deputies) would have greater chance and more freqaent opportunities of seeing the King and forwarding my views—which were also theirs—since the King could not but remember the service they had rendered him with such diligence and industry.

*In pursuance, therefore, of such advice and counsel, I (Chapuys) sent on the 16th inst. to apply for an audience, which was granted for the 18th. No sooner had my man returned from Greenwich, than the bishop of Winchester sent me Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 3rd inst., together with the powers therein mentioned, and other papers that Master Quenevet** *had forwarded from Orleans excusing himself for having been obliged to stop there on the ground of excessive fatigue from travelling, and a slight indisposition besides, but in reality to wait for the return of one of his secretaries, whom he had dispatched one month before in order to ascertain how his own affairs* (ses besongnes) *were going on in England, and whether there was danger for him to come.*

Shortly after the receipt of the packet in question, which came into my hands quite safely, not having been in the least tampered with, the Bishop [of Winchester] called on me as usual, manifesting great joy at my having received the powers from Your Majesty. We conversed together for a while on the best means of inducing and persuading the

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* Sir Henry Knivet, about whom *see* Vol. VI., Part II., p. 464.

King to contract closer friendship and alliance with Your Majesty. The Bishop approved almost entirely my ideas on the subject, now and then suggesting his own in confirmation. The only objection he made to my plan was that it seemed to him as if my argument—that the alliance was most necessary for the King, his master—ought to be abandoned at once, and not made use of in the Royal presence. It would be quite sufficient for me to say that Your Imperial Majesty supposed, nay believed, that what the king of England did, or was about to do, was entirely owing to his very virtuous and very laudable and magnanimous purpose of obviating and remedying the dangers, troubles, and ruin which threatened Christendom owing to the ambition, malignity, and diabolical perfidy of the French. It was for himself and other privy councillors, rather than for me (said the Bishop), to represent to the King as to the necessity of that alliance and confederation; the King himself acknowledged it, and yet would not like to hear the truth from my lips.

This piece of advice on the part of the Bishop seemed to me so acceptable, and at the same time so in accordance with my own views and the experience I have of this king's personal character, that, as may be seen by my preceding despatches on all past occasions, as well as in this present one, I have avoided as much as possible touching on the King's susceptibilities, without, however, omitting to make incidentally a few remarks, and show him how much it is to his interest to accomplish the said alliance and confederation.

On Ascension Day I went to the King's, who received me even a little more cordially than is his wont. He was then about to attend Mass, and began by thanking me for the affection I had shown and was showing in this matter of the closer friendship and alliance with Your Imperial Majesty, and the good and singular offices I was performing in that matter, as he (the King) had lately heard from his Lord Privy Seal (Fitz-William), as well as from the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner). He was, moreover, very glad to hear of the powers having reached me, and especially of the whole affair having to pass through my hands, as he could then speak more openly and confidentially and declare what he himself had in his breast. But it was necessary (continued the King) that I should promise in my own name, and in that of Your Imperial Majesty, to keep the greatest secrecy, and not reveal to any one whomsoever the base and substance of the treaty that we were about to make. Having solemnly promised to do so, the King went on to say that what had till then made him keep neutrality, and not decide for either of the two contending parties, was that he saw no appearance of communicating freely and*

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* "Et quil estoit fort joyeulx que le pouvoir fust arrive, et que les affaires se deussent traicter par mes mains, car plus confidantement declaireroit-il son intention et ouvriroit-il son estomach [á moi] que á nul autre."

confidentially either with Your Imperial Majesty or with the king of France, inasmuch as he suspected that there was between you two some secret agreement to reveal to each other whatever passed between one party or the other and himself (the king of England), that both of you might mutually derive advantage and profit by the revelation of your plans. My answer was that I was not aware of any such agreement between Your Imperial Majesty and the king of France; if there was, it must have been one depending entirely upon the truce of Nizza, which truce the French had violated many a time; and, therefore, he could very well imagine that after that Your Imperial Majesty would have plenty of just motives not only to mistrust the French, but likewise to form leagues and confederacies to compel them by force of arms to let Christendom, and especially their neighbours, be at peace. That at all times, and under very different circumstances, Your Majesty's most ardent desire had always been the preservation and increase of the old alliances and confederacies with England. He (the King) might be sure that had Your Imperial Majesty known one-tenth part of what you now know of the deceit, malice, and perfidy of the French, he (the King) would not have had occasion to complain, as he had done, of the answer which the French pretend Your Imperial Majesty had made when called upon after Francis' capture at Pavia to prosecute the war "à outrance"*—according to the letter of the treaties. And that it seemed to me that with God's help there would be soon a good, and perhaps a better, opportunity than that of Pavia, to bring king Francis to reason.**

This speech of mine the King seemed to take in good part, though, as it was already the hour of Mass, he answered nothing at the time, save saying that he was then going to chapel, but would after dinner reply to me fully.

The dinner over, the King sent me word by his Lord Privy Seal (Fitz-William) that I should not take in bad part his not giving me audience as quickly as he himself might have wished; he had been engaged in reading letters that had that very moment come from France, and he had been examining them carefully in order to acquaint me with their contents. To do that more privately and confidentially, and in order to talk to me alone without the intervention or assistance of any of his privy councillors, the King proposed that I should go to his private chamber, where he said I would find him "à la domesticque, en robe de nuyt." *Upon which the Admiral (Russel) conducted me to the King's presence, who, having repeated the substance of the message brought to me by*

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* "Il nauroit eu occasion de se douloir de la response quilz disent que vre ma^{te} luy avoit faict faire quant apres la prinse du dit roy de France il requeroit, en vertue des traictez, que vre. ma^{te} continuat la guerre, et quil me sembloit quavec laide de Dieu il y auroit avant long temps aussi bonne ou meilleure commodite de renger (ranger) á raison et debvoir le dit roy."

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the Lord Privy Seal, began his sermon by saying in Latin, "Judas non dormit," *after which he continued: "the French are not asleep; they still go on with their bad practices; they are now expecting count Guillaume de Furstenberg with* 8,000 *lanskennets. I have no doubt that having, as they do have, good intelligences in Germany, they will be able to raise there as many men as they choose. On the other hand Mr. de Longheval,* who will be in time Grand Master of France, has started for Clèves, not only to excuse king Francis with the duke Guillaume for not having been able to send him his promised wife,† but to induce him to send troops to Ghelders, and make some hostile movement in that quarter, whilst the duke of Holstein on his side will attack the Dutch by sea. The letters further say that it is very important for Flanders and for the Low Countries to be on their guard, and keep a vigilant eye on the castle of La Moutière, which the French think of taking by surprise any day. The latter do not in the meantime discontinue their practices in Italy, particularly with the Venetians, whom they are helping and assisting by means of their influence over the Turk. So that (continued the King) there is every appearance of His Imperial Majesty being molested on many sides."*

I failed not, when I heard the King draw such a dismal picture of Your Imperial Majesty's present situation, to remonstrate and say that your affairs were far from being in the plight your enemies represented them to be; even in the event of the proposed alliance not taking place, there was no cause for despair. There was no occasion, as he seemed to think, for his fears; all the time that Your Imperial Majesty had been soliciting his (the King's) alliance and confederacy, you had taken care to preserve the affection of your old friends and make fresh ones, who, thank God, having experienced the incredible and incomparable good faith, virtue, and goodness of Your Imperial Majesty, were now more numerous than ever, and would go on materially increasing in number through the closer friendship and alliance with England. I thought, in fact, that the French were completely mistaken, and that in acting as they are doing they would be brought unwillingly to a sense of their duty and compelled to leave their neighbours at peace. " So much so (said I) that I imagine it will not cost a farthing for you two to defend yourselves mutually, that being the reason why I do not hesitate to say that both of you may be as liberal as you like in your mutual promises, since once allied and confederated, the French will take good care not to attack one of you."

Upon which the King replied that in order to examine the affair of the proposed alliance more closely, and take a final

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* Nicolas de Bossut, sieur de Longueval, of king Francis' chamber.

† Jeanne d'Albret, Francis' niece, daughter of Henri II. d'Albret, titular king of Navarre, and Margaret of Valois. *See* Vol. V., Part II., pp. 412, 414.

resolution thereon, it was necessary that he himself should be informed beforehand as to what Your Imperial Majesty intended doing respecting the duchies of Milan and Ghelders. My answer was that with regard to Milan I had no idea what your intentions were; as to Ghelders, Your Majesty could not possibly act otherwise than you had done hitherto or abandon the pursuit altogether, that being a matter which touched very nearly on the honor and authority of your Imperial title, as well as on your own right—which was evident, notorious, and patent—besides the discontent felt by the inhabitants of the Low Countries, your subjects, if the damages and losses they have had to sustain from Ghelders were not repaired in some manner.

As to the first point, that of Milan, the King observed that considering the difficulty Your Imperial Majesty would have to defend countries so far apart from each other, and that the cost of defending some of them, like Milan, would be far greater than the Duchy was worth, it seemed to him as if it were better and more convenient for Your Majesty to keep it during your life, and treat with the States of the Empire that it should be incorporated after your death with the Empire, provided those States should now engage to defend it against all enemies. With regard to Ghelders (said the King), it must be borne in mind that it is strong and its conquest difficult, were it for no other thing than the hatred the people of that duchy bear to the inhabitants of Brabant and other provinces of the Low Countries; and that considering the personal and political relations of the duke of Clèves with Germany, and especially with France, should the marriage so much talked of take place he (the Duke) might prove to be a dangerous enemy; and that should Your Imperial Majesty employ your forces against Ghelders, that might prevent you from attending to other more important undertakings, such as driving away the French from Piedmont. "In my opinion (continued the King) it would be wiser to try and gain over that duke, and bring him to the Emperor's devotion, now that he must be discontented with the French, owing to their not having given him a wife. Were I called upon to settle that matter, I should have no difficulty in giving one of my own daughters in marriage to the Duke; in that way the Emperor's honor would be safe-guarded—he might grant the duchy of Ghelders to the Duke on such conditions as he and the queen of Hungary, regent in Flanders, might stipulate. In this manner the Emperor and other princes, as the Duke's deputies, might not only utilize the forces of Ghelders, but likewise those of Clèves and other patrimonial estates of the Duke; that would be the cause of cutting short, for this year at least, all Francis' projected designs, besides which the Turk, perceiving that the King cannot stir and suit his views against Christendom, might quarrel with him; for having, as they say,

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made such promises to him, and not fulfilling, one of them, the Infidel will naturally become angry at his ally's irresolution, and the Infidel's indignation be increased by opportune warnings, which might be secretly conveyed to him."

To this long piece of political advice from the King's mouth, I (Chapuys) replied as follows: I told him that there was no need incorporating the duchy of Milan with the Empire, for, in my opinion, there were plenty of other efficient means for setting the German States against France, without counting in their number that of a good victory over the Turk, or of his being repulsed and driven out of Hungary; for the Germans, being perfectly aware, as he himself had owned and confessed to me, that king Francis was the sole cause of the Turk's descent on Christendom, and consequently of the cost and expense to which the whole of Germany had already been put, as well as of the immense sacrifices the people were actually making, would no doubt unite together and eventually form a league with Your Imperial Majesty and him (the king of England) for a double purpose: firstly, to be indemnified and reimbursed of the expenses they had incurred; and, secondly, to weaken king Francis, and so clip his wings that he should not be able to fly so far off in future, but have to mind his own affairs, and not interfere with those of other people. I maintained that by such means as those above pointed out, it would be extremely easy to bring into the league and confederacy the rest of the Christian powers, and then revenge the injuries, damages, and spoliations which king Francis is attempting to inflict both upon Your Imperial Majesty and upon him (the king of England); for it was evident that should you again take up arms against France, the war this time will be fiercer and more desperate than ever it was, inasmuch as the Spanish deputies at the Cortes [of Monzon] had lately, as I was given to understand, voted a marvellous grant of money, on condition of Your Imperial Majesty remaining in Spain, and promising not to make peace with France until the King of that country had been reduced to a state of impotence and deprived of the means of troubling Christendom. That as to disposing of the duchy of Milan, I felt sure that the closer friendship and alliance once made, Your Imperial Majesty will be better disposed to follow his advice in that and in other matters than the counsels of any other living creature, not only because you considered the advice excellent, coming, as it did, from so wise and experienced a prince, as he was, but because Your Imperial Majesty held him in the light of a second father. He was not to fear for a moment (said I) that in the event of king Francis waiving his pretensions on Milan Your Imperial Majesty would again become his friend: that will never be, for many a time has he feigned to do so, and promised to renounce his pretended rights to that duchy, but as he never keeps faith and

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acknowledges no law (ny foy ny loy) *and cannot be relied upon, he has never been trusted in such matters.*

As to Ghelders (I said), the thing was not so impossible as he believed it to be. Should matters come to extremities, it was not quite clear to me that the duke of Clèves could find any favor and help in Germany, considering Your Imperial Majesty's notorious rights to that duchy, among which one was that all the paternal, as well as maternal, ancestors of the present duke of Clèves have not only ceded and relinquished all the rights they might have to the succession of Gheldres, but have also promised help and assistance to the house of Burgundy for the conquest and defence of Ghelders in case of need, and, therefore, that its present duke would be ill-advised if, disregarding the conditions and stipulations subscribed to by his ancestors, he should lay claim to Ghelders, and risk his own patrimonial estate for the sake of one to the succession of which he has no right whatsoever. I further said that Your Imperial Majesty counted upon him (the king of England) to help him in the conquest of Ghelders, just as his father (Henry VII.) had done when he assisted and helped king Philip, which conquest (I said) will be easier now than it was then, inasmuch as Your Imperial Majesty had since acquired Gruningen (Groningen) and its adjacent territory, which the last duke of Ghelders held in Frisland, besides other towns and villages in Utrecht and Overviesel which Your Imperial Majesty had since acquired. That for many reasons he (the King) ought to wish that the duchy of Ghelders should remain in Your Majesty's hands, especially if the treaty of closer alliance was concluded; for that treaty once ratified, he (the King) might be sure that king Francis could not undertake anything against the Low Countries, and consequently would be exempted from paying his part of the expenses incurred in the defence of the country invaded; besides which, should the league be an offensive one, and should he want to make levies of men on that side of the Channel, he could raise as many as he chose in Ghelders. Your Imperial Majesty was neither so sudden nor so stubborn in your determinations in what concerns you personally as to allow public affairs to be disturbed, or postpone them to your own private ones, and that the treaty of closer friendship and alliance once made Your Imperial Majesty might perhaps share his opinion, and follow his advice respecting the time and season of the undertaking [against France]. I really believed (said I) that means might be found to alienate the duke of Clèves from the friendship of France. On the other hand I could hardly fancy that king Francis should esteem his own daughters so low as to give the*

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* The original, or at least the copy from Vienna, has "car depuys vre. m^{te} avoit gaigne le pays de Gruninguen et la reste que tenoit le feu duc de Gheldres *en fisc;*" but these two words must be an error for *en Frise*, or perhaps for *en fief.*

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hand of one of them to the Duke, who, no doubt, would have children, though at present being, as it were, under the guardianship [of king Francis], he might not declare himself as soon as was desired. Whatever friends the Duke may have in Germany, there never was a prince or minister in that country who dared advise Your Imperial Majesty to cede your rights on Gheldres, or otherwise grant the investiture of Clèves and Juliers; on the contrary, after the princes who interceded for the Duke had carefully examined the titles and reasons which Your Imperial Majesty had for claiming Ghelders as your own, and seen the injury and damage which the present duke of Clèves has caused to Your Majesty, all protested and declared they would not stir in his favor, and have strongly advised him to obey the Imperial mandate.*

After this the King began to treat of his French pensions, saying that should a special offensive league be made against his neighbours across the Channel who refused to pay, it was just and reasonable to establish and settle beforehand the rules and the amount of the indemnity to be received by him as reason and honesty prescribed. I answered him as graciously as I could, adding various remonstrances to those I had addressed to his deputies; and I must own that the King took the whole so well that he immediately changed the subject, and said no more about the indemnity, nor have his deputies further alluded to it since.

The King, however, complained to me of the negociation not having been kept secret, since (said he) the French have already alluded to it. I told him that most certainly, if the French had heard of it, the information had not come from our side; that Your Imperial Majesty was exceedingly sorry for it, inasmuch as they had tried to profit by the information they had received, and were trying to arouse the Pope's indignation against You. After flatly denying that the intelligence had come from him or his ministers, the King very affectionately, and in more courteous language than he would have used years ago, again recommended the greatest secrecy in the matter, which recommendation brought to my memory the story of the Florentine, who caused a sermon to be preached against usury, in order that bankers might abstain therefrom, and himself gain more money through it.

He ended by telling me that he would promptly have powers made out for the bishops of Durham (Tunstall), Winchester (Gardiner), and Westminster (Thirlby) to treat with me, and that it would not be his fault if the affair was not speedily settled. I must say that this time, at least, the King seemed to be quite in earnest. One of the reasons, which make me believe so, though a slight one, is the affectionate and valuable admonition which he offered then and there

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* "Le quel ne fauldra à patrizer ores que à ceste heure pour estre comme en tutelle il ne se declareroit encires du tout."

respecting Your Imperial Majesty's government in the Low Countries, and other political matters he touched upon, as if the treaty of closer alliance had already been concluded and signed, and he himself was much interested in Your Majesty's success. True it is that I myself had prepared the ground for that by praising, as usual, his wisdom and experience of affairs, telling him that should the treaty be made and signed, as I had no doubt it would be soon, it was incumbent upon him to look at Your Majesty's affairs with the eyes of a father, and that you on your side would correspond, so that all the honor, or at least the greater part of the profit, would fall to his lot. These flatteries of mine pleased him immensely; nor was he less pleased when upon his telling me that the French were continually presenting him ladies to marry, I answered that no doubt they would do as they had done when he himself pursued the princess, who is now queen of Scotland,[*] *and that in point of marriage the French had always employed their usual tactics, and gone against the treaties between England and France; for king Francis had given his daughter in marriage to the king of Scotland* [*James*]*, and so shamefully and miserably married his own son, the Dauphin* [*Henri*]*, with the niece of the Pope* [*Clement VII.*]*, at that time his persecutor and the greatest enemy he ever had. I also told him that since the French had not been ashamed to do such things openly and to his very face* (à sa barbe), *they must all the time have played him in secret more devilish tricks still; adding, the more to darken the picture, many anecdotes I knew of king Francis and his ministers. "As to the French offering you a wife (said I to the King), I hold it as certain and maintain that had it been in the Emperor's hands to gratify you, not only in that but in any other way, he would certainly have done it to your heart's content, without blasoning the arms of France.*[†] *I could not deny that king Francis and his son, the Dauphin, have at all times shown great affection, not so much towards you, as towards your kingdom and throne, of whose conquest the Dauphin has often talked as if he were destined to achieve it."*

As to the King's assertion that the French had frequently owned their debt to him, and were ready to pay him by instalments, I answered, "for a much smaller sum than the one the French owe you, they would not hesitate to take a thousand oaths notwithstanding that they never intend pay-

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[*] Marie de Guise, daughter of the duke Claude de Lorraine.

[†] "Luy disant sur ce diverses choses, et que quant à luy offrir femme je tenoye pour certain que sil estoit en vre. ma^{te} luy povoir gratiffier ne en ce, ne en autre chose quelconque, que icelle [m^{te}] le feroit de tres bien (bon ?) cueur, et quoique eusse [á] blasonner les armes des dits françois, si ne vouloye-je nyer que le roy de France et le Daulphin ne soient bien affectionnez, je ne disois pas envers luy mais envers son pays."

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ing their debt to England." To which remark of mine the King replied that though the French wished to pay, they had not yet had the means of doing so; as a proof of that, very lately they had proposed to pay him out of the first towns and castles taken in a joint war against Your Imperial Majesty. Thus much did the King say to me, on purpose, if I am not mistaken, to induce me to make him a similar overture and offer; I told him that he would find in the end how little inclined the French were to pay their debt to England, and that they were only looking out for means and ways of deceiving him, gaining time, and lulling him asleep, by proposing such an unjust and iniquitous mode of payment as robbing a neighbour, with whom there was no standing feud or quarrel, of his own property—a mode of payment (said I) which, after all, was not only difficult but uncertain—whereas he (the King) might easily recover his money effectively by uniting himself to Your Imperial Majesty, as he himself had once owned to me.

After these words of mine I took leave of the King and went back [to London], where, lest the negociation, which had had so good a beginning, should not turn out so well as I then thought, I immediately sat down to write every word of my conversation with the King respecting the treaty of closer friendship and alliance, in order that Your Imperial Majesty may judge of this King's intentions and wishes, and likewise of the answer made to his overtures, without, however, taking any formal engagement in Your Majesty's name, as I have been instructed to do.

After this, from the Saturday immediately following Ascension and Easter Eve, the King's deputies and myself had several conferences, and on the last named day the King, in order to get on more quickly with the affair, summoned all of us to Hampton Court, where, out of respect and consideration for Your Imperial Majesty, I (Chapuys) have been received and treated in a manner that baffles all description. After resuming the conferences where we had left them, and debating during four consecutive days the points in question, the earl of Southampton, Lord Privy Seal, and Master Wrisley (Wriothesley), first secretary of the King's Privy Council, who by special order had been present at the discussion, proposed that a rough draft or summary of the articles already discussed should be drawn out for the King's inspection. As, however, there were two among them which I had refused to pass, namely, that of the defensive alliance not comprising Spain, and that of the aid demanded by this king in case of an offensive one, and the consequent invasion of France by Your Imperial Majesty's and this king's arms, or else an equivalent in money for the promise once made to the latter as indemnity for the loss of the French pension, it was agreed that I should write to the queen of Hungary in Flanders consulting her on the subject, and that for fear of

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equivocation or mistake I myself should put down in writing the two aforesaid articles, and show them to the deputies, together with my own letter to the queen Regent.

This I granted at once, and, as quickly as I could, wrote down the articles and the letter, of which I have no doubt that a copy is already in Your Imperial Majesty's hands. The King's deputies were extremely delighted at this, and still more at the offer, which I then made, of crossing over to Flanders for the quicker termination of the business, should the King deem my presence there necessary for the prompt resolution of the affair. And not only did the King take that offer of mine in good part, but he immediately ordered his own sedan chair to be prepared, as well as a vessel for my passage to Calais, which voyage I accomplished in a very short time, achieving in a few days that which Your Imperial Majesty must already have learnt through the Queen's letters.

On my return here I was again equally well received by the King, though I must say that at first he showed some discontent at the news he said he had received in the meantime, not only of Your Imperial Majesty's ambassador at the court of France being still there, but of his having lately made certain overtures and even offers of peace; yet, as the benevolent and wise prince that he is, after hearing my excuses on that score, and treating me in his usual kind manner, the King no longer persisted in his complaint, but said that as I must be tired with my journey he would then trouble me no further with such like scruples, and that I might retire and take rest, which I did.

Since then the deputies and myself have for eight or ten days consecutively worked at the specification of certain particulars, which, as I thought, had already been settled in a previous conference: particulars, I mean, depending upon, or closely connected with, the two above-mentioned articles—of the non-inclusion of Spain in the defensive alliance, and the help to be furnished to this king in case of an invasion of France. Whether it be that the deputies' imperfect knowledge of the French language has been the cause of their misunderstanding the purport of our words, or else that during the debate they had frequent opportunities of consulting the King or their own colleagues in the Privy Council about them, certain it is that objections have been raised on certain points, and that the deputies have declined to agree on others already discussed and passed. So, for instance, in the article relating to the extradition of rebels, they (the deputies) will not admit that those who may happen to rise against the Empire must be held and considered as Your Imperial Majesty's subjects; whilst in that relating to the treaty of Cambray, in which the intercourse of trade is mentioned, they wish to introduce a clause—which I have refused to pass—inasmuch as, in my opinion, it tends to perpetuate the present commer-

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cial treaties between the Low Countries and England.* My greatest objection, however, is a clause added to the 6th article, the deputies pretending by way of argument that a true, sincere, perfect, and inviolable friendship cannot be ensured without the acceptation and observance of the said article in full, and that it would be an unprecedented and highly ridiculous obligation to contract that two parties united for the mutual defence of their respective dominions, at great cost and labor, should allow those very enemies against whom the prohibitive measures have been dictated to buy, barter, and trade freely wherever they please, and especially in the dominions of each other. That the authoritative defence in one of the allies holding as enemies those of his friend and ally, besides indicating a firmer and more real (*intrinsique*) and indissoluble union, will be that which will prevent the enemies of one party from undertaking anything against the other.† This sort of defensive alliance (added the deputies) being easier, less expensive and costly than the other, the enemies will not think of offending; they will consider themselves happy and safe as long as they themselves are not attacked, whereas the offensive alliance could by no means be so effective and advantageous for the purpose, as it could not be so rapid and efficient as the defensive one, owing to several reasons and arguments, which the King's deputies then and there explained. Your Imperial Majesty (the deputies alleged) would be greatly benefitted by the latter, for the King, their master, having beforehand strengthened all his ports, harbours, and bays, where the ships of the enemy might possibly anchor, no war-vessel of Denmark or of the Easterlings, nor of any other maritime power whatsoever, would dare attack Your Imperial Majesty's dominions in the Low Countries or elsewhere; if they did, they would soon find out that this King considered them as his enemies and would come down upon them.

Having told the deputies that in order to treat of that matter, it was necessary to resort to the article XXIV. of the treaty of Windsor, they replied that the article in question

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* "Et soit que par deffaulte de bien entendre le langaige françois ou pour courir trop plus seurement advise sur icelles avec le dit s^{r} roy et les autres du Conseil, ilz ont mis certains pointz en avant et reboutte quelques ungs des aultres passez, á sçavoir en larticle concernant la restitution dez rebelles, ne veuillant admettre que les subjectz de vre. ma^{te} en tiltre d'empire y soient comprintz, et en larticle du traicte de Cambray parlant de lentrecours, veuillant estre adjouste une clausule que nay voulu admettre pour aultant quil semble quelle tend aulcunement à la perpetuation des traictez du dit entrecours."

† "Et quil semble une chose bien estrange et comme ridicule que voz ma^{tes} soient obligees lune á laultre pour la deffension avec grands fraiz et coustange et que dailleurs permectent en leurs pays commercer et contracter aux enemys contre les quelz fault donner defense, et que la deffense auctoritative quest de tenir pour enemy les enemyz de lamy oultre quelle dennotte plus intrinsique et ferme voulente et union indissoluble aussy vraiysemblablement y sera icelle que plustot gardera les enemys de oser entreprendre contre lung ou laultre des alliés."

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was conceived in too general terms, and by no means reciprocal; that it had then been introduced purposely on account of the marriage mentioned in the treaty, and in consideration for the promise of indemnity made at the time. Besides again quoting the articles of that treaty, I made use of another stronger argument in favor of my proposition—which the deputies had not taken into account, though the King himself had before my departure for Flanders slightly mentioned it—namely, that he (the King) had intentionally enough consented to the said article, owing to Your Imperial Majesty having promised him never to treat of peace with France until he himself had been crowned king of that country, in which case his defensive obligation would have been almost reduced to nothing, as there was no fear of Your Imperial Majesty being at the time attacked or molested from any other quarter but that of France.

In the same manner, whilst debating the article of the defensive alliance, I have forborne to stipulate that the obligation of the defence shall last as long as the offensive alliance, considering that condition to be an almost unbearable charge for Your Imperial Majesty; for not being able to supply it as quickly and as often as this king might ask, it might afford cause for resentment and consequent rupture of the treaty. With regard to the duration of the defensive league, this king has been of opinion that it ought to last four months; I myself have in vain stipulated for five, and yet as the obligation of the charge and discharge is reciprocal, there ought to be no great objection on our part. The same cannot be said with regard to another demand made by the deputies, namely, that each of the parties may retain in his service the men furnished by the other in virtue of the defensive alliance, and employ them to pursue the enemy into his own territory, or retreat therefrom as the exigencies of the case may require. This seems to me a rather contradictory conclusion, and yet there is some shade of truth in it, as Your Imperial Majesty will acknowledge, especially since the obligation is evidently reciprocal. The deputies would also wish that it should be stipulated that after the lapse of the four months, which is to be the duration of the defensive league, each of the allies may retain in his service, at his cost and expense, as long as he may want them, the number of men allotted to him for the defence of his territory, if invaded. In this, however, I (Chapuys) see no reciprocity at all; for supposing Your Imperial Majesty did ask for such assistance from this king—which assistance, as I take it, would rather consist in money than in men—matters will come to this, that at the expiration of the four months, or when the enemy has retreated into his own country, the help in men or money is to cease, and, therefore, there will be no similarity between the two cases. True is it that I think these English will consider that if they do furnish men, and have to pay them

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as long as they are retained in your service, there will be no equality. On the other hand, they would wish that the help by sea was precise and not commutable into money, or that if the service to be performed requires money for a maritime force, it should involve its being employed on maritime armaments. This I have not dared to grant * for the reasons which I have explained to the Queen and to her privy councillors, because in the event of Your Imperial Majesty's dominions in Flanders being invaded on the side of Gheldres or of Frizelant (Friesland), neither Your Imperial Majesty nor the dowager Queen [of Hungary] would need this King's assistance by sea.

There was one fact in particular, which attracted more than any other this king's attention and that of his deputies, and at which they seemed astonished and almost scandalized, namely, that whilst we were soliciting them to make an offensive league with us and to invade France, we should not stipulate that the invasion was to take place within a year's time, they themselves alleging many potent reasons as to the expediency of fixing a time for it; but the truth is that the matter being so important I dared not take a determination without first consulting Your Imperial Majesty thereupon, as well as on the terms and wording of the challenge and declaration of war to be addressed to the king of France.

Respecting the two dukes of Clèves and Holstein, it has been altogether impossible for me to induce these people to promise help and aid against them, much less to make the deputies agree to a specific clause in the treaty stipulating that they are not to be favored by either of the parties, bringing forward for that purpose, among others, the following argument :—I told the deputies that I should be satisfied with the two dukes being considered as common enemies in case of their invading any part of Your Imperial dominions mentioned in the treaty of defensive league.

On the preceding articles and others the deputies have likewise raised certain objections more or less important, the details of which I omit for brevity's sake, and because I have no doubt that the bishop of Winchester will not fail to bring them forward separately or all together. I shall likewise, to avoid prolixity, abstain from reproducing in this despatch all the remonstrative arguments I made use of in the course of the discussion, for Monseigneur de Granvelle being there—at Court—any attempt of that sort on my part would be as foolish and unprofitable as to pretend to add light to the rays of the sun with one single candle (que de vouloir augmenter avec une chandeyle la lumiere du soleil).

Though the King at first was not for sending to Your Imperial Majesty an ambassador extraordinary, he now trusts so much on the professions of friendship, affection, and good-will made by me to him and to his ministers in Your Majesty's name, that he has now decided to make the experiment, and has appointed the above-named bishop [of Westminster], a worthy ecclesiastic, and most agreeable to the King, who, besides his honesty and good qualities, has the reputation of being much in favor of the closer alliance and confederacy; of which alliance it seems to me as if this was the fit time to treat in earnest for the above considerations and reasons, which I humbly submit to Your Imperial Majesty's superior judgment and political wisdom. Indeed, I venture to say that most of the objections raised by this King's deputies during the discussion of the articles are trifling, and that Your Majesty ought not to be over scrupulous with regard to them, nor look too closely at those points on which there has been no conformity. For if this king's nature and inclination be taken into account; if we consider that whenever he takes a fancy to a person, or decides for an undertaking, he goes the whole length (*mets le tout pour le tout*), there being no limit or restriction whatever to his wishes; if we calculate that he has every opportunity of living at peace with all his neighbours and profiting by their dissensions; that instead of that he is ready to throw himself into a maze of difficulties, as he well knows, and that he does not scruple to enter into it for the service of God, the welfare of Christendom, as well as the singular and paternal affection he bears Your Imperial Majesty, it will be found that it is prudent and wise to accept the King's terms with some slight modifications. Besides which, it may be borne in mind that before the offensive league is made and established, many occasions are likely to arise by means of which the said articles may be advantageously modified or reformed in our favor. For Your Imperial Majesty may be persuaded that the English are now more desirous than ever they were of going to war with the French, owing chiefly to their intelligences with the Turk, besides the old hatred and enmity existing between the two nations, so that all will rush upon France as if they went to extinguish a fire,* and that they will attack the enemy willingly and heartily, which is the right mode of going to work in such matters.

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* "Bien crois-je quils auront quelque respect de considerer que sils avoient baille gens, il leur fauldroit payer leur souldee (*sic*) jusquez quilz vouldroient ; que le secours de mer fut precis et non commutable en argent, ou du moins que le service requerant argent pour la dite ayde maritime promist lemployer en armee de mer, ce que ne leur ay ose accorder, &c."

It has, moreover, been settled and concluded between the deputies and myself that the clause forbidding one of the two parties to treat with the enemy without the knowledge and consent of the other is to be made still clearer and more binding than it is at present, and that the time of the obligation is to be extended; profound secrecy to be kept on the whole; and, lastly, that a deed be drawn up concerning the

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* "Outre lancienne inimitie et hayne quilz leur portent de sorte quilz y courront tres tous comme au feu, et de tres bon coeur, quest le principal pour bien exploicter."

Navigation and its revokation edict, as Your Imperial Majesty will see in the enclosed documents.*

I have purposely left for the end of this my despatch, and I should perhaps say for the *bonne bouche* of the people of the Low Countries, that on my return from Flanders I met at St. Omer Monsieur du Ruz (Rœulx), who, merely for the sake of pastime and without any plausible reason or foundation, told me among other things that if he had only 4,000 Englishmen, besides the infantry and cavalry which he himself could suddenly raise in the Artois, he could easily surprise Montreuil, and overrun the neighbouring country, provided the undertaking should take place within the next three months, and that the place once taken it would be very easy to keep it, as during the winter months it might be strengthened and fortified. The enemy, in the meantime, could not be so foolish as to lay seige to it, and Montreuil once taken and its surrounding territory overrun, Hesdin, Thervuenne, Ardres, and Boulogne would soon fall for want of provisions, for the latter harbour being bad and so exposed to the winds, and so unsafe during the winter months, the country round it could not be well supplied; Boulogne itself, if besieged, would have to surrender for want of provisions and ammunition. I have considered it my duty to inform the King of all these particulars, and repeat to him the substance of my conversation with Mr. de Ruz (Rœulx). He listened to me with great attention, and, as a prudent and wise prince well versed in such matters, began at once to go thoroughly into it, and inquired whether I had any powers from Your Imperial Majesty to propose anything of the sort, or whether the Queen herself or Mr. de Ruz had received any orders. I answered that I myself had none, neither was I aware of Your Imperial Majesty having any knowledge of it. He then asked me what I thought he had better do. I advised him to send a message to the queen of Hungary, and that meanwhile the governor of Guisnes might communicate on the subject with Mr. de Ruz, and this latter with the Queen. He approved of the plan and promised to do this.

No better bait could have been thrown, in my opinion, to attract this king and draw him promptly and efficiently into a war with France than a plan of this sort, which, besides affording him the means of extending his own frontiers, will bind him more closely to the defence and protection of your own in the Low Countries. That is why I should advise, under correction of course, that a matter so important should be discussed in preference to any other, and that Your Imperial Majesty should gratify and please this king as much as possible in it. I therefore humbly beseech and entreat Your Imperial Majesty to listen to advice which

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* "Comme vre. ma^{te} verra par les pieces cy-joinctes." None, however, of the documents alluded to are in the packet.

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zeal for your service prompts me to tender. Besides the benefit that may result therefrom, I am in hopes that this King's help and assistance against the Turk, should the present treaty be concluded, will be obtained through it. Indeed, not many days ago, the King was, as his Lord Privy Seal (Fitz William) informs me, on the point of remitting to the king of the Romans a sum of 50,000 crs.

Considering that in future the roads through France will be closed for English as well as for Imperial couriers, and that should the present negociations for defensive and offensive alliance end, as he hopes, well, this King says it is important and necessary that Your Imperial Majesty and he be in constant and almost daily communication. To that end he is now sending to Your Majesty, along with the bishop of Westminster, a sea-captain (*marinier*) to purchase in Spain two "*zabras*," not doubting that Your Imperial Majesty will fit out two others to be always ready in port to bring or convey any message of importance. The queen Regent herself recommends this measure, as she writes to me, and the King, as I say, is quite prepared to do whatever is needful in the affair. Indeed, I do not hesitate to say that I see him determined and ready for any good enterprize against France, that being the reason why I again beg Your Majesty to consider that this is the proper time and season to gain him completely to our side and get help from him.

Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 5th inst. has come to hand. I will obey orders, and conform entirely with the instructions therein contained.

The French ambassador (Marillac) has not visited Hampton-Court since the Holy Week. The receptor of Neuf-Chastel,* gentleman in waiting to the Admiral of France, went away from hence *brusquement depesche*, and without seeing the King. There is no longer any question of the practices that brought him over to this country—touching the Orleans marriage. True it is that these people, thinking they might gain something by communicating the news, have given me to understand that their ambassador in France (Paget) had written to say that, according to the Admiral's report, if the negociations for the Orleans marriage had not succeeded, other offers would be made—perhaps more agreeable and acceptable—to ensure, if possible, this King's friendship or neutrality at least.—Dampton-Court,† the last day of June 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 12.

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* "Le receveur de Neuf-Chastel," Guillaume Gellimard, sieur de Chasteauneuf, the Admiral's secretary. *See* above, pp. 9 and 10

† That is d'Hampton Court, which Spaniards of that day used to call Anthon and Anthona.

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30 June. **14.** The SAME to MGR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 7–15.

"Monseigneur,"—I could never, if I tried, sufficiently thank Your Lordship for the care you take of my particular and private affairs, as appears from the letters of the 3rd of May just received. Yet I am exceedingly vexed to hear of the bishop of London's (Edmund Bonner) importunities, not only on account of the annoyance (*fascherie*) he must have caused His Imperial Majesty and Your Lordship, but because he has not given you time to attend to my own private affairs, without the speedy settlement of which, I can assure Your Lordship, I shall still remain in a state of shameful misery and perplexity. I have no doubt, however, that if His Majesty, the Emperor, as Your Lordship kindly assures me, has uttered the very flattering words contained in your letter, I shall soon get out of the difficult position in which I am. That is why I again beg and entreat Your Lordship not to forget me, and I shall always afterwards remain your most obliged servant and humble slave. As to the Bishop in question, if I am to believe what one of the privy councillors tells me, I have no doubt that he will be in future a little more modest than he has hitherto been, and will take example by the bishop of Westminster, now going as ambassador to the Emperor—a mild, moderate, and honest politician.

Had these people been more docile and submissive than they are, or more ready to listen to my very reasonable suggestions and unanswerable arguments, the negociation for the treaty of closer alliance would already have terminated here;[*] *but besides their being by nature inclined to look with preference to their own individual profit, the need in which other princes have hitherto been of their alliance and help has made them ask almost for* "carte blanche" *whenever they have been invited to treat. That is why, whilst soliciting our alliance, as they are doing at present, they keep continually bringing forward, as an argument in their favor, the extreme need of the Emperor's affairs, and the danger—in my opinion very much exaggerated—of an attack by the two dukes of Clèves and Holstein, who, they say, are on the point of invading Flanders. They would have continued long singing this tune of theirs had I not suddenly put a stop to it by telling some of the principal privy councillors, who enjoy most favor with this king, that he of Clèves would easily treat with us about Ghelders provided we engaged to help him against this king, and that the duke of Holstein was actually offering a very good position [in Denmark] to the Emperor's nieces.*[†] *That in addition to that the last-mentioned duke was willing to transfer to the said princesses all the titles, actions, and complaints* (querelles) *he had*

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[*] "Si ceulx-cy eussent estez (*sic*) gens que soy submissent à raisonables et presque irrefragable remonstrances et persuasions, les affaires eussent sans autre renvoy estez (*sic*) concludz icy."

[†] That is the daughters of Christiern II. and Isabella, the Emperor's sister.

or pretended to have to and against England, with promise to help in the conquest of this island with a powerful force. And, to say the truth, the English are right in carefully weighing these political matters, and trying to ascertain what the state of the Emperor's affairs is at present, since it is for them a question of launching into a sea of difficulties and dangers and running the same risk as ourselves, when they could easily pass along in the midst of the storm. I can assure Your Lordship that it is not without mystery that I have conducted them so far, not forgetting to tell them how much the Emperor did for them in lending himself to this reconciliation and closer friendship. Among the almost innumerable representations and persuasions which I have from time to time addressed to them, one is the ill-will and hatred which the French bear them, saying that the Dauphin [Henri] has often declared, half in joke and half in earnest, among his private and most intimate friends: "I am the king of England's spiritual son, but I intend also to be the heir and successor to his crown. It will be quite right for the kings of France to take in future the title of kings of England, since the latter have assumed that of kings of France. There never was in France a king named Henri who was not also king of England, and certainly I am not of inferior stuff, state, or quality to my predecessors."*†

Your Lordship knows better than I do how important it is for the Emperor to make friends of the English under present circumstances. If the inconstancy, perfidy, and malice of the French, who, regardless of what Your Lordship has done for them at other times, would like to see you now at the bottom of the sea, is to be successfully counteracted the friendship of the English must be secured at any cost. That is my humble opinion. I will only add that were the present negociation to fail—which may God forbid—it would be much better that it had never been begun, for this king might in his disappointment do something which we should not like at all. Never, at any time, would it be so inconvenient as at this present moment for the Emperor's subjects to have this king for their enemy; for I can assure you it would be almost impossible for ships bound from Flanders to Spain and back to touch on the coast of England—nowadays so provided with

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* "Mais apres que ceste chanson heust (eust) assez dure, je leur serray la bouche, disant à aucuns des principaulx en confidence que le dit duc de Clèves, traictteroit voulentiers avec nous de Gueldres pourveu que luy voulsissions assister contre ce roy, et que celluy de Holstein offroit tres bon party aux niepces de sa ma^{te}; et aultre ce il leur vouloit transpourter les tiltres, actions, et querelles quil pretendoit sur ce royaulme, avec promesse de tres grosse assistance pour la conqueste."

† "Je leur fis entendre que le Daulphin navoit entre ses privez et familliers riens plus souvent en bouche que de dire quil estoit fillot, et filz spirituel de ce roy, et quil entendoit [aussi] estre le filz temporel et successeur de ce royaulme; et quil estoit raison que desormais les roys de France se intitulassent d'Angleterre, aussi bien quavoyent cy devant ceulx dangleterre de France, et quil ny avoit heu (eu) oncques roy Henry en France que joinctement ne le fust dangleterre, et que luy nestoit de moindre estoffe, estat, et habitude que les autres."

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castles, bulwarks, and bastions that no ship can enter a port or remain any time in sight without this King's permission. I am now writing to His Imperial Majesty in favor of the said alliance more boldly than I am perhaps justified in doing. Your Lordship will no doubt excuse me on account of my native simplicity, and likewise on the plea that, in order to gratify the King and to keep him in good spirits, I have found it necessary to introduce certain phrases in my despatch which I know will please the King and his deputies, to whom I had promised to show it, as I have done. I also beg Your Lordship to take in good part all I have said in my despatch to the Emperor; it is only my love for the Emperor's service that has dictated it, and not in any way this King's undue influence on my mind, for I can assure Your Lordship, on pain of damnation, that I have received no other present from him than a few artichokes once, and on another occasion one buck, and one large fish, which had been presented to him, and I believe was a dolphin.

To conclude with another piece of temerity on my part, I must say, as Don Iñigo was in the habit of saying, and Mons. de Praet still repeated some time ago in the presence of the Queen [of Hungary], if the Emperor intends to profit by the English alliance, it is very important that he distribute here a few pensions; most certainly some inconsiderable sums of money might at once gain over those who enjoy most favor and credit with the King, for being, as they are, already in favor of the Emperor, a small addition to their income might help considerably to the good success of the affairs. The privy councillors who now enjoy the King's favor are only two, the Lord Privy Seal and Secretary Uristle (Wriothesley); two others, though King's favorites also, depend chiefly upon the former, namely, the Admiral and the Grand Squire. These latter would be satisfied with little. As to the bishop of Winchester, he would surely be contented with the honor of the thing, and certainly he deserves well some sort of reward from the Emperor, having been the first to commence this negociation, as well as for the good-will and affection he bears to His Imperial Majesty, and the good qualities by which he is distinguished.*

I say nothing respecting the idea the Emperor had at one time, as he wrote to me, of sending from Flanders a personage with letters to this King, for the Emperor has too much experience of affairs not to know what is here wanted.

I have likewise frequently and by stealth caused a transcript to be made of the project of treaty which these people once made, and which they have since changed in many

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* "Pour achever de user de ma temerite il fault que je vous die (*sic*) comme soulait dire le sieur don Iñigo [de Mendoça] et Mons. de Praët, laffirmait encores dernierement en la presence de la royne, que si sa ma^te^ pretend jamais faire son prouffit de ceulx-cy, il convient que icelle y ait quelques pensionnaires." Both D. Iñigo de Mendoza and Louis de Flandre, sieur de Praët, had been ambassadors in England.

places, as Your Lordship will see in the draft which the bishop of Westminster took along with him. Notwithstanding that, I have considered it necessary to send Your Lordship a copy of the articles as they were drawn, discussed, and almost approved, begging and entreating Your Lordship not to mention the fact to anyone, and keep the affair secret, so that these people may not suspect that I have been unfaithful to them. I beg Your Lordship, on the contrary, to publish and tell the English ambassadors there—at the Imperial Court—that I have worked wonders to bring the negociation to a close. I also beg Your Lordship to think about the* "zabras" *or light vessels for mail purposes; the idea is good, and originated with this king, as I wrote in my despatch to the Emperor. I am still, as Your Lordship will see, wonderfully contending with the royal deputies respecting the dukes of Clèves and Holstein, daily fighting and defeating them with the very same arguments and reasons which they opposed to me whilst discussing the article about the rebels, and have in the end found and ascertained that this King had previously made with each of those a separate contract and confederacy contrary to our views on the subject.*

This king's deputies think that their master will see with pleasure that in the letters which the Emperor addresses him the title of "bel oncle" is to be suppressed, in order to remove all occasion to open (*exulceren*) old wounds. That, in my opinion, ought to be avoided in future, since the English allege that even giving for granted that in our eyes the King's marriage to queen Katharine was legitimate, the title of Queen ought not to have been given to her after her death, and that for the same reason we ought to refrain from calling Madame Marie princess [of England], since there is now one recognised as such and legitimate. The Queen Regent of the Low Countries and those about her are of opinion that the King ought to be gratified in such small matters as these. If Your Lordship is of the same opinion, it will be for you to make the Emperor condescend to it and give proper orders in Chancery.

I am almost sure that His Imperial Majesty is already aware of quite half of the toil and labor, both physical and mental which this blessed negociation has brought upon me, ever since Ascension Day up to the present moment, and the services I have rendered without interference or reminder from anyone, and that I have thereby made myself worthy of some reward or other.† And yet, as His Imperial Majesty

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* Winchester in the original, but I have not hesitated to substitute Westminster for it.

† "Et les services que jay faict à icelle sans attendre intercession ou remembrence daultruy, ne fauldroit à me fere quelque *sennalade merced.*" Such is the paragraph, in which it is to be observed that the two last words are not French but Spanish.

1542.

might not be aware of that, I will again beg Your Lordship to intercede for me, and add this new favor to the many I have already received at your hands.

It will be a novelty for Your Lordship to see this letter not written or ciphered entirely in my own hand, but though the affairs treated of in it are of an important nature, it could not be done otherwise, owing to the gout in my right hand, which seized me shortly after my return from Flanders. I am now better, thank God; but still not sufficiently well to use my hand. Not only has the disease touched me up corporally, it has also impaired my mental faculties, as Your Lordship cannot fail to perceive in perusing this rambling and confused epistle. I say nothing of the trouble and annoyance I have experienced at seeing that the affairs did not turn out just as I might have wished, which I can assure Your Lordship has been much greater than that caused by my infirmity. That is why I most humbly beg Your Lordship to pardon and excuse me.

Were I to mention here the many praises which these royal deputies are daily singing of Your Lordship, the good opinion they have of your works and the very cordial affection they bear you, I should never finish were I to write consecutively for the next twenty-four hours. I particularly mean the Lord Privy Seal and Secretary Uryseley (Wriothesley), not forgetting the bishop of Winchester,[*] who told me the other day that Your Lordship ought to consider that there is no house, town, or city in the World, however large or spacious, that has not a door, gateway, or narrow passage through which an entry may be effected; that it is the same with this structure (*batissement*) of ours—a true and perfect friendship—which we are now about to erect; the narrow entrance or threshold of the door once passed, there will be inside such abundance of good-will and amiable offices, as well as everything else desirable on both parts, that it will be a second cornucopie or "horn of plenty."[†] It seems to me that if the negociation goes on prosperously—and there is a question here in England of sending to the Emperor some notable personage of this country, we ought to try that the individual appointed be the Bishop, for being, as he is, a person of good sense and wit, and knowing, as he

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[*] Of Winchester? Stephen Gardiner. The copy, as usual, reading *Wamestre* (Westminster) instead of *Wencestre* (Winchester).

[†] "Et entre eulx plus particulierement le S^{r} du privessel et le secretaire Uryseley (Wriothesley), ne doibt estre oblie levesque de Wyncestre, le quel ma dit que vre. S^{e} par sa prudence doibt considerer quil ny a maison, place, ne cite quelque grande, ample, et spacieuse quelle soit, que les entreez ne soient estrenstes (extreintes, extroictes?), et que ainsi semble il estre en ce batissement et edifice de bonne, vraye et perpetuelle amitie, dont [il] sagit, et que [à] estre passee ceste estroicture et difficulte de lentree, lon y trouvera tant dabundance de bonne voulente, amiables offices, et de tout ce que lon sçauroit desirer que ce sera ung aultre copie corne (*cornucopia*)."

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does, his master's nature and character, he would at once point out the best means of guiding the affair.—D'Ampton Cour (from Hampton-Court) on the last day of June 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Monseigneur de Granvelle, the Emperor's Lord Privy Seal."

French. Original. pp. 5.

1 July. **15.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—Your letter of the 29th of June came to hand this very day (July 1st), by which letter We have learnt the good terms on which you are with the ministers of the king of England, as well as with the bishop of Uuasmestre (Westminster), lately appointed on a mission to the Emperor, Our lord and brother, which mission We think, with you, cannot fail to complete your work, and consolidate that friendship and alliance between the Emperor and the king of England, which will, We hope, ensure the welfare of their respective subjects.

If George, bearer of this letter, can come back in time to cross the Channel in the same vessel as the Bishop, it would be perfect; if not, you are to take steps to facilitate his passage in the way pointed out in your despatch of the 29th.*

With regard to the conversation you have had with the count of Reulx (Rœux), which is important enough, We will answer you in Our first letter after hearing Our councillors' opinion thereupon.

To the revocation of the Navigation edict and proclamation made in this country, which you seem to have negociated with that king's ministers, We have no objection whatever, and have accordingly given orders that proper acts be drawn up in the various ports and maritime places on the coast of these Low Countries where the proclamation was affixed, enjoining the custom-house officers † to allow the English to trade freely and without impediment in any goods and merchandize, as they used to do before the promulgation of the edict here. We hope that the English will be satisfied, and not require anything more touching the said revocation. This, however, We cannot do until you yourself have sent Us an authenticated act of what has there been agreed between you and the King's privy councillors on the subject, trusting that the King on his side will stand by the agreement.—1 July 1542.

Addressed: "To the Emperor's Ambassador in England."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

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* *See* above, No. 12, p. 22.

† "Les gardes des tollieux (tonlieus?)" are the words used.

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1 July. **16.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Venerable, tres chier et bien ami,"—For fear the letter We are now writing should not, if sent through France, reach the Emperor's hands, We have thought of dispatching George, the bearer, to England, that he may thence sail for Spain and take the Emperor's letter. We therefore request you so to arrange and prepare George's sea voyage, with your usual dexterity, that it may appear as if he had gone to Spain directly from the English coast. We entirely leave this affair in your hands, sure, as We are, that everything will be done to Our satisfaction.—Brussels, 1 July 1542.

Signed: "Marie."

Addressed: "A venerable, et tres chier et bien ami, Messire Eustace Chapuys."*

French. Original draft. p. 1.

3 July. **17.** Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
f. 37.

"Madame,"—Yesterday, soon after the bishop of Westminster and my own man's departure from this city to embark at Exceter (Exeter), I took leave of this King to return to London. He (the King) thanked me very much for all my trouble and good offices in the negociation of the treaty, and especially for having written so kindly in favor of its speedy accomplishment. The King went still further; he told me, after many gracious and complimentary words, that his Admiral had already reported that the vessel in which George was to go to Spain was already on the point of sailing. I cannot say whether the vessel is, or is not, fit for a quick voyage; but in future, I am told, steps shall be taken for the speedy transmission by sea of all letters and despatches, for this King has sent expressly with the Bishop a man well experienced in naval affairs for the express purpose of purchasing in Spain a couple of "*sabras*" or "pinnaces," under the impression that the Emperor will also have two on his side for the carriage of correspondence to and fro.†

The French ambassador's cousin ‡ came back yesterday from the court of France. I do not hear that he brings any mandate or commission from the King, save that of urging the ambassador to inquire into and investigate the motives of the armaments which this king is making ready, and

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* It will be observed that the heading of this letter, when compared with that of the preceding, differs materially. Both, however, proceed from the same official centre, the Council of Flanders; and yet Mary's letters are generally headed "Monsieur l'Ambassador," whilst this second one of the 1st July has "Venerable, chier et bien aime," as the Emperor's to Chapuys are generally headed.

† "Car le dit s^{r} roy a envoye tout expressement avec le dit evesque personne entendue en affaire de mer, pour achatter en Hispagne ung coupple de savrez ou despinasez, et presuppouse le dit s^{r} roy que sa ma^{te} en fera tenir deux aultrez prestez affin que lon en peult tousiours fuier (fuir ?) de la et deça."

‡ Jean de Formes, *see* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 320, 367, 471.

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also ask the reason of his fitting out his war-ships, and inquire what the inhabitants of the ports and harbours of this English coast think of it and its destination. The wine has arrived, and this King warmly thanks Your Majesty for the sending of it.

The King sent me the other day, by his lord Privy Seal and by his Admiral, a message to the effect that Your Majesty ought to keep a good watch over certain islands,* not far from Amsterdam and from Encuse,† for should the duke of Olstein (Holstein) get possession of them, Your Majesty and he (the King) would have much to do to eject the Danes ‡ therefrom.

I enclose copy of the article that has been agreed to and ratified on both sides respecting the edict once proclaimed in the Low Countries, as well as the statute of Navigation here made about the same time. The other article prescribing the most profound secrecy with regard to the closer alliance which passed in October last, as well as that mutually binding each of the parties not to treat with the enemy without the knowledge and consent of the other, I have also forwarded to the Emperor.—London, 3 July 1542.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

3 July. **18.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
f. 38.

" Madame,"—Enclosed is a copy of the article agreed to and passed between this king's deputies and myself, it having been resolved to have it published at once in order that the World may believe that our late conferences have been for no other object than the interests of the merchants of both countries. It is true that in the copy that the royal deputies have given me, and which I now forward, the word *statim* does not appear, but in its place the two words *curabit atque* have been added.

French. Holograph. p. ½.

5 July. **19.** King Francis to Marillac.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
f.

" Monsr. Marillac,"—Yesterday the ambassador § of my good brother, the king of England, came to my cousin, the Admiral of France,|| and said many kind things to him re-

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* Texel, Ulicland, &c.

† The Sluis, Schluis or L'Ecluse, perhaps also En-Kuysen on the Zuyderzee.

‡ In the original " les Danois," and on the margin " les sujets du duc Frederic de Holstein," which comes to the same thing, since Frederic had usurped the crown of Denmark in 1523, and kept it till his death in 1533.

§ Sir William Paget.

|| That is Philippe Chabot, sieur de Brion, or Philippe de Brion-Chabot as he was generally designated at this time; after the fall of Montmorency he was king Francis' first prime minister. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 330, 354, 413, &c.

1542.

specting the good and perfect friendship existing between my said good brother and myself. Among other things he said to him, one was that he (the ambassador) thought it strange that in France there should be any mistrust concerning the doings of the King, his master, who (the ambassador said) had no other wish or object in view than to maintain and cultivate the said friendship. My cousin's answer was that I had always esteemed, as I do still esteem, my good brother's friendship, owing to the knowledge and long experience I have of him and of his good qualities, and that it never entered my head that he could undertake anything against me. And yet as the Flemish had everywhere spread the rumour that for some time past the Emperor and the queen dowager of Hungary had been treating with England, and that the King of that country intended not only to help them with money, but would also send troops on this side of the Channel to make war upon me, I own that I set about preparing as quickly as possible for any event, making such levies of men and stores of provisions as I deemed necessary for the security, defence, and preservation of this my kingdom. My intention, however, was, and is still, to keep and observe inviolable the treaties of friendship and alliance with my good brother, the king of England, until he himself gives me occasion to do the contrary. I will never be the first to offend him, or impair in the least the friendship I profess for him, unless he begins by breaking it; even then it will be to my great regret at seeing myself deprived and frustrated of such friendship and alliance as his, which I have always considered, and still consider, indissoluble and everlasting.

These words of the English ambassador and the Admiral's reply I purposely transmit to you in writing, that you may at once withdraw from the court of my good brother, the king of England, after informing him of the conversations that passed between his said ambassador and my Admiral respecting his sentiments. You will thank him most affectionately on my part for his friendly sentiments,* and will tell him in my name that I am much pleased at hearing that his friendship for me is equal to that which I profess for him, and that as long as he will persevere in it I will respond, and that he will find me always inclined and ready to treat with him for the common welfare of our subjects and kingdoms.

Having used the above language, you will observe the King's countenance and mien, and at the same time note down all the words of his answer, in order to penetrate and

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* "Monsr. de Marillac, jay bien voulu vous faire entendre [cecy] affin que vous vous retirez (retiriez) par devers icelluy mon frere, ladvertissant dextrement et gratieusement des dictz propoz tenuz par son dit ambassadeur, desquelz vous le mercyerez affectueusement de ma part, &c.'

1542.

find out what his intentions are, and whether it is by his order or by his consent that his ambassador has made the overtures to which I allude.—Ligny en Barroys, 5 July 1542.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

8 July. **20.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 17–8.

"Monseigneur,"—By my last letter of the 30th of June * I have sufficiently apprised Your Lordship of all the news of this country, and although nothing of importance has since happened, yet, not to allow the present bearer to depart empty handed, I have sat down to write this. *And first of all I shall begin by saying that one of the causes and reasons why my last letters to the Emperor and to Your Lordship on the progress of these negociations for closer friendship and alliance were so much* † *in favor of complying as far as possible with this king's wishes, and pleasing him and his deputies was, that as I had to show to them all my despatches to His Imperial Majesty, as well as my letters to Your Lordship—having often promised to do so at the time that they refused to send anyone to Spain, and threatened to break off the negociations—I could not do less than write, as I have done, in favor of the speedy conclusion of the treaty. In this state of things there was nothing I would not have promised in order to induce them to send an ambassador, as they have since done, to treat of this affair in Your Lordship's presence for reasons which you can appreciate better than myself.*

Nor can I omit to say that one of the causes of the strong inclination which these people are now manifesting towards an offensive league against France, is evidently the hope, I might say the certainty, this king's ministers have that in case of a war with that country, and of an invasion of its territory—especially under the pretence of checking Francis' adhesion to the Turk—the English will have no difficulty in relieving the King from the payment of capital and interest on the loan he has lately made, already amounting, as I hear, to upwards of one million of gold.‡ *Another reason for their insisting so much on the invasion of French territory*

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* *See* No. 13, p. 22.

† Here Chapuys uses the adverb *encarcscidamente*, which is not French but Spanish. Nor is this the only instance, as has been frequently observed, of the Imperial ambassador in England using terms and expressions belonging to the Spanish language, with which he does not seem to have been very familiar. In the present case, however, the error must be his, not his secretary's, for the letter, like most of those he wrote to Granvelle, is holograph.

‡ "La certitude quilz ont que en cas de l'expedition contre la France, mesmes soubz couleur de la adherence que la dite France a avec le Turcq, ce peuple ne fera difficultz de quieter (*acquitter*) à leur roy lemprumpt quil a fait, que monte à plus dung million dor."

1542.

next year is not to have to wait for the payment of the last instalment of the loan until the offensive war has actually commenced.

The French ambassador's cousin, who, as reported in one of my despatches, was by him sent to the King, his master, to testify to the activity and dexterity with which his chief conducts the affairs entrusted to him, and at the same time ask for his "congé," *returned from France three days ago. Our friend has not yet been able to learn anything respecting his mission, except that king Francis is rather afraid and suspicious at the wonderful activity this one is displaying in fitting out and arming his war-ships, and has commanded his ambassador to be on the watch and to inquire in the ports and harbours of England what other military preparations are being made besides, and for what purpose are the armaments intended.*

I have no doubt that even when all the articles of this treaty of closer friendship and alliance have passed, some difficulty may still be raised respecting the title which this king has caused to be given to him in the powers to his deputies, namely, "Chief Sovereign, after God, of the Anglican Church."[*]

On Sunday last, as the King was returning from Mass, the earl Desmont (Desmond) and three other Irish lords, or gentlemen, took leave of him, respectfully and humbly enough, for all the time that their interpreter was talking to the King in their name, they themselves were on their knees. Nor have I yet heard what present, if any, did the King make them on the occasion.[†]

Before bringing this letter to an end I must add that in the course of the debate respecting certain articles of the treaty now being negociated, *the deputies have suggested that in case of an offensive war against France it would be agreeable to the King, their master, if His Imperial Majesty made over to him all the rights and demands* (droitz et querelles), *which he (the Emperor) claims over certain towns on the river Somme, such as Amyens, Abbeville, Corbie, Bray, and Le Crotoy. All other rights they would willingly leave to the Emperor, and in exchange for those rights they would cede and transfer to him all their pretentions to Guyennes (Guienne) and Gascony, which, they say, are close to Spain, and on*

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[*] "Je ne doubte que quant bien tout le surplus de ceste plus estreinte amytie seroit passe quil y pourroit avoir quelque difficulte sur le tiltre (*sic*) que ce roy a mis en son povoir de souverain chief de leglise anglicane apres Dieu."

[†] "Dimanche ainsy que le dit sieur roy retourna de la messe, le conte de Desmond et trois aultres sieurs ou gentilhommes hyrlandois prindrent congie du dit sieur roy, et assez humblement, car durant que le dit sieur roy leur parla ou que leur truchemant (interprita) tint propoz quilz furent tres tous a deux genoulx, et nay encoirez entendu quel present ou party leur ait fait le dit sieur roy."

1542.

*that account easy to take and keep.** *There has also been a proposition of marriage between the prince of Piedmont and this king's second daughter (Elizabeth), to which I myself would see no obstacle provided the bulk of the treaty should pass, as this additional article might after all be the means of rooting more firmly the King's animosity to the French.*†

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 2.

9 July. **21.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 145–57.

"Sire."—My last despatch of the 30th of June ‡ must have informed Your Imperial Majesty of late events, as well as of the progress of the negociation entrusted to my care. I have nothing to add to it, save saying that this very day after dinner I again called on the King in order to introduce to him the bearer of this despatch, who was to present his respects in the name of the queen of Hungary, regent in Flanders, and at the same time inquire whether he (the King) had any message to send or commission to give in answer to the letter of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) which arrived two days ago, asking his help and assistance against the Turk.§

In the first place I must say that the King took in very good part the Queen's compliment, and her sending some one to visit him in her name, give him news of her health, and offer his services in case he (the King) should want anything in Spain, whither the present bearer is going almost immediately, as he himself will verbally relate, should Your Imperial Majesty have leisure and wish to hear him. The King has also been very much pleased to learn the activity suddenly displayed in Flanders and in the Low Countries, as well as the military preparations there being made to defend those countries against the French, and, if necessary, attack them in their own territory, now that they seem intent upon invasion. The same intelligence (the King said) had reached him from several quarters. He knew that Mr. de Vendôme‖ and Monsr. de Biez ¶ were on the alert, and though they had

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* "Que venant a faire emprinsse contre France ilz verroient voulentiers que sa M^te^ leur fist transport des droitz et querelles que icelle pretend sur une partie des villes de la riviere de Somme, a sçavoir Amyens, Abbeville, Corbie, Bray et La Crotoy. Quant aux aultres ilz les leseroient, et transporteroient les tiltres et pretensions quilz ont sur Guyennes et Gascongne, quilz disent estre contigues au royaulme d'Espagne, et a ceste occasion aysees à congnoistre (conquerir?) et garder."

† There is no signature and no date to this letter, on the dorse of which a hand of the last century has written *de l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre à Monseigneur de Granvelle, du* 8 *Juillet* 1542. I believe it to be only a fragment, as it ends abruptly with the words "tant plus le dit s^r^ roy contre les françoys."

‡ *See* above, No. 13, p. 22.

§ No doubt that which Monsr. de St. Moris was to have taken. *See* above, p. 18.

‖ Antoine de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme.

¶ Oudard de Biez, governor of Boulogne sur Mer.

1542.

not yet assembled the whole of their forces, yet they had many thousands of men on the rolls, who might be mustered and be under arms in less than 24 hours' time. That both the above-mentioned generals had given one of their captains at Calais to understand that war had already been proclaimed at the sound of trumpets in Flanders against the dukes of Clèves and Holstein, which fact by the way (I told him) was highly improbable, and had never come to my ears.

Respecting his assistance against the Turk, the King at first deliberately avoided as long as he could any answer on the subject, purposely passing from one topic to the other. At last, after addressing to him all the remonstrances, exhortations, and persuasions that came to my mind, and trying to defeat his specious arguments and excuses on that score, I told him plainly that he ought not to complain or be offended at his not having been invited or requested, as other princes had been before him—namely, the king of France and the duke of Clèves—to unite in a crusade against the Turk; for if the States of the Empire had sent, as he asserted, a mission to king Francis, it was certainly not to secure his assistance and co-operation against the Turk, with whom they knew him to be in league, but to summon him to forbear from undertaking anything [against the Emperor] whilst they themselves undertook to repulse the Infidel. As to the duke [of Clèves], he had been, like the rest of the Emperor's vassals, officially called upon as a vassal of the Empire to contribute with money and men. Neither of the cases (I alleged) was similar to his, and therefore there was no need summoning him like the two other princes. True, the king of the Romans might have informed him sooner of the deliberations of the Diet of Spires, but his time had been so much taken up by visiting the Tirol,* Bohemia, Moravia, and other provinces, for the purpose of making levies and preparing for war, that he had been unable to send to him before. Besides which, the king of the Romans, trusting on the promise which the English ambassadors had made to Your Imperial Majesty at Rehenspurg (Regensburg), namely, that if other European princes did their duty in the matter, certainly he would not be the last to arm against the Turk, and contribute with money or men. The King could not be ignorant of the resolution taken by the States of the Empire at the Diet of Spires, or that there was no able prince among those who attended it, who did not at the time approve of it, with the single exception of king Francis, this being one of the reasons why the king of the Romans had not solicited his help before. He (the King) must be aware, that although the Pope had not yet sent the contingent of which there was a talk, yet he would not fail in forwarding an equivalent in

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* "Pour aller en Tirolez, Bohesme, Moravie, et aultrez pais."

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money.[*] That the differences of opinion between the duke of Brunswick and the Landgraf [of Hesse] on the subject would not prevent the expedition taking place, and that Your Imperial Majesty would soon find the means of adjusting them. Even if it were too late in the year (as he said) to send an expeditionary force, it was not too late for him to remit money. It was of no use alleging the difficulty of procuring bills on Germany, and saying that he was not well versed in mercantile matters, for I, who knew nothing about them, would undertake within three hours' time to find merchants and bankers to take the sum, however considerable, and give bills on Vienna or any other city of Germany payable one month after date. And that although he had given me to understand that he had been told by notable persons rather partial to Your Imperial Majesty that in Germany there was money enough for the undertaking, and that the only difficulty was recruiting men for military service, he no longer insisted on his argument, but said, half convinced, "I will think about it and see what can be done." I doubt, however, his doing anything in the matter unless the force of circumstances compels him.

I forgot to say that one of the arguments which the King brought forward in support of his refusal was that the Turk would not come down in person, but on my telling him how important it was to eject him altogether from Hungary, and stop his advance upon Germany, since the aid voted by the Empire is to last three years, he at first made no reply, but shortly after said, half in joke, "If that be the case, there will be no longer a question about the Turk, for the Pope will be able to conclude a peace between the Emperor and the king of France, since, at the intercession of the latter, his good ally and confederate, the Infidel—who (I am told) has again sent or promised to send to him 24 galleys—will withdraw his forces from Hungary, and make a permanent truce with Christendom."[†] Upon which I replied that if there were no other danger than the one he pointed out to me, he could very easily advance us some money on condition of our paying it back in case of events turning out as he had described.

After this and other similar remarks, all bearing on the subject of the Turk and his designs against Christendom, I told the King that I had not yet received an answer from the queen of Hungary to count du Rœulx' overtures as I was returning here from Flanders, but I heard that she had actually written to Your Majesty about it, and was expecting an answer from Spain. Hearing which the King seemed much pleased, and remarked that it was important to take soon some resolution or other in the matter, for if the projected expedition did not take place this year, the opportunity would pass away and nothing more could be done.—London, 9 July 1542.

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[*] "Que oerez que le Pape neust envoyé lez gens dont yl se parloit cy devant, quil ny auroit faulte ou à lenvoi de iceulx ou dargent à lequipollent (?)."

[†] "Yl ne replica riens sinon demy en jouant, quil pensoit quil ne seroit plus question du Turk, car le pape concluroit la paix entre vre. m^{te} et France, et que le Turk à lintercession de son bon allie et confedere, que luy a de nouveau ou envoye, ou promiz denvoyer, xxiiii. galerez (com il disoit) se retireroit de Hungrie, et feroit trefve perpetuelle avecq la Christiente."

Signed : " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 4.

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9 July. **22.** The Admiral of France to Mr. Marillac.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233,

" Monsr. Marillac,"—I am in receipt of your last letter, and have read also those you wrote to the King. This last has given our master great contentment, having remarked the gratuitous offers that my good brother, the King, made you. Those are, indeed, very kind words, which make me hope that the rumours afloat stating the contrary are entirely false. The English ambassador here has held a similar language to me. It is for you to inform us as soon as you can of whatever may come to your knowledge.—Ligny, 9 July 1542.—Brion.

P.S.—The King is now sending to you Master Claude de Laubespine, his secretary, with instructions which you will peruse.

French. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

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9 July. **23.** King Francis' Instructions to Maistre Laubespine contained in a Letter of Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

" Madame,"—I have just obtained from the ambassador's man a copy of the instructions which king Francis gave to Master Claude de L'Aubespine. The substance of the first article, which I omit for brevity's sake, is that the ambassador is to announce officially that the King, his master, has lately concluded a treaty with the king of Suece (Sweden) and others, and that, as a proof of the sincere and perfect friendship which unites him with the king of England, his good brother, he (king Francis) has obtained from the said king of Sweden and the rest the inclusion of England in the treaty of alliance, calculating that an inclusion of that sort, for several reasons explained in the ambassador's instructions, must be more agreeable to the king of England, nay, more than that, of any other prince in this World, under the circumstances.

Here follow the articles of the Instructions literally transcribed from the original: "To the treaty with the king of Sweden, the names of the king of Denmark, of the duke of Prause (Prussia) are appended, and very soon those of the

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king of Scotland, the duke of Saxony, the Osterlings (Easterlings), of the Teutonic language, and many others who have not yet given their consent, will be added. Should the king of England show a desire to enter the league, the ambassador is to reveal to him the principal points of the treaty, without touching, however, on the article relating to the king of Scotland. The ambassador, moreover, is not to show the copy of the treaty unless he finds by evidence that the king of England will not object to the article relating to Scotland.

The ambassador is to try and induce the king of England to confirm verbally the words uttered by the English ambassador here in France, in the Admiral's presence, and, above all, observe and watch the King's countenance and mien on the occasion.

Respecting the King's forces Longueval has under his command 14,000 lanskennets and 2,000 horse; this force will in a few days join Monsr. d'Orleans,* who is already in the Luxemburg with 13,000 lanskennets more, and 16,000 French foot, 6,000 more of the legion of Champasgne, 6,000 of that of Normandy, and 4,800 of that of Picardy, with 1,200 men-at-arms, 1,200 light cavalry, and thirty large pieces of ordnance.

As soon as the sieur de Longueval has effected his junction with the duke of Orleans, the King will take the 13,000 lanskennets the latter has under his orders, and march at the head of them to an expedition which he is now contemplating. The remaining lanskennets and French infantry under Longueval and the duke of Orleans, amounting in all to 30,000 men, besides the cavalry, which number from eight to nine thousand horse, will be left behind for the invasion of Luxemburg.

Besides the above-mentioned 13,000 lanskennets, the King will have for the expedition (*voyage*) † he is meditating 10,000 Swiss of the last levies, and 4,000 old soldiers (*vieux souldars*) formerly in Piedmont, the best troops in the World, and 4,000 Italians.

The legions of Guyenne, those of Languedoc, and some other bands raised in France, making in all forty-six or forty-seven thousand foot; 1,600 men-at-arms, including 500 of the King's own household; 3,000 light horse—two thousand of whom Mr. le Mareschal [Hannebault] has brought back from Piedmont, and who are the best "*veilles bandes*" one could imagine—sixty large pieces of ordnance, among which are twenty-four double cannon, &c., compose the King's own army. With all this force he intends marching to that country in which he sees he can make most execution, thinking that with such an army under his command nobody can prevent him from doing whatever he pleases.

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* Charles de Valois.

† *Journée* (in Span. *jornada*) would be a more appropriate word than "voyage," as in the original.

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True it is that the King intends detaching from the above numbers 6,000 lanskennets, and 2,000 lately-raised Gascon foot, and passing them over to the king of Navarre (Henri II. d'Albret) for the enterprise of Guyenne. With this force joined to 6,000 more men, whom the said king has already raised in his own dominions, and 4,000 Italians, making in all 18,000 foot, besides 700 men-at-arms, and 800 light cavalry, he will be able to accomplish great things, for besides the secret intelligences he has in Navarre itself, there can be no doubt that the inhabitants of that kingdom, or at least a great portion of them, will revolt against the Emperor. For such a war the king of Navarre has 22 large pieces of ordnance.

Mr. le Mareschal [Hannebault] leaves in Piedmont 14,000 men, six or seven thousand of whom are Swiss, the rest being French and old soldiers, serving there since the first campaign. Of Basques, Gascons, and Italians, there are about 500 men-at-arms, besides seven or eight hundred light horse, making in all a force equal in number to that which the marquis de Goast (Gasto) has in the duchy of Milan. The retreat, which has already commenced in most admirable order, once operated, the Marshal will come back, leaving in Piedmont twelve towns so strong and well fortified that they must be almost impregnable, besides one hundred and fifty smaller ones so well stored and provided for that there can be no fear of the enemy invading Piedmont on the side of Milan, since there is provision and ammunition enough in the country for the next six years. Turin, Montcalier, Pignerol, Savillay (Savigliano), Grillas, Terrolins, Viegel, Ravel, Cahors, Villeneufve . . . .*

The King has now accomplished what he never could do before, for his ordinary revenue has so increased owing to the economies he has made on the salt rent—now amounting to an incalculable sum of money, through the export of that article, sales of timber, &c., as well—that he has now a considerable sum of money at his disposal, indeed much greater than in old times; so much so, that he nowadays finds that with the capital amassed by his treasurers, he can very well for the next ten or twelve years defray all the expense of the aforesaid armies without levying any more taxes from his subjects nor diminishing in the least his ordinary expenses.† Next winter he will proclaim the "*arriere-ban*," amounting in number to seventy or eighty thousand men, half of them cavalry, who live at their own expense during three months, and are divided into two great bodies, one for the frontiers of Spain, the other for Flanders; during the winter months these men will keep the field, whilst other divisions of the army that have been actively employed will go into winter-quarters and rest.

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* The sentence is incomplete.

† "Le roy a faict ce que jamais nauroit sçeu faire, car de lordinaire de son revenu lamendement quil a faict en son sel, dont il vient ung denier inestimable mesme des traictes de son royaulme, ventes de boys, il a donne tel ordre, et a mesuré la despense quil peult faire par an, et trouve que avec le fons quil avoit devant luy, qui estoit tres grand, il peult diçy à dix ou douze ans entretenir et continuer toute la despense des armes sans rien prendre de ses subjectz ni diminuer son ordinaire, &c."

With regard to the calumnious imputation which the Emperor and the king of the Romans have cast on him—pretending that he is actually in league with the "Grand Seigneur," the ambassador may say and maintain that it is, on the contrary, those two princes, who, owing to their ill-will and hatred of him (the King), and in order to inflict all possible harm on him, have frequently sent ambassadors to the court of the "Grand Seigneur" and solicited his alliance, so far forgetting themselves and their God that they did actually offer to pay him tribute and become his slaves. The "Grand Seigneur," however, regardless of their solicitations, has taken no notice at all of their overtures,* upon which they did purposely spread the rumour that it was the king of France who was the cause of the Infidel's disdain, and who urged him on to come down upon Christendom. God knows that the King has, on the contrary, done everything in his power to dissuade him from the attempt! All the King's intelligences with the "Grand Seigneur" amount to this: he has given his subjects permission to trade in France, from which permission an almost incredible profit has accrued to the French nation from that free intercourse of trade, of which the Spiceries of Antwerp, and indeed the whole of Flanders, have already felt the consequences.

Should the king of England or his ministers surmise that the Turks now in Hungary might very possibly, all of a sudden, turn their heads this way and invade France, the ambassador may meet their representations with the following argument: The king of France has so many friends among the chiefs and nobles of that country, that even supposing they so far forgot their engagements as to invade France, they could hardly encamp before a town of any importance that was not so fortified as to prevent their doing any serious mischief, and the King will besides meet them (*leur baillera en barbe tout comptant*) with a force amounting to 90,000 foot and 30,000 horse, and they will find to their great astonishment that our army in France is quite as numerous and well-appointed as that of the Turk in Hungary.

As to the Landgraf [of Hesse] and duke of Saxony, and other allies of France, the ambassador will say that they have

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* As the passage is rather obscure, and the Admiral's assertion very bold, I here copy the words of the original. "En ce que lempereur et son frere veullent calumnier le roy davoir intelligence avecques le grand seigneur, se peult remonstrer que pour linimytie quilz portent au roy, et affin quilz eussent plus de moyen de loffencer, ilz ont eu plusieurs ambassadeurs avec luy, et voyant quil ny vouloit entendre oblierent tant Dieu quils se sont voulu rendre ses tributaires et se faire ses esclaves. Mais il a faict si peu de cas deulx, quil nen a faict compte."

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actually made a levy of 22,000 lanskennets and 7,000 horse to invade Brunswick, whose duke follows the Emperor's party. Regardless of the Hungarian expedition, the above-named Landgraf and Duke have raised a sufficient number of lanskennets to defend their own dominions in the meanwhile, and crush him of Brunswick, so that the king of France will have in Germany more lanskennets than he can want, an evident sign that the Emperor and his brother are little feared, and still less loved, in that country."

Copy of king Francis' Instructions to his ambassador in England.

French. pp. 3.

10 July. **24.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 41–2.

"Madame,"—On Wednesday last, the 7th inst., George* arrived here, and after perusing the letters he brought from Your Majesty and from the king of the Romans for this king, I sent to Antoncourt (Hampton Court) to ask for an audience, which was immediately granted, though the King, being then very much engaged with business, and intending to return to town on Saturday, the audience was put off until yesterday, Sunday.

The King was wonderfully pleased with Your Majesty's complimentary message to him, as well as with George's visit and the news of his going to Spain. He was likewise very glad to hear of the vigilance and care displayed by Your Majesty, as well as pleased to see your zeal in unravelling the intrigues and treacherous plans of the enemy.

With regard to the assistance against the Turk, after I had brought forward the remonstrances and persuasions contained in the instructions of the king of the Romans, and others which came to my memory, the King alleged several and various excuses, and, among others, that he had not been invited and requested as other princes had. It was no use (he said) arguing that his ambassadors had made certain promises in his name at the diet of Regensberg, and declared that if other princes fulfilled their duty in that respect, he himself would not be the last to do so, for, in point of fact, whatever may be said to the contrary, not every one of the German princes had promised to contribute towards the war against the Turk; even the Pope, whom the affair concerned most, had not sent one single man of his contingent. And besides, if the Grand Turk (Solyman) did not come down personally at the head of his camp, no more help was needed than that which had already been given. It was, besides, already too late for the succour demanded, for before the men or the money arrived at their destination, the affair would be decided one way or

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* *See* above, p. 45. He was the bearer of queen Mary's letter of the 1st to Chapuys.

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other. Having replied pertinently enough, as I believe, to each and every one of the King's arguments, he kept silence for some time, and then said: "I will consult my Privy Council about it, and then let you know my answer." Please God that it may be as satisfactory as the king of the Romans wishes!

At the end, and as a palatable morsel (*pour la bonne bouche*), I told the King, or rather gave him to understand, that George was the bearer of Your Majesty's letter to the Emperor on Mr. de Rœux' proposition, which he heard with pleasure, &c.—London, 10th of July 1542.

P.S.—I forgot to mention that I fancy these people will be satisfied if the revocation of the edict on Navigation promulgated in those Low Countries be proclaimed exactly in the manner pointed out in Your Majesty's letter to me of the 1st inst.,* without any further ceremony or solemnity. I have not spoken about it before for fear of affording these people the occasion and opportunity of thinking, which they have not done until now.†

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 2.

n. d. **25.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 39.

"Madame,"—The act of revocation of the edict of Navigation in Flanders, as well as of the Statute in England, is as follows:—

"It has been agreed, as well as mutually promised and stipulated, between Our respective masters [the Emperor and the king of England] that the edict once proclaimed in Flanders against the merchants and sailors of England, forbidding them to lade in, and export from, the ports of Flanders and others in the Low Countries belonging to His Imperial Majesty any goods or merchandise whatever in their vessels, and obliging them to return home empty and without a cargo in their vessels, shall be revoked and abrogated at once, and that the aforesaid merchants and sailors shall enjoy the same rights they formerly had before the proclamation of the edict.

"It has also been agreed and mutually stipulated between the parties that if after the revocation of the edict of His Most Serene Majesty ‡ the king of England, the statute on Navigation, promulgated the thirty-third year of his reign, should in any way concern or affect the subjects of His Imperial Majesty in Flanders and the Low Countries, as well as in

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* *See* above, No. 15, p. 45.

† "Et ne me semble en tenir propoz pour non leur donner occasion de penser à ce quilz non faict jusques à ceste heure."

‡ *Serenissima Angliæ Majestas* are the original words in Latin.

Spain, the said statute shall be immediately relaxed and abrogated, so that the subjects of His Imperial Majesty may enjoy the same rights they had before the promulgation of the said statute. In testimony of which we here append our signatures. Hampton Court.—June 1542."*

Madame,—It has been mutually agreed between this king's deputies and myself that the above act shall pass and have effect from its date,† and be published soon after, so as to make people think that Our late communications related chiefly to commercial affairs. I must add that the above is the true transcript of the document which the English deputies have put into my hands, only that the words *remitti prorsus et relaxari curabit, atque*, &c., have been substituted by *remitti prorsus et relaxari statim efficiet.*

Latin. Contemporary copy.‡

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12 July. **26.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
f. 43.

"Madame,"—Although I have every reason to believe that Your Majesty is aware that in the act signed by this king's commissioners and deputies § express and particular mention is made that his subjects are to be allowed to lade freely in the ports of Flanders and the Low Countries on any vessels they like, foreign or English, whatever goods or merchandize they choose, and export the same without obstacles of any sort, yet as this king, among other messages which he sent me yesterday through his Admiral, asked me to write to Your Majesty and remind you of his wish in that particular, I could not do less than write. I therefore, in accordance with his request, most humbly beg Your Majesty—unless it has been done already—to see that the clause be inserted *verbatim* as he

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* The article has already been alluded to (p. 58). It stands thus in a sheet annexed to Chapuys' letter to queen Mary (No. 37):—"Nomine illustrissimorum dominorum nostrorum paciscimur, convenimus invicem permittimus et stipulamur quod edictum in Flandria factum contra mercatores et nautas Anglos, videlicet ne ex portubus Flandriæ et aliarum ditionum Cesarae Maiestati spectantium et pertinentium naves Angliæ mercibus quibuscunque aut alio quovis oneratæ discedant, sed vacuæ omnium atque inanes in Angliam revertantur quam primum fieri poterit revocabitur et abrogabitur, ita quod mercatores Angli in eo jure sint quo ante dictum edictum fuerunt. Post quod edictum sic revocatum et huiusmodi revocatione realiter facta Serenissima Angliæ maiestas statutum in parlamento anno regni suæ maiestatis tricesimo tertio de re navali edictum, quatenus videlicet subditos Cesareæ maiestatis inferiorum ditionum et Hispaniarum concernere quovis modo aut tangere poterit, remitti prorsus et relaxari statim efficiet, ut dicti subditi Cæsaris in eo jure sint in quo ante dictum statutum fuerunt. In quorum fidem et testimonium his subscripsimus. Datum apud Hampton courte . . . . die Junii, anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo secundo."

† It is evident that the act, which was signed on the first day of July, must have been antedated for the reasons specified in Chapuys' letter.

‡ Chapuys' letter is holograph.

§ "Sur lacte signe par les commissairez et deputez de *la maieste de ce roy.*" It is remarkable that just at this time Chapuys began to give Henry the title of Majesty; before that he always called him *Altesse* (Highness) only.

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wishes. The King will be much pleased if this is done as quickly as possible; and certainly he well deserves to be obliged in this particular, for I can assure Your Majesty that for the four last days he has done nothing but praise you and your acts. It would, moreover, be advisable that at the same time that Your Majesty advises me of the requisite insertion having been made, the Court-Master of the English nation * at Antwerp, who is to be the bearer of this, my letter, should be charged to write immediately to this king's privy councillors, announcing to them that the insertion has been effected in order that the same may be stipulated here with regard to the Emperor's subjects.—London, 12 Juillet 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

12 July. **27.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 43.

"Madame,"—Although I suppose that Your Majesty at sight of the agreement signed by this king's deputies, which went by last post, has already ordered that this king's subjects may freely lade merchandise on any vessel they please, national or foreign, yet as among other particular messages relating thereto this Admiral (Russell) brought me yesterday a new one from his master, requesting me to write to Your Majesty expressly and in detail with regard to that affair, I could not do less than write again, and most humbly beg Your Majesty—had not the orders been circulated in the meantime—to see that they are sent and executed, not only for the singular pleasure this king will receive on hearing of it, but because he certainly deserves anything we can do in his favor, were it for no other reason than the many praises he is continually bestowing on Your Majesty and on your acts for the last four days.

It would also be very convenient if besides the notice which Your Majesty cannot fail to send me of the said provision having been executed, the Court-Master (Consul) of the English nation in the Low Countries, who will be the bearer of this my despatch, should be charged to write officially to the privy councillors here announcing the revocation of the edict, that I may reciprocally do the same to the Emperor's subjects.†—London, 12 July 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

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* "Le maistre de la nation anglaise qui doit estre le presenteur de ceste," elsewhere "le maistre de cour à Anvers."

† A duplicate of the preceding, though couched in more pressing terms.

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12 July. S. E., L.

28. KING FRANCIS' MANIFESTO and DECLARATION OF WAR to the EMPEROR. KING FRANCIS to the COUNT OF BUÇENÇOYS and DE CHARNY, Admiral of France.

Everyone knows the injuries which the Emperor has heaped upon Us, and how We, considering the imminent danger in which Christendom lies, and wishing to manifest to the World that We prefer its welfare to Our own particular interests, have hitherto tolerated and endured such affronts (*outrages*) without unsheathing Our sword (as befits a prince of Our quality), and recovering by force of arms what he (the Emperor) unjustly keeps and belongs to Us. All this We have done in the hope that the Emperor would ultimately listen to reason and make Us amendment in those matters in which he has evidently done Us wrong. But far from that, the Emperor has prosecuted his career, doing worse and worse, until he caused two of Our ministers, Cesare Fragoso and Antonio Rincon, who were going to Venice on business of Ours, to be most treacherously and unmercifully murdered, for which injury, though the Emperor did at the time promise to give Us full satisfaction, no amendment nor excuse whatever has been offered; on the contrary the Emperor has, with his usual dissimulation and craft, aggravated that injury by having other servants of Ours murdered in other parts of the World whilst employed by Us in diplomatic missions. This the Emperor has done regardless of the truce existing between him and Us, a case highly repugnant to all divine or human rights, and against the ancient custom of kings and princes, potentates or republics, since the beginning of the World to Our present days. Not contented with that, and owing no doubt to the great enmity and hatred which secretly he bears Us and Our subjects, the Emperor has lately at Antwerp, as well as in Our county of St. Pol—which, as is notorious, he has usurped and unjustly retains in his power, notwithstanding one of the articles of the truce signed by us two—caused placards to be fixed, ordering Our subjects and others following Our party to quit the country at once on pain of death and confiscation of property.

After the above-mentioned affronts and injuries, it would be impossible for Us not to retaliate in order to get full satisfaction and amendment of the wrongs done to Us. We, therefore, declare war to the Emperor, his adherents, and partisans, as well as to all his patrimonial and other subjects (those of the Empire not included, since it is our perpetual ally) Our enemies. In doing which, We allow and give Our subjects permission to use arms against the Emperor by sea or land, as they may think fit, &c. And We order the present declaration to be announced by public crier, and to be posted up in all the ports and harbours of Normandy and other provinces of this Our kingdom.—Given at Ligny, on the 12th of July of the year 1542, the 28th of Our reign.

Signed : Françoys. *Countersigned :* "Bayart."

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

16 July. **29.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Venerable, tres chier et bien * aime,"—Your letter of the 10th inst.† containing your advice and recommendations on the subject of the revocation of the Navigation edict have come to hand. We thank you for them. We have already issued orders to all the ports and maritime places of these Low Countries to allow English subjects to lade freely and export all sorts of goods and merchandise not forbidden by the laws of that kingdom, just as they did previously to, and before, the promulgation of the edict of the year XL.

We now forward to you the enclosed for the Emperor, Our lord and brother, which is to be forwarded to him as quickly as possible. Should you find that George,‡ the courier, has not yet embarked for Spain, you will send it on to him before he sets sail; if, on the contrary, he has already departed, you will take care that he receives it by express messenger regardless of expense You will let Us know what the expense is that you may be immediately reimbursed, and let this be done without fail, for the matter is urgent.—Brussels, 16 July 1542.

French. Original draft. p. 1.

19 July. **30.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 45–58.

"Madame,"—As I wrote by my despatch of the 1st, I called on the King, who, among other things, declared to me in a long speech how important it was for Your Majesty to provide for the defence of the two islands, of which I wrote on the 3rd inst.,§ openly and frankly owning to me that at the time that he fancied that Your Majesty intended making war on him, he himself had projected, in case of Your Majesty beginning the attack, to surprise and strengthen himself in those very islands, for the defence and relief of which, should he take possession of them, there was on the coast of his own dominions one port—the best, the largest, and the most admirably situated for the purpose; from which port, called Ul (Hull), the crossing to the said islands could be effected in twenty-four hours. He was sure (the king said) that the duke of Olsten (Holstein) had now his eye fixed on those islands, by means of which, if he got hold of them, he could put all Holland under subjection, as if he had the whole of the country in his hands, and might also have the assistance of the duke of Clèves. That Your Majesty might the better weigh the importance of his advice he would show me a chart, which he then and there exhibited, in which the two islands above alluded to were admirably pourtrayed, saying that I might send the chart on for Your Majesty's inspection, on condition, however, that you ordered it to be returned to him as soon as possible. I, therefore, humbly beg Your Majesty that it may be sent back after inspection. The king further said to me that he would not rest or sleep until he heard that his advice had been followed, and the defence of the islands sufficiently provided for, not so much on account of the damage he (the Duke) might do to His Imperial Majesty's subjects, as because he (the King) would be very much annoyed at having such a neighbour hereafter. Indeed, there was a report, as he had been informed, of the Duke having said [to one of his courtiers] that should he by chance fail in his enterprise against Holland, and other countries belonging to the Emperor, through their having been placed in a state of defence, the king of England, who thought of naught else than eating and drinking, might be made to pay for the costs of the game.* May God be pleased that the Duke commence his game by those countries (*par dela*), and thereby over-irritate this king, for should he follow up his game to the waters of Ul (Hull)—as it is probable enough that he will, if he is to attempt anything against this kingdom—he (the Duke) will be so well received, and get such a thrashing that, for this time at least, he will relinquish all idea of attacking us. For these reasons, and because this king will not let me be in peace until I have reported to him that the islands have been placed in a state of defence, I humbly beg and entreat Your Majesty to let me know what I am to say when interrogated on the subject.

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* "Marie, &c. *Venerable, tres chier et bon* (*sic*) aime" is the heading of this original minute.

† *See* above, No. 24, p. 58.

‡ *See* No. 17, p. 47.

§ *See* above, No. 16, p. 46.

The King did the other day repeat to me in abstract the conversation which the French ambassador lately held with him, which conversation agrees substantially with the account given of it in a letter of king Francis to him, of which a copy is enclosed. It differs only on one point—that it was the English ambassador in France who had given occasion for the compliments contained in the letter. I took, of course, no notice of the omission, and did as if I were ignorant of the contents of the letter. The King further said that king

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* "Et mesmez pour estre naguerez adverty que le dit duc d'Holstein a deu dire à quelqun (*sic*) que si dadventure yl fallait (faillait) à son entreprinse contre les Hollandois, et autres pais de l'Empereur, que pourroint avoir donné ordre à leur deffence, que le dit s^{r} roy (qui faisoit bonne chere et ne se mesdoubtoit de riens) pourroit paier l'escot."

Francis had sent a secretary of his * with a letter of credence written entirely in his own hand. The secretary had arrived that very day (the 16th), though two days before this king had heard of his appointment and approaching departure from his ambassador at the court of France. The King, however, has put off the ambassador's audience for two days, which I fancy the French will not like at all, for, as he (the King) says, they intend, in conjunction with the Turkish fleet, to assail Catalonia,† at the same time that a considerable land force of theirs marches on Perpignan.

The above news the King requested me to communicate to Mr. de Granvelle, without, however, saying that it came from him. He did not attach much importance to the projected enterprise, nor to others which king Francis is said to have in view, for, as he said, the season is too far advanced for either he or the Turk to undertake anything serious this year, provided only the duke of Holstein could be prevented from setting his foot on some island or other where he could winter at ease.

Respecting the assistance to the king of the Romans against the Turk, I see no appearance at present of its being granted. Pressed by me to give an answer to the application, the king declared to me, dryly enough, that money was not so plentiful as to be spent in an enterprise without foundation and out of season. That if the treaty now being negociated between Your Imperial Majesty and himself came, as he sincerely wished and hoped, to a good end, there would be plenty of occasions for spending the money he possessed, and even more, and that he considered any expenditure in war against the French to be as meritorious as against the Turk.

Perceiving that, for the present at least, it was of no use attempting to convince him, I did no longer insist upon his answering the king of the Romans' letter, that I might again have occasion to return to the attack. Besides the many excuses he has offered for refusing assistance against the Turk, of which I have from time to time apprised Your Majesty, perhaps the most singular of them is that he considers the Hungarian war over, inasmuch as four thousand Turkish horse, who had sallied out of Buda, had actually been defeated in a skirmish. As a similar report had also come from France, he attached faith to it, and firmly believed that the war in that quarter would soon be at an end.—London, 19 July 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

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* L'Aubespine (Claude de).

† The passage reads thus :—"Les quelz, comme le dit sieur roy est adverty, entendent avec larmee de terre du Turq donner sur la Catellonne, et en ung mesmez temps envoyeroint armee par terre au couste de Perpignan." Catellonne is here for Catalogne or Catalonia, in Spanish, Cateluña.

1542.
20 July. **31.** The Same to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
ff. 148–53.

"Sire,"—Not to delay the transmission of the inclosed packet of letters from the Queen Regent in Flanders just received, which, as I hear, are very important and must needs be forwarded as soon as possible, I will be brief. This King, fearing lest the duke of Holstein* should get a footing on some part of Holland, and especially on the two islands which are at the mouth of the Canal of Amsterdam,† has owned to me, as I have already informed the queen of Hungary, that at the time that he was fearing an attack from Your Imperial Majesty, he himself formed the project of surprising and occupying the said two islands, which (said he) might easily be defended and relieved owing to their vicinity to a certain port—the best and largest in his kingdom—called Ul (Hull); adding that should the duke of Holstein once get hold of those islands, the keys of Holland and Fritzland (Friesland) perhaps also, with the assistance and help of the duke of the Clèves, all that country would be in his hands. That he (the King) very much disliked the prospect of such highly inconvenient seizure and conquest of those islands happening in his days, not only on Your Imperial Majesty's account, but because he (the King) should not like to have such a neighbour as the Duke, who had for some reason quarrelled with him, and been heard to say, not long ago, that if he could not undertake Holland and other countries belonging to Your Imperial Majesty, he would at least attack the king of England—who ate and drank freely without heeding anything else—and make him pay for the cost of the play.‡ "I shall never rest (added the King) unless I hear that the defence of those islands against a '*coup de main*' has been properly attended to," and then he showed me a chart, and told me to send to the Queen, which I did, begging me to write home as warmly and speedily as I could.

Two days before my visit to the King the French ambassador had also been with him, and spoken in terms nearly similar to those of king Francis' letter,§ of which a copy is inclosed, with the one only difference that no mention was made to me of the paragraph alluding to the English ambassador's conversation with king Francis, nor to his having been the first to commence the game (*entamer le jeu*) and give occasion for the compliment alluded to in the

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* That is Frederic, duke of Holstein, who, after the expulsion of Kristiern III. from the throne of Denmark and Sweden, was elected king of the former island, Sweden falling to the lot of Gustav Vasa.

† Texel and Wieringen, though there are several more, like Vlieland, Ter-Schelling, Amelland, and others. *See* above, pp. 47 and 63.

‡ "Que sil ne pouvoit riens exploitter contre la dicte Hollande ou autres pais de vostre maieste, que ce dit roy (que faisoit bonne chere sans soy meffier de riens) pourroit paier lescot, et y adjousta que son experit (*sic*) ne seroit en repoz quil nentedist que bonne provision fust donnee aux dites lettres (isles ?)."

§ *See* that of the 5th July, No. 19, p. 48.

1542.

letter.* I took, of course, good care not to let the king know or suspect that I was in possession of a copy of king Francis' letter to his ambassador (Marillac).

The King then said that a servant of king Francis had arrived in London with credentials in king Francis' own hand, and had this very morning applied for an audience, which he (the King) had granted him for the 21st inst. He said nothing to me, nor did I ask any questions respecting the gentleman's mission; but as I have been able this very morning to obtain from our friend a copy of the king's instructions to him, I need not observe that the gentleman's name is Claude de L'Aubespine, and that his mission is what Your Imperial Majesty will see by the enclosed copy of king Francis' instructions to him.†

As to persuading and inducing this king to help and assist against the Turk, there is no probability of his taking any measure towards it, he himself having offered among others the following excuses: That should the negociation, which has commenced between Your Imperial Majesty and him come, as he has no doubt it will, to a good issue, he himself will want all his money to defray the expenses of the war with France, and that any treasure spent that way will be far more profitable for us than in any undertaking against the Turk, adding that the French counted upon the Turkish fleet attacking the Spanish ports of the Mediterranean, whilst they themselves would invade it by way of Gascony and the Roussillon. Indeed he (the King) knew on good authority that king Francis would soon start for Perpignan at the head of a most powerful army. I might, if I chose (he said), transmit this intelligence to Mr. de Granvelle when I wrote next, without, however, mentioning him as the author of the news. —London, 20 July 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly in cipher.

20 July. **32.** The Same to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
f. 55.

"Madame,"—I yesterday wrote to Your Majesty the news of this city, and received this morning the letter of the 16th inst.,‡ together with a packet for Mr. de Granvelle, for the prompt transmission of which I shall do my best, that it may reach the Emperor's Privy Seal as quickly as possible. Yet, if George has sailed, as there is every reason to fear, I really do not know how to send the packet of letters on, inasmuch

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* "Sauf quil ne me toucha riens que son ambassadeur quil a en France le eust entame le jeu, ny donne occasion de telz compliments, et aussi ne euz je garde de faire le moindre semblant du monde quen sçeusse riens."

† *See* above, p. 54, No. 23.

‡ No. 29, p. 61.

1542.

as Your Majesty does not tell me if I am authorised to look out for an express messenger. Even that could not be easily procured, for he must be a trusty one, besides which, until His Imperial Majesty has provided the zabres (*zabras*) according to agreement, and appointed a person in Biscay to forward the letters to Court, it will be necessary, if the affair is of sufficient importance, as I do believe it is, to send an express messenger with it, and, as I said above, there is no one here now whom I can trust. Meanwhile, however, I will do my best. I will send one of my men after George, and see whether in the English ports there will be any vessel bound for Spain, to which end I will make use of this Admiral's letters of favor.

Your Majesty will see by the enclosed copy that the man in whose favor and commendation the Emperor must already have written to Your Majesty is not asleep.* Please Your Majesty to keep him in mind, and likewise send me news of the military preparations made there to meet and oppose the much boasted French aggression, chiefly for the satisfaction of these people and mine, and that I may show confidence in the result.—London, 20 July 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

20 July. **33.** The SAME to MR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 19.

"Monseigneur,"—Your Lordship will see by my letter to His Imperial Majesty the news of this country, and likewise the good services that the friend † is continually rendering; he certainly deserves well to be remembered to you, especially now that he himself is in great distress.

It seems to me that there is no occasion to mistrust this king, because his ambassador in France has addressed to the Admiral (Brion-Chabot) the words contained in the latter's missive to Mr. Marillac, of which a copy is inclosed.‡ There are more reasons than ever, as the Lord Privy Seal (Fitz-William) said to me some time before the departure of the bishop of Westminster, for this king holding at present such language through his ambassador, and for the latter speaking to the Admiral in the terms he has done.

I must not forget to say that whatever I do to dissuade the King, he still persists in his idea that the efforts the Pope is making to induce this Imperial Majesty to conclude a peace with the king of France, have their origin in the Emperor himself, who has actually applied for his intervention; that

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* Here, as in many other places, *l'ami, le confident, l'homme de lambassadeur de France* are meant for Jean de Honz, a spy in Chapuys' pay, about whom *see* above, p. 16.

† That is Jean de Hons, as above.

‡ *See* No. 22, p. 54.

1542.

the king of France considers the Pope to be partial to the Emperor, so much so, that he is deliberating on suppressing the monasteries in his kingdom, as he himself has done in England.

The King did also tell me that the Emperor ought to look out for some expedient or other for quieting the duke of Holstein (Frederic) without having recourse to the count Palatine [Philip], who, after all, has as many reasons to be dissatisfied with His Imperial Majesty as the Duke, according to the declaration made by the Palatine himself when he was last in England.*—London, 20 July 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. p. 1.

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B., Neg. d'An.
Vol. 3.

34. The Queen Regent, Governess of the Low Countries. Instructions to Messire Eustace Chapuys and Master Jehan de le Sauch.

First of all they will present the Queen's affectionate recommendations, and say that she is aware from the letters of the ambassadors residing here and there, as well as from other messages mutually sent, that the king of France has recommenced war against the Emperor, and invaded his dominions both here, in the Low Countries, as elsewhere on both sides of the mountains, thus breaking through and violating the treaties of peace of Madrid and Cambray. That, therefore, His Imperial Majesty has been provoked and forced, to his great regret, to take up arms for the defence of his kingdoms, subjects, allies, and confederates, notwithstanding his having previously done everything in his power to keep and observe the said treaties of peace, and better than that, having often consented to accept reasonable and honorable terms and conditions, sometimes even yielding part of his own rights in order to secure lasting peace to Christendom, of which there is now greater need than ever, and averting as far as possible the great evils that always follow in the train of dissension and war amongst Christian princes.

The ambassadors will also say that the Queen has always praised and extolled above all things the zeal and affection which the king of England has shown towards peace, trying to mediate between the Emperor and the king of France and make them agree together, and thus far working for the peace and quiet of Christendom, in doing which the king of England has acted the part of a good prince, the friend and ally of both the Emperor and the king of France. He, the king of England, will do a meritorious work by persevering in such just and holy intentions, and endeavoring by all honorable means to put a stop to the hostilities that have already broken out. Had the Queen not consented one year ago to the withdrawal of the force which the Emperor had in the Low Countries, nothing of the sort would have happened; but it was not in her power to do otherwise. Yet, to respond to the king of England's good intentions, she has always tried, as far as she could, to avoid troubles and annoyance (*fascheries*) and procure peace, which has always been, and is, her constant aim.

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* The Palatine Philip, brother of Frederic, had been in England in 1539, and sued for the hand of princess Mary. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 324, and *Int.* x.

The ambassadors will further remind the king of England of the old alliances and amicable relations between the two countries, so often confirmed, renewed, and improved by his (the King's) predecessors, as well as by the Emperor himself; which friendship and alliances the inhabitants of both countries have peacefully enjoyed for a long period of time. The King may be well sure that he will never see the contrary of that. In short, should he recall to his memory the many defensive alliances he and his predecessors on the throne have made with the Emperor, he will find that on no occasion has he had to complain of the Low Countries. Nor can the Queen imagine that the king of England will ever wilfully consent to the Low Countries being oppressed, molested, and destroyed, considering that the evils and inconveniences caused by war can in nowise be profitable to his own kingdom, but may on the contrary fall on it, and expose his English subjects to the very same dangers and ruin threatened by the French, who are England's inveterate adversaries and mortal enemies. Indeed, one may easily guess what king Francis' intentions may be when he has contracted a marriage alliance with Scotland for the sole purpose of securing the services of 20,000 of king James' men to help him in his own warlike undertakings.

The Queen calls the ambassadors' attention to the fact that king Francis is actually approaching the frontiers of Flanders and the Low Countries at the head of a large division of his men-at-arms (*gendarmerie*), with heavy artillery and so forth, with no other intention than that of invading these countries, that being the reason why it behoves her to have recourse to the help and protection of her and the Emperor's good friends, neighbours, and allies, and above all of the king of England, rightly considered as one of the most ancient and truest friends of these Low Countries. The Queen, therefore, begs and requests the King on this occasion to help and defend her against the violence of the French —just as she herself would be prepared to do were England attacked or invaded by the enemy—since, as said above, the king of France is now advancing at the head of overwhelming forces.

Should the king of England make any difficulty in assisting with men for the defence of this country, you and your colleague (Le Sauch) are to propose, as if it came from yourselves, that he be pleased to assist Us with money (*deniers*), that is to say, with 200,000, or at least with 100,000 gold crs., and should he refuse that, you might ask him for the said sums as a loan on suitable securities, such as her own and the Emperor's word. Accordingly as you may find the King disposed to one or other of these two measures, you will take the necessary engagements in the Queen's name, not forgetting to inform her as soon as possible of the result of your negociation.

Should there be an opportunity, the ambassadors may tell the King's privy councillors or ministers that it is a notorious fact that some years ago he himself offered to assist the French, then his allies, with money, and that he cannot now do less for the Emperor, according to the letter of the treaties of defensive and offensive alliance between the two crowns.

The ambassadors ought also to ask the king of England to send one of his to king Francis, intimating that he is the friend and ally of the Low Countries, and bound by treaty to defend them, and, therefore, that he cannot allow them to be invaded. That might perhaps prevent the king's advance, for once aware that England is in our favor and ready to help, it is not likely that the French will persist in their attack. The ambassadors might also try, as if it originated with themselves, to persuade the king of England to ask for the prorogation of the truce with France under the plea that during that time peace—so much wanted in Christendom—might be effected; for certainly it would be a great shame for the Christian princes if under present circumstances, putting aside their own petty differences and quarrels, they did not together march against the Turk.*

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

25 July. **35.** The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys.

B. Arch. de Bourgogne.

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—We have delayed answering your letters of the 12th, 16th, 19th and 20th of this month, owing to the many cares and calls on Our attention by which We are surrounded in consequence of the king of France—without any regard to his promise under oath to keep the truce concluded between Our brother, the Emperor, and him; and without previous challenge or defiance, as customary in such cases—having invaded the country under Our government on two different sides, namely, on the side of Luxemburg on the

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* There is no date to these Instructions, but as the invasion of Flanders by the Luxemburg took place in June, I have deliberately calendared them within this month. I have not seen any letter of Chapuys' announcing, as he generally does, the arrival in London of his colleague; there can be no doubt, however, that La Sauch or Le Sauch (for in both ways have I found his name written) had been in England as early as the year 1525, and, therefore, there is no difficulty in admitting that he came again in 1542 in order to promote the treaty of alliance in the part particularly relating to the Low Countries and the intercourse of trade with England. The document, however, which seems to be an original draft, is not in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, but in the Archives de Bourgogne at Brussels.

1542.

13th inst., and on that of Clèves on the 15th. We fear, moreover, that king Francis is about to make a third attack on the frontier of Arthois and Lower Flanders, notwithstanding that not later than the 12th, on the eve of invading Luxemburg, he himself positively declared to Mr. de Marvol, the Imperial ambassador in France, that he would attempt nothing against this country unless We gave him cause for it. Now, as We have done nothing on Our part to provoke such an uncalled-for aggression on the territories under Our government, as We have always tried not to give him offence lest Christendom should be troubled and in danger, We find his act in this respect a most unjustifiable one, the more so that by the sudden invasion of these provinces, without previous challenge, as is customary in such cases, he (king Francis) has undoubtedly gained an advantage over Us, since, as aforesaid, he has despatched the duke of Orleans, his son, with an army towards the Luxemburg, where he has taken Dampvilliers, a small town (*villette*) incapable of defence, and may perhaps take also several others in the interior, which, not being fortified, may easily fall into his hands. Indeed, very few, if any, of the towns in the Luxemburg are susceptible of defence. That is why We have given orders that only a few, such as Thionville and Yvoix, which have regular fortifications, should be further strengthened and furnished with ordnance, ammunition, and every other necessary of war, so as to enable their garrisons to sustain a siege to the last extremity. Should We keep those two towns from the French, they will not profit much by their occupation of the Luxemburg.

On the side of Clèves, Mr. de Longueval, together with Martin van Rossen, who has taken the title of "Marshal of Ghelders," have penetrated into the district of Vos le Duc,* burnt some villages and robbed the poor peasants (*pauvres subjects*), without however being able to surprise any place of importance. True is it that they have taken Hochstrate, the country seat of the La Laing family, which they thought would be a place of some importance; but they were deceived, for it turned out to be a pleasure house rather than a fortress. They boast of coming soon to Anvers (Antwerp), and laying siege to it; but We have reasons to believe that they will be wiser, and not come this way; if they do, they will find that it is no easy matter to lay siege to a town of that size having Our forces in their rear, which, though now divided, may be concentrated and brought to bear against the besiegers. For the present, however, having been taken unawares, We must submit, [and endure the damage which the enemy may do in the flat country (*le plat pais*), but We hope to God that, once assembled and concentrated, Our army will be able to pay the enemies their due.

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* Bois le Duc, or Hertzogen—Busch in Holland, the capital of N. Brabant.

I have purposely entered into these details that you may, if the opportunity offers, inform that king of this sudden and uncalled-for invasion of the French, as well of whatever else may contribute to increase and foster the king's avowed tendency towards a closer friendship and alliance with the Emperor. And if you can, with your usual discretion, ascertain whether the King would feel inclined under present circumstances to succour and help these Low Countries, assailed as they have been on so many sides, you will do Us great service. But that must be done indirectly, as if it came from yourself, unless you see a fair chance of obtaining that king's help, however small it may be, by representing to him that should the French now get possession of Flanders and the Low Countries, they are sure to attempt in some way or other to dictate to the English, whom they would no longer care for or dread. That intending, as We do, to offer all possible resistance, and do Our best in this matter, We have no doubt that with his help and assistance, should he grant it, We shall be able to gain Our object, which is, as you may imagine, to preserve these countries from the enemy's ambitious designs. These considerations, and others which your knowledge and experience of political affairs may suggest, you will take care to lay before the King as if they came from yourself, and hint that should he help Us on the side of Arthois and Flanders, whilst We oppose the enemy on this frontier, Our position will be much improved.

Should you have audience from the King, you might tell him that We have thankfully received the advice and warning he once sent Us respecting the Islands—which the duke of Holstein might perhaps attack and take possession of—on the coast of Holland.* That precautionary warning on the part of the King We consider to be a further proof of his true and sincere affection for the Emperor and his subjects in these parts, as well as for Us. You will, therefore, after thanking him, say in Our name that We intend to provide in such a way for the efficient defence of those islands that neither he nor Our own sea coast may suffer from the Duke's aggression should he attempt to establish himself there. That, in order to guard against such an event, We are now arming a number of ships to prevent the Danes from landing in the Islands, or even approaching them with hostile intentions. You may also tell him that a few days ago Our people captured close to the Verre, in Zeeland, a large ship of the duke of Holstein, armed for war, and cruising with the intention of landing men to find out what was being done there and at Flushing † as to naval preparations, and that her captain, being interro-

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* *See* above, p. 66.

† “Que depuis aulcuns jours en ça, noz gens de guerre ont prins une naviere equippee à la guerre par le dit duc de Holsten, estant venuz devant la uarre (?) en Zeelande pour mettre aulcuns en litte (*sic*) et espier ce que on y faisoit et a [debarque gens là] et [a] Flessings.”

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gated as to whence he came, and what the ship's cargo consisted of, confessed to having been sent by the duke of Holstein expressly to visit the maritime coast of Holland, for the purpose of ascertaining what military preparations were being made for its defence, and that, according to orders, he had already landed two men on the coast of Holland, and was about to land two more in Zeeland when his ship was captured. The captain further confessed that his orders were, after doing his business in the Low Countries, to sail for England and do the same sort of work there, trying to inquire and ascertain what maritime armaments were being made ready. Then he was to cross over to France, and present to the king of that country certain letters from his master, which letters the captain threw into the sea the moment he saw he would be taken prisoner. He never declared what were the contents of the letters, pretending he knew nothing about them, and that his charge was merely to have them delivered to the king of France. It may, however, be presumed that his orders were to go to France and report on what he had seen and observed on the coasts of Holland and England, so as to settle what his master, the Duke, would have to do with the ships which he is said to have armed and fitted out for sea. He was then to revisit England, and, should he meet with contrary winds, come back to this sea and try his fortune, and, corsair-like, capture and rob as many English merchant ships as he possibly could. We are determined to have the man interrogated afresh, and, if necessary, put to the torture, in order to ascertain whether his mission was really what he tells Us, and should the judges extort from him anything that may personally concern the King or his kingdom, shall not fail to write that you may bring it to his notice.

As to the revocation of the edict published here on the navigation to and from England, even before the receipt of your letter of the 12th inst., which was delivered by the court-master of the English merchants residing in this country, it had already been carried into effect to the satisfaction of that official, as he himself has written to Us. We have sent him word that should he meet with any impediment or obstacle he is to let Us know, and We will take care that everything is settled to his complete satisfaction.*

If king Francis' secretary † spoke to that king in the terms specified in your letter to the Emperor, of which you sent Us a duplicate, We find that he was in full accordance with what the king himself said on the 12th inst. to the Emperor's ambassador two days before he commenced war on this side, namely, "that he would continue to be friendly as long as We did not give him cause and occasion to be otherwise," and if so, that king will be able to judge of the sincerity and good faith of His Most Christian Majesty.

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* *See* above, No. 27, p. 61.

† Claude de L'Aubespine, *see* above, No. 30, p. 65.

Should the Emperor address Us any letters by way of England,* pray have them forwarded to Us as soon as possible, as you did once with those which We wrote to him whilst in Spain. We fully acknowledge the services which you are doing Us in this particular, as well as the care you take in keeping Us daily informed of events in that country. Pray continue to do this.—De M[alines], the 25th of July 1542.

Indorsed: "The Queen of Hungary to the Ambassador in England."

French. Original draft. pp. 3.

25 July. S. E. L. 173, f. 130. B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 131.

36. LUIS SARMIENTO DE MENDOZA to the HIGH COMMANDER OF LEON.

What Your Lordship tells me of a report being current at Valladolid of the Infanta,† daughter of this king and queen [of Portugal], growing so fat that it may hereafter prove to be an impediment to her having children, there is not a word of truth in it. . . .‡ The Infanta is taller than her mother; she is well made, more stout than slim, it is true, but at the Palace, where many good-looking ladies may be seen, no one looks better than her. On the other hand all agree that her condition and temper are angelical, that she is very liberal, gracious, and very fond of dress. She dances very well, and as to music she knows more of it than a band master (*maestro de capilla*). She also knows Latin, and, above all, is a very good Christian. From certain ladies of the Royal household, who still remain here, of the suite of Doña Maria de Velasco,§ and are now in her service and in that of her mother, the Queen, I have tried to procure reliable information respecting her person and habits; they all tell me that she is uncommonly robust and healthy, &c.‖

I will make Don Juan ¶ look at her closely through his spectacles, and I should wish that people would come from

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* At this time the Emperor was at Monçon in Aragon, holding Cortes. He arrived there on the 27th of June, and remained until the 10th of October. *See* Gachard's *Itineraire de Charles V.*, and Bradford's *Itinerary*, p. 532.

† Doña Maria, who was married to prince Philip, son of the Emperor Charles V.

‡ "Muy gran partero devia (*sic*) ser, y mal amigo de flacas el que esto allá diso."

§ This Doña Maria de Velasco was the daughter of the first High Constable of Castille, Don Pedro, and sister of the second (Don Bernardino Fernandez de Velasco). She was married twice:—firstly to Juan Pacheco, marquis of Villena, and secondly to Don Beltran de la Cueva, duke of Alburquerque. In 1524 she was already "camarera mayor," or mistress of the robes, to queen Catalina of Castille, daughter of Philip and Joanna, then married to the king of Portugal, Joaõ III.

‖ "Que es muy concertada en venille su camisa despues que tuvo tiempo para elle, que dizen es en lo que mas va para tener hijos."

¶ Who this Don Juan was does not appear; most probably one of the Imperial physicians.

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these parts to inspect her, and report to His Imperial Majesty and to Your Lordship also. This is what I know of the Infanta up to the present time, and I do not hesitate to state it under my signature and seal. Her father and mother, I must add, doat upon her.—Lisbon, 25 July 1542.

Signed: "Luis Sarmiento."

Addressed: "To Don Francisco de los Covos, High Commander of Leon, in the Order of Santiago."

Indorsed: "Paragraph of a letter from the Emperor's ambassador in Portugal to High Commander Cobos."

Spanish. Original, in cipher.

2 Aug. **37.** Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
ff. 57–62.

"Madame,"—Immediately after the departure of the courier, who took my letter of the 20th,* I sent to the King one of my own men, accompanied by another courier, to ask for a passport for this latter, besides a licence for him to hire riding horses on the road. My object for doing so was that the courier should overtake George at any hazard before his embarcation for Spain. My man, moreover, was furnished with letters of favor for all the ports on this side of the Channel, for the King, after reading the letter which Your Majesty caused to be written to me in date of the 17th ult.—which letter, by the way, I deemed it expedient to show to him, not only on account of its contents relating to George, the courier, but also to inform him (the King) of the measures taken by Your Majesty respecting the Navigation edict, that he might decree the same on his side—immediately granted my application. Indeed, no sooner did the King hear of my application, than he sent an express messenger to his Admiral (Sir John Russel), ordering him that, should George have sailed—which he had done with a prosperous wind on the very same day that Your Majesty's letter arrived—measures were to be taken immediately for the passage of my other courier to Spain with the packet of letters to the Emperor's address. My man tells me that when he showed the packet to the privy councillors, explaining summarily its contents, and that he wanted a quick passage for the courier who accompanied him, the former were much astonished and half angry at his not having applied sooner to them. My man excused himself as well as he could, and I myself afterwards did the same, on the plea that the documents and letters contained in the packet were of great importance. Lest the privy councillors should think that my desire of forwarding to the Emperor, in Spain, copies of the very papers I had

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* No. 32, p. 67.

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previously sent to Your Majesty in Flanders* had somewhat slackened, I likewise told them that I had been deceived by one courier, who, after being engaged, had refused to depart, which is the truth. As to the present one, the only one who can be trusted, I have been obliged to give him 40 ducats for his trouble, besides paying for his passage and personal expenses, which will amount altogether to a considerable sum, especially if it is to be as dear as George's, who, in spite of his close bargaining, will have to pay in Spain one hundred and thirty ducats thither and back. The vessel in which George sailed was of one hundred tons. The engagement is that she is to wait for the answer without further charge, but if she remains longer than 20 days in port, I am to pay one "*angelot*" per day.

On the 29th ult. Your Majesty's letter of the 25th came to hand. According to the custom prevailing in this court for foreign ambassadors not to call on the King without having previously applied for an audience, I immediately wrote by one of my men asking for one. My letter was addressed to the Admiral (Sir John Russel), not only because he is the minister through whom the chart of the islands† has been sent to Your Majesty—and which, by the way, had been received and again returned to the Admiralty the last time I myself went to Court—but because the Admiral happens to be the personage near the King who is the best inclined to us, and is besides a great friend of mine.‡ I told my man to explain to the Admiral the particular reasons I had to ask for an audience, since, besides requesting the King's help, I wanted to know whether the King, who is now taking his recreation [in the country], would consider me importunate if I went to him for the sole purpose of speaking to him about assistance against the French. The Admiral, after reporting my petition to the King, answered that there was no need for me to take the trouble of going to Court; I had better put off my visit until I had further news from Your Majesty to communicate. The King, his master, (he said) was admirably pleased at Your Majesty having followed his advice and provided for the defence of the two islands § in question—he should have liked to do that even at his own cost rather than let them fall into the enemy's hands. The king (continued the Admiral) had also been in fear for Antwerp, until he heard that Your Majesty had provided for its defence, and sent thither the duke [of Aarshot] * and the prince [of Orange], whose ability and good conduct he thought were sure warrants that there would be no mishap there.

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* "Et furent les dits du Conseil du roy bien esbays et à demy courrouces contre mon dit homme quant yl leur disoit quil nestoit la alle pour solliciter davoir ung passaige exprez, ce que leur sembloit estre tres requiz pour les respectz que dessus. Et ainsy ma yl convenu faire de quoy (de peur que) ne me refroidissent le desir quavoye denvoyer à sa $^{\text{te}}$ semblables copiez que manday (*sic*) dernierement à vre. ma$^{\text{te}}$."

† *See* above, p. 66.

‡ "Que aussy pour estre personnaige rond, bien incline et fort mon amy."

§ *See* above, p. 73.

Respecting the help and assistance demanded in the letter to the King, my man addressed to the Admiral various representations, though under protest that all came from himself, not from me. He said, among other things, that the occasion seemed to him urgent, and the danger imminent, &c. The Admiral approved entirely of my man's reasoning, and offered to speak to the King on the subject, though he himself made no remark at the time. Nor did my man insist too much on it, for fear the Admiral should suspect that the idea had originated with me, and that he spoke in my name. However, yesterday, on the receipt of a letter from Mr. du Rœulx, I again sent my man to Court to learn from the Admiral, as well as from the Lord Privy Seal and from secretary Wristley (Wriothesley), whether means could not be found to get assistance on the side of Low Flanders (*La basse Flandrez*), which the duke of Vendôme seemed decided to invade. Should this application of mine fail, I would ask the King to detach two or three ships (out of the seven or eight he has already armed and fitted for sea) and send them on to the waters of Antwerp, on the plea that they are going for the protection of the English merchants established therein and of their property, or at least of escorting such of their trading vessels as might be returning to England.†

To that end I yesterday sent for the court-master of the English in that port, and imparted to him my ideas on the subject, giving him to understand that I very much doubted whether Your Majesty would allow the English merchant vessels to leave the ports of the Low Countries for fear of their being captured by the enemy and your being made responsible for their loss.‡ I told him that he ought to go to the King and to the Privy Council, and ask them for a couple of ships for the protection of English residents and merchants there, which he promised to do.

It seems to me that for the present there is no other means of obtaining substantial aid from this king—as long as an answer does not come from Spain—than the one I propose, which, in my opinion, is sufficiently well coloured to prevent the French from being able to accuse the English of breaking the peace, for once the English ships in sight of Antwerp, whoever wants their services, may proceed as if he embargoed them for his own use.[*] With regard to secretary Aubespine, the French ambassador and he went to see the king 25 miles from this city. They arrived there on the 20th of July according to appointment; yet they had no audience until the 24th, which audience, as I hear from our friend,[†] and from other quarters, was very short and meagre as far as words and treatment are concerned (*de parolles et de chiere*). A similar reception had the two ambassadors met with the day before from the privy councillors themselves, for I am told that they were treated in the coldest and rudest possible manner. Not only were they not visited, as I hear, by the privy councillors, or accompanied by gentlemen courtiers, as is the custom in such cases; but even those who in former times were mostly in favor of them and their pretensions did not deign to speak, and hardly dared to look at them on the occasion. And yet the said Claude de Aubespine has employed all means in his power to persuade people that he has been well received and treated at Court, which is false, for no sooner had he seen the king than he went away to France without taking leave of anyone.

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* Philippe de Croy and René de Nassau.

† "Soub couleur et occasion daller querre ou deffendre lez grans biens que les Anglois ont au dit Anvers, ou à tout au moins pour faire escorte aux navieres marchandes."

‡ "Doubtant quilz pourroient estre surprins en mer par les enemys [et] quaprez nous en feroient guerre (querre ?)."

On the arrival in London of secretary Aubespine, he and the French resident ambassador went to a place 20 miles from this city in order to see the naval preparations the king is making there. This time the ambassador again accompanied l'Aubespine to the same port, where he was to re-embark for France, that they might both have another look at the fortifications and fitting out of war ships in the port, the ambassador having assured his colleague that he might on his return to France assure the king that the English ships would not be ready to put to sea for the next two months. And yet, notwithstanding the French ambassador's asseverations, I know as a fact that two of the Royal ships have already left the port, and that the remaining five or six will be ready to set sail in a week hence. The commander of this fleet will be Master Huyet (Whyatt), the same who was once ambassador to the Emperor in Spain, and lately also in Gand (Ghent).

Just at this moment the man I sent to Court with Mr. du Rœulx's letter to me has returned. The substance of the letter is the desire he feels of being useful to this king in the execution of the Emperor's orders, and at the same time to announce the invasion of Arthois by Mr. de Vendôme, adding that within one month's time, or so, the French will cast all their venom on that country, and that should this king send a division of infantry, with a sufficient quantity of ordnance, it would not be difficult to undertake some important enterprise against them. The Lord Privy Seal (Fitz-William) sent me the following message by my man: "The king, my master

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[*] "Sans que lez françoys len puissent raisonablement calumpnier, car estant lez navierez de par de la que (qui) sen vouldra servyr, lon pourra tenir la grimasse de les arrester comme par force."

[†] Jean de Honz.

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(said he), has been wonderfully pleased at hearing of Mr. du Rœulx' affectionate sentiments towards him. He thanks him most cordially for those sentiments; but with regard to Mr. de Vendôme and his invasion of Arthois, he believes that His Imperial Majesty's forces in that province are so strong and so well equipped that there is nothing to fear at all there; besides which he himself has so provided for the defence of the towns and castles he possesses on that side of the French frontier, that whoever approaches them will get nothing but blows (*coupz de bastons*). Even now he is daily sending thither ordnance and ammunition as is notorious to everyone. The whole affair, however, depends upon the answer which the bishop of Westminster (Thirlby) will bring back from Spain, which answer can not tarry long. That will be the proper time and opportunity to talk of the aid and help to be given. Should, however, the urgency be such that His Imperial Majesty's affairs in the Low Countries become desperate, I (Chapuys) might write and apply for that aid and assistance on the terms and conditions specified by the treaty of Cambray, whilst he and others, whom I know to be attached to the Emperor, will present my letters, and do their best towards inducing the king, their master, to grant Us the help and assistance I asked for, and that in the meantime the state of affairs was much better than it had ever been."

Such was the Lord Privy Seal's message to me; but neither he nor the Admiral had much time then to go into particulars and explain to my man, for they were both in council treating with an ambassador of the king of Scotland, who had lately come to England on account of the mutual raids on the Borders. Both were then engaged in settling with the rest of the privy councillors the indemnities to be given to each of the parties who had suffered from such raids. I have no doubt that the privy councillors suspect this last skirmish on the Borders to be entirely due to the instigations of the French.

Although many days before the Lord Privy Seal sent me the above message, I thought that it would be very desirable for the Emperor's reputation to obtain (no matter at what price and on what conditions) some sort of help and assistance from this king, yet I have refrained from my application, and will continue to do so until I receive Your Majesty's positive commands on the subject. As to the succour of Antwerp, there is no longer an occasion to apply for it, since the French have raised the siege and gone away.

To-day, or to-morrow, the revocation of the statute on the lading of foreign vessels will be proclaimed here. I have not pressed the privy councillors unusually hard, considering, as I do, that nowadays and under the circumstances it will be less dangerous, not to say more sure, for our merchants to lade their goods in English bottoms.

I forgot to say that these people do no longer fear as much as they formerly did the maritime armaments of Denmark, having heard from good quarters, as the Admiral himself informed me the other day, that the duke of Holstein has only six or seven war ships, and those not in very good condition, and that he has them for the defence of his own coasts rather than for attacking other countries,* which fact Your Majesty will be able to verify from the Danish captain,† now a prisoner in the Low Countries.

I have purposely delayed writing to Your Majesty until I saw whether there was news from Spain. None has come, however; should there be any, I shall not fail to advise Your Majesty.—London, 2 Aug. 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 5.

3 Aug. **38.** CHANCELLOR POYET to CARDINAL DE TOURNON.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 78.

"Monseigneur,"—Your magnanimity and benevolence will, if you please, induce you to help and assist those who, like me, are surrounded by tribulation and affliction, and are already suffering in their honor and person; for I am condemned to miserable captivity and am being conducted to prison, God knows where. I cannot otherwise describe my misery than beg and entreat you, as humbly as I can, to have pity on my distress. Be pleased to help and assist one who certainly deserves not the plight to which he has been reduced.—Vargelay, 4th of August, 1542. Your most humble and most obedient servant, Guillaume Poyet.

Addressed: To Mons. le Cardinal de Tournon.

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter of Chancellor Poyet to Cardinal de Tournon."

French. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

3 Aug. **39.** The SAME to the ADMIRAL.‡

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 79.

"Monsieur,"—The state of unbearable tribulation in which, as you know, I am, compels me to be importunate, and beg you to recommend my poor affairs to the King, begging him, for the sake of Christ and his passion on Earth, to allow me to retire to my house [in the country], where he can make such use of me as he pleases, and not permit me to be

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* "Je oblyoes de dire que ceulx-cy ne monstrent si grande craincte de larmee [de] Dannemarck quilz faisoient çy devant, estant advertiz, comme ma envoye dire le dit admiral, que le duc d'Holsten ne doibt avoir que six ou sept navierez, non gueres bien en ordre, et quil sembloit quil lez tenoit la plus pour la garde de son pais que pour aultre effect."

† About this captain, *see* p. 73.

‡ Philippe de Brion-Chabot, count of Charny and Bussançois, who succeeded Anne de Montmorency, in consequence of which chancellor Poyet and others were banished from Court.

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taken into custody, and my person dragged to a prison, being, as you know I am, afflicted by serious malady. Have pity on one who is suffering more than he can say.

Signed: "Poyet."

Indorsed: "Copy of a letter from the Chancellor of France to the Admiral."

French.

7 Aug. **40.** ADRIEN DE CROY to the GOVERNOR OF GUISNES.[*]

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 22.

"Monsieur,"—I have received your letter and thank you much for it, as well as for its contents and the joyous news you give me of the king's remembrance of my person. I profess to be the king of England's most humble and devoted servant.

As to the carriage for the enterprize in question it shall soon be ready, and the king of England may be sure that nothing will be omitted on my part to fulfil his orders when they do come. Our enemy is now laying siege to the castle of Tournehem,[†] which, I am afraid, will soon fall into their hands, for I myself have not men enough under my command to attempt its relief and fight the French, owing to my having been obliged to attend to the defence of other towns and fortresses under my charge, and also because I am by no means so strong in cavalry as the enemy is. I will, however, do my best to relieve Tournehem without risking too much or unreasonably exposing the small force under my command. If I could only get the assistance of an English force, however small, I might do something, as that would give courage to my men and frighten the enemy, who are greatly afraid of the English. I earnestly beg you to do your best towards obtaining that King's co-operation; for that, I am sure, would be a most efficient help under the circumstances. I am now writing to our ambassador in England about this, and beg you to forward my letter to him by the very first opportunity.—Waten, 7th of August 1542.

Signed: "Adrien de Croy."

Addressed: "To the Captain of Guisnes."

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

9 Aug. **41.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 65–76.

"Madame,"—Yesterday, at dinner time, the French ambassador and I met at Windsor, whither we had been summoned in this king's name for the express purpose of hearing certain declarations of his from the lips of his privy councillors. They were to tell us, in the king's name, that

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[*] Sir John Wallop, called Walloppe in the original.

[†] "Nos ennemis sont devant le chateau de Tournehem, et je nai pas assez de monde pour le secourir, et crains quil tombera au pouvoir des franchois."

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considering the agitation and troubles of Christendom, which was almost all in arms owing to Your Imperial Majesty and the king of France being actually at war with each other; considering that the king of Scotland (as it was rumoured) had issued a proclamation calling upon his subjects to be ready for war, and march in whatever direction they were told—which could not be elsewhere than to England, the only country bordering on theirs, and against which they (the Scotch) might have conceived enmity; considering that the king of England, for the greater security and tranquillity of his own kingdom, had also determined to arm, and make as many levies of men as he thought fit under the circumstances, they (the privy councillors) had sent for us—the French ambassador and myself—to inform us of their master's determination, lest we should find it strange and irregular that he should be making military preparations in his kingdom. Therefore (the councillors continued) the king of England, perceiving that war had actually broken out between Your Imperial Majesty and the king of France, by land as well as by sea, in order to obviate the damages and losses which his subjects had sustained during the past wars, as well as to protect the intercourse of trade with other nations, had armed certain war ships of his own, which were to set sail immediately for that purpose. We were (the privy councillors said) to write to our respective masters, advising the King's determination on that score, and warning them separately that in case of their arming by sea, they were not in any way to interfere with his subjects, violate their privileges and the immunity of their ports, harbours, bays, and straits, or ill-treat English navigators, for that was a thing which the King could in nowise tolerate, and might give him occasion to adopt a different line of conduct from that of past times.

My answer to the privy councillors was thus conceived: I told them that I thanked the king most humbly for having reminded me of what I considered my duty as Imperial ambassador. I had already written home about it, and felt quite sure that both the Emperor and Your Majesty (the Queen) would for the sake of that affectionate regard and friendship which he and you had always professed, and still profess for the king, their master, have acted as honesty and reason demand in such a case. They (the privy councillors) could not have afforded us (the ambassadors) a better proof of their master's benevolence and kind intentions than the declaration and warning they had just made us in his name; and that, but for the express purpose of calumniating and injuring him, no one in this World would dare to misinterpret his warnings and purpose in arming, for being, as he was, one of the greatest princes in Christendom, and one of its strongest pillars, and fearing lest, should war become general, it would be destroyed, he (the king) had decided to prevent, if possible, its apparently impending ruin, and chiefly that of his own subjects. That as arms and weapons were always dangerous when handled by furious or passionate people, so might they be considered salutary and almost harmless in the hands of a prince so virtuous as their master was; and that if Diogenes, the philosopher—himself a private individual—fearing to be overtaken by idleness, employed himself in rolling and turning inside his tub whilst others were thinking of resisting the enemy's assaults, far less could the king of England, one of the chief members and princes of the Christian Republic, remain idle and inactive under present circumstances. This (I added) was not said by way of advice coming from me, for it would be a great temerity and presumption on my part to pretend to offer it to a prince so wise and experienced in political affairs as their master was—one who knew better than any other man in the World what he ought to do in similar cases.

To this answer of mine the French ambassador agreed substantially, only adding that it was almost impossible that in a large army making war against another there should not be some ill-conditioned soldiers; but that if such were found in that of his master, the king of France, inclined to commit unwarrantable mischief, it was to be presumed that they would be promptly punished as they deserved. That, however, ought not to be a cause (said he) for alienating the king of England's friendship. This remark of the French ambassador, by way of supplement to his speech, was in my opinion unnecessary, for he ought to have presumed that the English would soon come down on his master for the many robberies, devastations, and cruelties practised on this king's subjects since the declaration of the present war.

However that may be, the King, as I afterwards heard from his Lord Privy Seal, approved of my answer. True is it that before the arrival of the French ambassador in the Council-room, that official had informed me of the declaration which the privy councillors were about to make to us in the king's name, and that consequently I had some minutes in which to prepare my answer. The Lord Privy Seal had further announced to me that the king, his master, was anxiously expecting an answer from the Emperor, and that in the meanwhile, not to lose time, he was raising 15,000 *or* 16,000 *men under his (the Privy Seal's) command, to be sent to whichever place or country they might be mostly wanted in; that almost immediately he would order to sea thirteen or fourteen of his best war ships, manned by able and well-appointed crews, the best that could be found anywhere on the sea. That besides that, the king had a large galley almost ready to go out to sea. He (the Privy Seal) thought that the French privateers, who ever since the commencement of this war had been scouring the Channel, and committing all manner of depredations and cruelties on English merchant vessels, would quickly withdraw to the ports of France for safety, or* *else be severely punished for their depredations, of which the Lord Privy Seal himself related to me some flagrant instances. He also told me that having suggested to his master the expediency of now sending over some troops to land in the Low Countries and assist Your Majesty, his answer was that he anticipated that before the levies he had ordered were quite ready to take the field there would be news from Spain, and that then would be the time for getting to work more openly and efficiently, and that since his war vessels had been ordered out to sea with instructions to protect his merchant navy and sink French privateers, if any were to be found, the English fleet might at the same time succour the ports of the Low Countries. That seemed to him the best plan for the present, since there was no immediate danger by land, and affairs were in pretty good train.*

Such was the report which the Lord Privy Seal (Sir William Fitz-William) made to me; then upon my suggesting to him that perhaps the king had summoned the French ambassador and me to his presence for the express purpose of hearing from our lips what was the real cause of this present war, as well as the reason and justification we might adduce for our mutual quarrels, as he had done at the commencement of the other war, the Lord Privy Seal answered me that his master knew perfectly well who was in the wrong this time, and that if he had then wanted to mediate, or at least remain neutral, now he had quite a different part to play. After which he (the Privy Seal) left me and went away, saying that he could not remain longer in conversation with me because he wanted to go and see the king, and besides that he feared that his colleagues in the Privy Council, who were close by in the next room, might be envious and jealous at his being so long with me.

I therefore returned home without seeing the king, no more did the French ambassador, who, however, remained one half hour in the Privy Council to listen to the grievances complained of by various English merchants and mariners, as well as to solicit in favor of the French claiming the restitution of certain goods and merchandize sequestered by the customs' officers of this country. I am, moreover, given to understand that he left the Court rather dissatisfied, saying to an old *French merchant that he did not consider it safe for him and his colleagues to remain any longer in England, for to say the least they must expect to be ill-treated.*

I heard at Court from a personage of the Privy Council, that neither the French ambassador nor secretary Laubespine showed to the King the draft of the treaty which king Francis has made with the king of Zwede (Sweden) and his confederates, which, in my opinion, is a sufficient proof that they (the French) despair of making him join the league. Their excuse was that the treaty in question had been, or will be, shown to the English ambassador in France.

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Since this Maistre d'Hotel to king James of Scotland came here, as ambassador, to make his excuses for certain late raids of the Scotch in England, a force from that country amounting to 2,000 *horse has entered England. All of them, with the exception of a few out-runners* (avant coureurs), *laid in ambush at a place near the frontier, upon which they were attacked by four or five English gentlemen of this king's officers in those parts followed by their own servants and retainers; whilst the king's men were thus engaged with the Scotch, those in ambush came out and slew them all, in number forty-two. When this intelligence reached the king, he was so much incensed that he positively refused to receive the Scotch ambassador. Yet it appears that owing to the revenge taken by the English, who, having crossed the Borders, slew (as reported) three or four times that number of Scotch, besides taking prisoners three or four men of quality and rank, he was a little pacified, and consented to give them audience the day before yesterday. It is thought, however, that the duke of Norfolk will go to that frontier and take the command of the troops stationed there, and besides that I hear that the recruiting of men for that and other quarters goes on as briskly as ever.*

Four days ago the king had the Court-Master of the English nation at Antwerp arrested and taken to prison, owing to his sudden and inconsiderate departure from that town for fear of the people of Ghelders, for at such a juncture he ought for many respects to have exposed himself to certain danger rather than abandon his post and countrymen, as he did, without attending to the protection of their persons and property, as well as to the defence of their privileges; also an Englishman holding office in Guisnes, on suspicion of his being in intelligence with the French through his wife, a Frenchwoman.

However much the French may have exaggerated the importance of Hocstrate and Dampwillers, which they took some time ago, they have not succeeded in turning this king's inclination and goodwill towards Your Majesty aside; on the contrary they have increased it, but I should say that if Tournehem and La Montoire fall into their hands, which may God forbid, some change or alteration in their feelings towards us is to be apprehended.—London, 9 August 1542.

Signed; "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 5.

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10 Aug. **42.** The Privy Council to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 23.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—Together with the letters we have sent you, one of Mr. de Rieulx (Rœulx) to Mr. Walloppe* has come announcing the siege of Tournehem by the French, as well as the fear that the castle of that town may shortly fall into the hands of the enemy, as the count himself has not a sufficient force under his command to take the field against Mr. de Vendôme and relieve that place. Our mutual friendship and the respect we all entertain for the dowager queen of Hungary make us exceedingly anxious as to the result of the French attack, and at the same time extremely desirous of knowing in what way we may prevent the fall of the said town and castle. Yet, considering the importance of the case, we think that if you write to the Queen and ask her to empower Mr. de Rieulx (Rœulx) to enter into some sort of agreement with Mr. de Wallop regarding the common weal of both nations, some good may still be done. We ourselves will work strenuously in order that the said Mr. Wallop may obtain from the King, our master, a similar mandate and commission. We, therefore, beg you to write as soon as possible to the Queen Regent and let us know what she intends to do, assuring you that on our side nothing shall be omitted for the welfare and advantage of both nations and the preservation of the friendship between them.—Windsor, 10th of August 1542.

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* *See* above, No. 40, p. 82.

Signed: "T. Cantuariensis, T. bishop of Canterbury*= — Duresme=J. ——— Wintoniensis=Thomas Wriothesley."

French. Contemporary copy. p. 1.†

10 Aug. **43.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233.
f. 234.

"Sire,"—On the 20th ult. I wrote to inform Your Imperial Majesty of the arrival here of a secretary of the king of France, and of what I could then learn concerning the object of his mission.‡ Since then the French resident ambassador (Marillac) and he (Francis' secretary) have gone to the king at Greenwich to explain their charges, where, if I am to believe the reports that have come to me, not only from the friend, but from other quarters, they were so indifferently received and poorly treated by the king and his ministers that the courtiers remarked it. Notwithstanding this the ambassador on his return from Court gave out, nay, asserted to the Venetian secretary [Zuccato?], that their reception could not have been better. The fact is that his colleague, the king's secretary, immediately after his return from Greenwich, started for Gravezande (Gravesend) by water, the French ambassador accompanying him to that port, not so much out of respect or compliment to his person, as in order to witness this king's naval preparations and arming of ships. He must, however, have instructed his colleague, the secretary, to tell king Francis that whatever diligence might be used, the ships would not be ready before two months. And yet I hear that three or four of them are already out at sea, and that in a week or so there will be eight more, exclusive of the big galley of which Maistre Huyet (Master Whyatt), as it is thought, will be the captain as well as vice-admiral of the whole fleet.

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* That is Thomas [Cranmer], bishop of Canterbury.

† In the same packet is a letter from Eustace Chapuys to count Botulf (?), governor of Flanders and Arthois, about the siege of Tournehem by the French under Vendôme.

‡ Claude de l'Aubespine, *see* above, No. 29, p. 65.

For other news from this country I refer Your Imperial Majesty to the enclosed copy of my letter to the queen of Hungary.—London, 10 August 1542.

Signed : "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

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10 Aug. **44.** The SAME to MR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 25.

"Monseigneur,"—I received yesterday your favor of the 7th inst., and read also the copy of that addressed to the governor of Guisnes of the same date. Both the one and the other have been shown by me to this King's Majesty and to his privy councillors, who have been so pleased with their contents, that these may possibly be the cause of help and assistance being given to that country where you are.* At least, so these privy councillors think and make me hope, though it must be well understood that should these people decide to help you, it will be after some mutual treaty or convention being made so that they may not be losers by the bargain.† For the present they have asked me to write a letter to the Queen that she may give you (Granvelle) full powers to treat with the governor of Guisnes (Sir John Wallop) of all honest and necessary provisions for the mutual welfare of the subjects of both princes (the Emperor and this king), whilst they (the privy councillors) on their side will in like manner send to the governor [of Guisnes] similar powers and commission in this king's name. In the meantime I shall continue to insist upon their taking steps towards the said help and assistance, without waiting for further communications in view of the dangerous state of affairs. Of whatever may be decided in this, as well as in other matters, I shall not fail to advice you.—London, in haste, this tenth of August 1542.

Signed : "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

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* The Emperor's Lord Privy Seal, Nicolas Perrenot, sieur de Granvelle, must by this time have reached Brussels. The Emperor was still in Spain.

† "Bien entendu quilz vouldroient preallablement (*sic*) capituler quilz ne perdissent riens au marché."

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n. d. **45.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 21.

"Monseigneur,"—Just at this moment, after having closed and sealed this packet, I receive from the privy councillors the letter of which the enclosed is a copy.* I am now preparing the departure of two of my own men as messengers, one to the Queen Regent in the Low Countries, and another to this King's Privy Council, for the purpose of trying all manner of persuasions to induce this king and his ministers to send immediate help to Tournehem, which according to all accounts is in so great danger of being taken, that even if it were immediately succoured, there is hardly a chance of its not falling into the hands of the duke of Vendôme, who has been besieging it for some time back. Indeed, it is to be feared that before the Queen Regent can answer the pressing message of these privy councillors and my own despatch, that important fortress will surrender to the French.† Engaged as I am in writing letters, as well as in frequent conferences with these privy councillors, I have scarcely time left for writing before the departure of the post. I will, therefore, end this letter of mine by saying that in my last to Her Majesty, the Queen Regent, I forgot to mention that, since the commencement of the present war, scarcely a day passes without the Princess sending to inquire after the health and prosperity of Her Majesty, the Regent, as well as of the Emperor, her uncle, telling me how displeased and sorry she is at the troubles and annoyances by which both are surrounded. Indeed, there is nothing in this World that the Princess herself would not sacrifice and throw away for the sake of relieving the perilous situation of the Queen's affairs.‡ For want of more efficacious means, she is incessantly praying God to grant them both health and prosperity.—London, 10 August 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

10 Aug. **46.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 19–20.

"Monseigneur,"—Your Lordship will see by what I write to His Imperial Majesty by this post, as well as by the duplicate of my letters to the Queen, the news of this country. As to those from the Low Countries, I have no doubt that Your Lordship knows them already from other quarters,

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* That under No. 42, p. 86, dated the 7th, communicating to the ambassador the news of Flanders and the danger in which Tournehem and other places were of falling into the hands of the French.

† It did so in August.

‡ "Tres deplaisante et doulente quelle est dez troublez et fasheries que courent, et na chose en ce monde quelle ne voulsist employer pour y remedier. Et en deffault daultre moyen elle ne cesse de prier Dieu pour la sante de vr̄e. ma^{te} et prospere success dicelle."

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and particularly from the Queen; yet considering the dangerous and turbulent state of affairs in those parts, as well as the uncertainty of letters reaching their destination, I have, for want of other subjects to dwell upon, made up my mind to draw out for your private information a summary account of what has happened in those parts. On the 14th of July the duke of Orleans laid siege to Dampvillers (Danvilliers), which was soon after carried by assault. Of this first victory the French have made the utmost, publishing that Danvilliers was as strong or stronger than Thionville, which the Duke, according to information received by the French ambassador in England, was about to invest on the 25th or 26th following. About the same time Mr. de Longueval and Martin van Rossem, with 15,000 infantry, Germans (as it is said) and from the duchies of Clèves and Ghelders, and upwards of 2,500 cavalry, penetrated into Brabant on the 15th. After some days spent in the neighbourhood of Bar-le-duc, sacking, destroying, and setting fire to the houses and fields of the poor peasantry, and carrying away (*bransqualté*) what they could, they got possession of Hocstrate, and after that, on the 28th, encamped in sight of Antwerp, hoping, no doubt, that being in secret intelligence with innumerable people from Clèves and Ghelders, who had taken refuge inside, they might easily make themselves masters of that city. On the afternoon of the enemy's arrival before Antwerp, five thousand Walloons made a sortie and took from the French two carriages, one laden with ammunition, the other with artillery, besides a large number of cattle (*vasches*), and some prisoners besides, all of which came very *à propos* to instil courage into the hearts of the inhabitants, and make up for some slight loss which the prince of Orange had sustained on the previous day. On the 28th the enemy raised the siege of Antwerp and took the road to Lovain (Louvain), sacking and burning everything on their passage. From the 3rd to the 4th inst. they returned to Lovain, and according to letters from Antwerp of the 5th, would probably make another attack on the city, though up to the departure of the courier who had brought the news nothing certain was known.

The Queen, meanwhile, is doing her best for the defence of the country; she is making levies of men and trying to arrest the progress of the enemy. No diligence or care will be spared on her part to make the French repent of their temerity, and the cruelties they have and are practising on the poor and defenceless *paysants*.

On the side of the Arthois, I am in receipt of letters from Mons. du Rœulx, stating that the French under the command of Mr. de Vendôme had attempted Thornehem (Tournehem), which was hardly defensible, as the approaches were not yet finished. Mr. du Rœulx says in his letter that he would do his best to succour the town without, however, risking the small force he had under his command. He adds that the French in the

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Arthois were very strong, having a considerable cavalry force with them. He also writes that the English governor of Guisnes had signified to him that the king of England was willing to help and co-operate in the enterprise, of which he spoke to me once, as I informed Your Majesty by my despatch of the 29th of June; but I fear that if anything happens to the two above-mentioned places (which may God forbid), this king's energy will somehow cool down (*se refroidier*).—London, 10 August 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

10 Aug. **47.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 68.

"Madame,"—I have just received the enclosed letter from this king's privy councillors,[*] to which a speedy answer is required. May it please Your Majesty, in view of the affectionate message therein contained, and the importance of the case, at once to look into it and instruct me how to act. In the meantime I am sending my secretary to the Privy Council in order to ascertain from them if there be any effectual means of providing for the defence of Tournehem without waiting for Your Majesty's answer, considering the imminent danger there is of that town falling into the hands of the enemy. And I think also that it might be expedient to tell the privy councillors—as I fully intend doing in my first interview with them—that both the Emperor and Your Majesty will be glad to acknowledge the service on this occasion by agreeing to any proposals on their master's part that may be considered just and honourable.

Being much engaged with writing this despatch, as well as another, both of which are to go to His Imperial Majesty by a Spanish courier sent by the merchants of Antwerp, I will bring this to an end.—London, 10 August 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.[†]

12 Aug. **48.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Venerable, chier et feal, &c."—Your man arrived here on the 22nd ult. with your despatch of the 30th of June,[‡] and the memorandum of business transacted by you with Madame, the dowager queen of Hungary, Our good sister, as

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[*] *See* above, No. 42, p. 86.

[†] Joined to this, though undated, is another letter from the Imperial ambassador to count du Rotulf (*sic*), governor of Flanders and Arthois, informing him of the danger of Tournehem falling into the hands of Vendôme (Antoine de Bourbon duc de), at the same time enclosing a copy of the Council's letter on the subject (No. 42).

[‡] No. 12, pp. 19–22.

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well as the summary account of your various communications with the king of England and the members of his Privy Council respecting the treaty of closer friendship and alliance between us two. The whole of which, having been examined and carefully compared with the draft of the proposed treaty which the bishop of Wastmouster (Westminster) brought with him, We have ordered Our ministers to confer with him and with the bishop of London,* the other English ambassador resident at this Our Court. After four different conferences on the subject, We here subjoin for your information a summary account of what passed at the said conferences, and likewise a declaration of Our wishes and intentions in the matter, that they may serve as instruction and guidance on the whole.

Firstly, the two above-mentioned ambassadors (the bishops of London and Westminster), upon their arrival here, exhibited the rough draft of the treaty, signed both at the beginning and end by their master, the King, besides a copy unsigned of the same document, which last they placed in Our hands, offering at the same time to pass the rough draft signed at the beginning and end by the king into a regular treaty, for which they said they had full powers, insisting upon the expediency of proceeding forthwith to business, and assuring Us of the good and sincere affection of the king and Privy Council, and their desire of establishing for ever between us two (the king of England and Ourselves) closer friendship and alliance. A duplicate of the draft, which the two said bishops placed in Our hands, is annexed for your inspection.

After assuring the English ambassadors of Our desire to correspond in every possible way to their master's wishes concerning the closer friendship, the following objections were made to certain propositions in the aforesaid rough draft as it was exhibited to Us. In the first place the ambassadors were told that some of its articles were couched in terms which We could not honestly and conscientiously allow to pass ; others ought to be amplified, explained, or at any rate made equal for both the contracting parties ; there were some, again, the proposal and declaration of which ought to be left entirely to Our sister [the Queen] or to you (Chapuys), according to the turn which present affairs might eventually take.

Coming down to particulars, it has been objected to the English ambassadors that in the second article relating to residence (*hantise*) and commercial intercourse a certain limitation has been introduced, of which no mention whatever had been made in former treaties, which limitation is that the proposed measure relates only to foreign merchants, who, according to the letter of the draft, will be allowed to reside and frequent (*hanter*), as well as trade freely, in England, whereas all other subjects and vassals of Ours residing, though not trading, in that country are amenable to the laws of England, a sort of distinction which is in nowise admissible on account of the laws lately introduced in that country in consequence of the new opinions [in religious matters]. Indeed, were the article to pass such as it is, it would seem as if We tacitly and expressly consented to those subjects of Ours not trading in England, but who live and reside in that country, being made amenable to the new opinions and laws which now prevail there. Notwithstanding the remonstrances addressed to them on this point, the English ambassadors have hitherto refused to modify or alter the article in question, for no other reason, as they say, than that the constitution and laws of that kingdom preclude any modification of the article.

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* **Edmund Boner, as it has already been said; as to the bishop of Westminster, his name was Thomas Thirlby.**

Another objection is that those relating to the defensive league and alliance against all persons are couched in such terms and words that they cannot possibly be allowed to pass, since ecclesiastics, of whatever degree, quality, or dignity they may be, are comprised therein, and everyone can see that the King's intention in making it so general is to include also the Pope; the more so, that in the rough draft of the proposed treaty there is lower down a clause stipulating that no interpretation whatever of the article shall be admitted likely to modify or alter the sense of it, but, on the contrary, that the article is to be observed in its totality, really and truly, and according to its precise terms. Such a condition, were We to approve of it, might be the cause of all and every one of the States in Christendom that still continue to profess Our old religion and to obey the Pope and the Holy Apostolic See blaming and reproaching Us hereafter for having consented to it, besides which His Holiness himself would have cause to be indignant, to complain and alienate himself from Us, withdraw his assistance against the Turk by sea and land, and, in short, make treaties injurious to Christendom's public weal and Ours, and last, not least, mar the good issue of the alliance now being concerted between the King and Ourselves. It would work also against the king of England himself, who, for many considerations, ought not to wish Us to be on bad terms with Our Holy Father, and drive him to enter, without Our knowledge, into political relations with princes and powers, who might perhaps do him and his kingdom and subjects great harm and injury—evils which by preserving friendship towards Us the king of England might avoid.

On this point the English ambassadors replied to Our privy councillors that the article and clause were substantially the same as in the treaty of Cambray, and that We had then made no difficulty in granting them. That the King, their master, had been satisfied with the Pope's not being especially named in the present treaty, having regard to please Us in

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that respect, although both he and his ministers were then convinced, as they are now, that the Holy Father was and is comprised among the princes against whom the defensive alliance was to be made; and yet, out of regard for Us, and trusting more on Our word than in the letter of treaties, they had consented to the Pope not being expressly mentioned in the treaty, though a clause had been introduced purporting that the treaty itself ought to be observed most strictly according to the letter of its contents.

Our councillors' reply was that at the time that the treaty of Cambray was made, there could be no doubt or scruple at all, since there existed no differences then between the Holy See and the king of England, besides which he who was then Pope * was expressly comprised in the treaty itself, and, therefore, the clause could in nowise allude to anyone but him. Now the terms are very different, and since the king of England and his Privy Council own that by such words the Pope was comprised in the general clause, they must clearly perceive, as well as other princes, and especially those whose minds are always inclined to malice and perversity, that the present Pope is likewise virtually comprised in the article.

They were besides told that the King, their master, had many reasons to trust implicitly on Us; as to that, he might be sure that the article of the defensive league against all enemies once fairly established and settled between us two, We shall not fail to fulfil Our engagements and do Our duty with respect to the said defensive alliance, and that as far as the Holy Father is concerned, there is no question nor allusion now to his spiritual or ecclesiastical authority, inasmuch as the king of England himself refuses to acknowledge it. As to his temporal and secular power, His Holiness could not do anything against the king of England with his own secular forces, unless he counted upon those of the kings, princes, or powers of Christendom, most certainly not without Our own help and assistance and that of the king of France. As to Ours, he (the king) could be sure that it would never be given against him; and as to the king of France, should he help the Pope against him and England, We fully promise, in plain terms and according to the article of the defensive alliance, to take up arms against the common enemy, which comes exactly to the same thing as if We engaged to take them up against the Pope; for the king of England must understand that should the article of the defensive alliance be worded as We wish it to be, the defensive league would equally comprise the king of France and his allies, whoever they might be unconditionally. This We hereby declare, not only in fulfilment of Our duty towards the king of England,

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* Clement VII.

but likewise on Our account, as far as Our own personal security and that of Our kingdoms and subjects are concerned.*

Though these Our remonstrances are of a peremptory character and such as the English ambassador could not well contradict, yet they failed to acknowledge the validity and truth of them, altogether refusing to make any modification in the said article, and notwithstanding the persuasions addressed to them by Our ministers that if the Pope's name was altogether omitted, and no allusion made to his person the remainder of the article might be reduced to more honest and convenient terms, they would not agree to it.

There has been a question also between the English ambassadors and Our ministers concerning the islands which have been added to the draft under the article of the defensive alliance, inasmuch as heretofore no mention had been made of them ; yet whatever objections Our ministers have raised on the subject, the English ambassadors have insisted on their inclusion in the treaty, alleging that the King, their master, and his predecessors on the throne, have peacefully possessed them as the present king of England does, and that the said islands are so small and unimportant that there is no fear of Our ever being obliged to contribute with ten thousand men for their defence, and, moreover, that were We to make difficulties in that matter, We might perhaps raise the king's scruples and entirely spoil the negociation.

After the article on the defensive alliance, that of the rebels and runaways was discussed, the English ambassadors insisting on its remaining as it is worded in the draft, whereas Our ministers maintained that it is to be expressed exactly as in the treaty of Cambray, namely, that they are not to be harboured and concealed, but expelled therefrom. In order to show the honesty of such a proceeding, Our ministers alleged the many reasons there are for not applying in all cases the rigour of the law, but following the rules generally established and observed in all countries for the surrender of the said rebels and fugitives, since the experience of the past shows what inconveniences may arise from the non-observance of them. Upon which the English ambassadors replied that in his treaties with France, the King, their master, had always stipulated for the extradition of rebels

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* "Et n'est question içi de son auctorité spirituelle, ny ecclesiastique, puisque mesmes le dict Roy d'Angleterre la denye et reprenne (repousse ?), et quant à la temporalite et secularite, ilz ne pourront riens emprendre ne faire par force contre le dict Roy d'Angleterre sans les forces daultres roys, princes ou potentats de la Chrestiente, et mesmes sans les nostres, ou celles du dict Roy de France ou aultres ; et que nous luy voulons promestre la deffension plainement et entierement, questant en effect les mesme (ce qui revient en effect au mesme ?) que si les promestions contre le pape, et quil povoit croire que nous ferions la dicte deffension entierement à lencontre du dict Roy de France et tous aultres, tant pour le respect de nostre debvoir envers le dict Roy d'Angleterre, que pour ce quil importe à nous mesmes et à nostre securite, et de nos royaulmes et pays."

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and runaways or fugitives from his kingdom, which extradition king Francis himself had granted without the least difficulty, insisting, moreover, to that end upon the article remaining as it was in the draft, since, said they, you (Chapuys) had made no difficulty at first, besides which the King, their master, would never consent to the article being couched in other terms.

Our ministers' reply was that We declined altogether to take as a pattern either the words or the promises of the king of France; We attached no faith to papers and documents signed by him; We only wished to treat in good faith, and honestly and faithfully to observe treaties when made. We had no doubt that the king of England would ultimately be contented, since what We offered to do in the matter would surely result to his advantage. We thought, moreover, that there would never be need for Us to prosecute rebels of Ours within his kingdom, and if there was any, the expulsion of the so-called rebels would be injurious to the Low Countries, whose inhabitants are chiefly devoted to trade and industry; it would be, besides, open to suspicion under present circumstances, now that the king of England has started new opinions of his own * [in matters of Religion]. Our ministers added that the words uttered by the English ambassadors in support of the article, couched as it was, indicated sufficiently that any foreigners living or residing in England, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, who refused their adherence to the new opinions, would at once be considered as rebels to the King, and naturally obliged to fly from England, rather than submit to the new doctrines and regulations in religious matters. The extradition of such people, whether Englishmen or foreigners, We Ourselves could not in conscience grant, for the sake of God and of Our honour and reputation. That is a sort of thing which the king of England, Our good friend and ally, ought not to ask from Us, and that in order to avoid future contingencies and disputes, and proceed deliberately to the discussion of the following articles, We insisted upon the article being worded as in the treaty of Cambray, neither more nor less.

A further objection was raised by Our ministers respecting this same article of the "rebels." The English ambassadors being asked how and why it was that no mention at all was made of the rebels to the Empire, answered deliberately that there were too many States in the Sacred Roman Empire to comprise them all under one general clause. Upon which Our ministers called the attention of the English ambassadors to the dukes of Clèves and Holstein,

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* "Et que nous ne pensions quil nous soit besoing de poursuyvre rebelles en son royaulme, et est ceste expulsion preiudiciable à noz pays dembas fondez en contractation de marchandize et davaintage tant plus suspecte actendu la nouvelle oppinion du dit s^{r} roy."

both vassals of the Empire, representing to them that the omission of those two rebels could in nowise be excused, and that We insisted upon their being named in the article, and upon Our getting the promise of their master's assistance against them, if needed. Indeed, the rebellion of those two princes, and the damage they have already caused to Us and to Our two nieces, the princesses of Denmark,[*] is so flagrant and insupportable, as the king of England well knows, that their individual mention in the draft is to Us a subject of wonder. And yet, notwithstanding all the arguments adduced by Our ministers in favor of the inclusion of the two dukes in the clause as rebels to the Empire, nothing could be got out of the English ambassadors, who persisted in not having them named expressly and individually.

And upon the ambassadors replying that you (Chapuys) had allowed that and the preceding two articles to pass without any difficulty whatever, they were told that everything said and done by you in the negociation of the treaty had been said and done conditionally, subject to Our pleasure and approval, and with reference to Our supreme determination; many clauses, upon which there had been mutual agreement, had afterwards been changed or entirely suppressed in the draft of the treaty now brought under discussion, such as the specific inclusion of all Our Spanish kingdoms under the article of the "defence," which now in the draft is made general instead of particular. And that since We gather from your despatches that the inclusion of Spain, and its various kingdoms, specifically named, was by common consent omitted in the draft, We are perfectly justified in believing that similar omissions and alterations have taken place in the copy that the bishop of Westminster has brought here —omissions and alterations which you (Chapuys) have had no opportunity to remark upon and denounce in England.

We will insist no longer on this point, nor point out to you the many differences existing between the copy you sent Us— which is now in the hands of Our privy councillors— and the one brought by the bishop of Westminster, which you (Chapuys) have not seen—both professing to be original drafts or minutes of the treaty of alliance now in contemplation between the king of England and Ourselves—lest the English ambassadors should suspect that there is here a duplicate of the same draft sent by you, of which fact, as it turns out, you particularly wished to keep them in ignorance.[†]

Respecting this particular point of the inclusion of Our Spanish kingdoms, the English ambassadors have owned that

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[*] That is Christine, the dowager duchess of Milan, then married to the marquis de Pont à Mousson, François de Lorraine, and Dorothea, the wife of the Palatine.

[†] "Et nest lon entré en plus de particularitez touchant la diversite que se retrouve en laultre forme quavez envoye pour en suyvre ce quavez escript de paur quilz ne sçeussent que leussions."

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it is true that the King, their master, had once agreed to it; but his privy councillors, and especially the duke of Norfolk, had made many difficulties and raised many objections to it, which had been the cause of the alteration since introduced into the article. That the King, their master, had therefore decided for the non-inclusion; the ambassadors affirming that the article in question, as well as the preceding two, was substantially the same as had been mutually agreed upon between the Royal commissioners and you, whereas it is quite evident that between the two drafts of the proposed treaty—that sent by you, and that which the bishop of Westminster (Thirlby) has brought here—great variations occur, both as to words and sense, principally in the clause referring to the combined fleet for the defence of Our mutual territories—another point, by the way, which, if allowed to remain as it is, will turn out to Our disadvantage rather than otherwise, as you yourself seem to think.

There is still another important item respecting which Our ministers have remonstrated in vain with the English ambassadors, that is, that one of the clauses of the projected treaty seems to imply that at any time or season, when called upon to furnish help notwithstanding Our engagements in Italy and elsewhere, We shall be obliged to send Our fleet to the assistance of Our ally, irrespectively of any other engagements We may have in Italy at the time, either with the Turks or with the French, perhaps against both those powers united; in which case it stands to reason that We should be held excused from affording such help to the king of England. Indeed, should the Turk, as is most probable, make an inroad upon Christendom next year, We ought to be excused from giving such help with Our fleet, and, on the contrary, the king of England ought rather to assist Us against him. On neither of these two points, though they were forcibly represented to them, would the English ambassadors make any concession or otherwise declare the King's intentions.

They have also been told that nine solds (*deniers*) per day for the cavalry, and six for the infantry is an insufficient pay for able soldiers. Certainly We could not furnish men at that rate, and, therefore, either We are to contribute with fewer men, or the English contingent must be increased in proportion, so as to be on equal footing with Ours. Again did the English ambassadors insist on the terms specified in the draft, without making the least concession on that score.

In a like manner have We insisted on the intercourse of trade being carried on according to the letter of the treaty of Cambray, whereas they, themselves, refer Us to the commercial treaty of 1520 between England and the Low Countries, which is precisely the point touched on in Our sister's memorandum as one to be avoided.

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On the article wherein it is said that one party shall not negociate or treat without first letting the other contracting party know, it has been observed to the ambassadors that in the draft or form of treaty brought by the Bishop, the defence and the offence are mixed up together, inasmuch as it is therein proposed that in case of defence it ought to be borne in mind that the party assailed by the common enemy will be justified in treating with him in order to stop the war of invasion altogether, if necessary, or for some other reasonable cause, lest from the delay in consulting the other party injury should ensue. The opinion of Our ministers has been that the clause ought to be supplemented by these words, *provided the treaty is made, and the interests of the allies are safe-guarded, so that no one of them receive any injury through it.* This last observation made by Our ministers was neither opposed nor approved by the English ambassadors; after some debate, it was resolved that without suspending the negociations, or in any way delaying the execution of the treaty, this point should be left for further discussion.

The same may be said respecting the promise of observance, obligations, and submissions therein contained and said to be requisite. It would be advisable that in the event of one of the parties complaining of infraction of, or contravention to the treaty, deputies appointed by both of them should meet together, judge, and decide the case before the complaining party proceeded to "*voyes de faict,*" as otherwise it would be a most exorbitant condition.*

With regard to the declaration and intimation of war to the king of France, there is no difficulty at all as to the form and mode of carrying it on against the common enemy, except only as regards the time when that declaration and intimation are to be made. On this particular point, however, the English ambassadors here were informed that it would be impossible for Us at present to take any resolution as to that, or fix the time for the said invasion, until We had actually seen the destination of the many warlike preparations and undertakings that king Francis is making and meditating against Us, not only by himself, on the side of Piedmont, Flanders, Navarre, or Roussillon, but likewise in union with the Turk, whose fleet, as rumoured, is destined for the coast of the latter country. Without knowing for certain what direction the armaments of France will take, and of what forces the Empire will be able to dispose against the Turk should the latter invade Germany, We could not, if We are to proceed in this affair with Our usual sincerity and frankness, fix the time for the intimation of war to king Francis, lest We should promise and take engagements which could not be fulfilled. We hope that the king of England will take these Our excuses in good part, and be satisfied with them, rather than have Us make uncertain and desultory promises in matters of such grave nature and importance.

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* "Chose trop precise et exhorbitante."

Respecting the help and assistance demanded by the king of England in case of his wishing to carry on particular war against king Francis, that is a point on which We have purposely avoided discussion. We are, on the contrary, willing to grant it, provided the article of the treaty stipulating it be amended and reformed honestly, and Our grant considered a voluntary one, not obligatory, as prescribed by the treaty itself, and provided the clause referring to it be so worded that, in case of need, and should the Low Countries be invaded by Our common enemy, they may be helped and assisted by the English army as good faith and mutual friendship demand.

With regard to the projected undertaking against Montreuil, you will tell the King that We desire it above all things, in compliance with the wish by him expressed and for his own private satisfaction; but considering that the attack of such a fortress is a matter of some difficulty, and that the attempt might prove unsuccessful—in which case it would be disadvantageous for Us both—We are of opinion that the whole plan should be submitted first to Our sister [Mary of Hungary] for her to decide, and, with the advice of her Council, do in that matter whatever she deems most fit and convenient for the complete success of that undertaking or any other which the King may propose against the said king of France.

The whole of the above having been duly examined and considered, both as to substance and effect, during four consecutive days, it was yet impossible to come to an agreement with the English ambassadors, who contented themselves with saying that in their opinion there would be no difficulty whatever on the part of their master, the King, who thought that the articles of the treaty might well pass as they were couched without amendment of any sort. That their charge and commission consisted exclusively of any other in presenting the said draft to Us for general approval, not for discussion of the articles themselves. Therefore, as they saw that difficulties were raised on various points, they (the ambassadors) begged Us to have those difficulties reduced within the smallest possible compass, lest the King, their master, should thereby be offended, and his favorable inclination to, and desire for, a treaty be lessened; the ambassadors promising faithfully all the time that on their return home they would not fail to render their best offices towards making the King and his ministers attend to Our observations and requests.

Perceiving that nothing more could be got out of the English ambassadors, it has here been proposed to send to England some worthy and confidential personage from this Our court to visit the King, and assure him of Our perfect willingness and desire to bring the treaty to conclusion by all honest, reasonable, and mutually convenient means, a personage who may, conjointly with you (Chapuys), declare to the King what Our intentions are in order to arrive at a determination and conclusion of the affair as soon and conveniently as possible. This proposal of Ours seemed to the English ambassadors fair and acceptable; and We, accordingly, have made up Our mind to despatch thither Mr. de Courrières,* captain of Our body-guard, and officer of Our household, an old servant of Ours, whom that king knows well. It is for his information and for yours that the present instructions have been drawn, the condensed summary of which is as follows:—

With regard to the first difficulty, that is, the article of the draft, wherein permission of free communication, frequentation (*hantise*), and residence of Our subjects in England is limited to merchants, whilst all classes not engaged in trade or merchandize shall be subjected to the laws of England, that is one to which We and Our ministers particularly object. It cannot be granted as it is, but must remain as it was worded in preceding treaties, or else be conceived in different terms, so that it may never be said that We consented to, or otherwise allowed, tacitly or expressly, Our own subjects and vassals to live under the opinions and regulations in Church matters lately adopted by the king of England, and thereby be amenable to the laws of that country, which ought in nowise be made applicable to Our subjects residing in England, whether merchants or no, much less by Our consent, in direct opposition to the treaty of Cambray and other preceding treaties.

As in other articles of the same draft the Ecclesiastical State is mentioned in a way as to virtually comprise His Holiness, the Pope, We cannot, for reasons similar to those above alluded to, allow them to pass as they are, or with words from which it might be hereafter imputed to Us that We had treated dishonestly on what concerns the Pope and the Holy Apostolic See.

Truly, indeed, the remonstrances addressed to the English ambassadors on this subject have been peremptory enough. It would be for Us a matter of reproach, as well as an offence to God and the World, and one from which many inconveniences might hereafter arise, were We to allow the said articles to pass as they are couched, or with words in any manner indicating or designating the person of the Holy Father. If the king of England is as desirous, as he says, of Our friendship, he ought not to persist in his purpose, much less request Us to authorize those articles; he ought to be contented with the declaration of Our intention made to his ambassadors, which declaration We have since expressly confirmed.

Lastly, We are of opinion that should the King not be satisfied with these assurances and concessions of Ours, you may

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* Philippe de Montmorency, who had been in England in March 1542. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 480-1.

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suggest that, for his satisfaction and that of his ministers, the articles concerning the defensive alliance, wherein the Ecclesiastical State is expressly mentioned be altogether reformed, so as to comprise *the king of France, and all other kings, princes, and temporal lords,* in which words all the persons from whom the King might fear opposition or harm of any sort would be included; for the Holy Father could never do him any by himself, and besides that the king of England has been heard to say that he dreads him not—and really and truly there is no occasion for such fears—but trusts that We will do everything in Our power to prevent any injury or harm whatever being done to him.

Should you (Chapuys) perceive that these remarks of Ours have no effect on the King, and should you fear that Our not giving him satisfaction on this point might risk the negociations being entirely broken off, both of you [Monsr. de Courrières and Chapuis] will consult together, and see whether it would not be convenient, for the sake of the negociation itself and of gaining time, to propose that the article in question should be drawn in terms still more general and comprehensive, such as the words *all kings, princes, and powers secular and temporal,* so as to ensure the king of England against the person of the Holy Father. This, however, is not be done without asking for time to consult the queen, Our sister, on the subject and obtain her consent, for, after all, the former specification *of kings, princes, and temporal lords* ought to satisfy the King. Nor can We imagine either that king Francis could be so impudent as to promise to the king of England a defensive alliance against the Pope.

Meanwhile, and pending the consultation with Our sister, you will take care to apprize Us, by means of the light vessels (*zabras*) already prepared for the carriage of Our official correspondence, of the progress of your negociation. You know what Our final determination is according to the progress of affairs in France and the Turk, and what the Holy Father will do to assist Us in Our defence of Christendom again threatened by the Infidel.*

With regard to the islands added by England to the draft of the treaty and the article on the defence, We can only say that if they have been possessed for so long a time by the king of England and his predecessors on the throne, the comprehension of them will not be objected to, provided the possession and right of the kings of England over them be properly explained and detailed, so that neither the Holy Father nor any other prince may have reason to complain; for We are told that the King does not pretend to have any other right over these islands than that of protection, once granted to his predecessors by the Pope.* If, therefore, you see no further difficulty in the inclusion of the islands, you may pass the article as it is couched in the draft.

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* "Vous sçavez sur ce nostre finale intencion selon le progres des choses de france, et du Turcq, et ce que le dict Sainct pere fera pour nostre assistence à y resister."

In the clause about the rebels, the extradition (*restitution*) cannot be allowed, for the causes and reasons above alleged. You are to persist in having the article modified and reformed according to the letter of the treaty of Cambray, for, after mature consideration, We cannot conscientiously agree to it without offending God and sinning against Christian charity, especially in the case of fugitives who have left England, for no other cause than their not adhering to the new opinions of the King on religious matters. Nor could We grant it with respect to other matters for many well-grounded reasons, as serious inconveniences might arise through it.

As to the rebels to the Empire, We will make no observation, save saying that there has been a long discussion between Our privy councillors and the English ambassadors about having the dukes of Clèves and Holstein included in the article of the defence as actual rebels to the Holy Sacred Empire.† You are, of course, to insist to the end on the king of England declaring both of them his enemies and assisting Us against them respectively, making use for that purpose of all the arguments and reasons well known to you, in order to induce the King to declare them his enemies, and convince him of the harm and injury which they have done and are still doing Us, particularly he of Clèves, who, as is notorious enough, has without excuse of any kind occupied, and still retains, most unjustly and in a most iniquitous manner the duchy of Ghelders, and who, in addition to that, has made a league with France, just as the duke of Holstein has also done lately. Indeed, both dukes have either made war upon Us or furnished men [to France]. And, therefore, that as there is a talk of Our making an offensive and defensive alliance with the king of England, the latter ought to consider both of them his enemies as they are Ours. If this cannot be obtained, and no help is to be expected from the king, let him at any rate consider them as his enemies, and not help and assist them, directly or indirectly, in anywise. Nor could the king of England act otherwise in the matter or dissemble, for the dukes are really and truly king Francis' allies, and, after all, it is the King's interest and concern to reduce them to such

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* "Ayant regard a la quelle possession le dict Sainct Pere, ny aultre nauroit occasion de sen douloir, joinct que, comme entendons, il (le roy) ny pretend droit synon de protection introduicte cy devant en faveur du dict Angleterre."

† "Et au regard du subjectz rebelles de lestat de lempire, ne nous y voulons (voulions ?) arrester et sen est seulement parle et demonstre de persister pour à ceste occasion venir au faict particulier des ducz de Clèves et Holstein."

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a state and condition that they may no longer be able to injure Us either by themselves or in combination with the French.*

With regard to what the king of England has spoken to you (Chapuys) respecting Our coming to terms with the said duke of Clèves, you did well to answer him as you did. We could not for the sake of Our honor or security, much less for the satisfaction of Our subjects and kingdoms, again treat with that duke, unless he first restore to Us what he has usurped and so unjustly and wickedly occupies and retains in defiance of the treaties, promises, and oaths of his predecessors, and without the least shadow of right on his part. The Duke ought to be glad that, after so many offences as he has done against Us, We should condescend to pardon him under the above conditions; and yet, without having regard to the mildness and moderation with which We have treated him, he still persists in his rebellion, and becomes every day more contumacious and insolent, all the time that he is claiming that king's intercession.

Respecting the inclusion of Our kingdoms on this side † in the article of the defence, though the king of England and his people ought to make no difficulty whatever about that, We shall be satisfied if the article remain such as it is; for it would be almost impossible for the one or the other of the parties to attend to it with certainty within a fixed time, and at all events it would be extremely difficult for Us, as well as for him, to help each other in case of need. But, in granting that, you (Chapuys) will make the King understand that We do this entirely for his sake, that he on his side may be more ready to yield on other points equally disputable.

There is a last observation to make respecting the article of the defence, which is this: We must, if possible, be held excused from contributing to the defence of the patrimonial or other kingdoms of Our brother and ally, the king of England, if We ourselves happen to be at open war in Italy, with the Turk, or with the king of France. You will try to persuade the King as to that, and, finally, if you cannot obtain the reform of the article in the way We point out, go on with the negociation, though, in Our opinion, what We ask of the King is just and indispensable.

It has likewise been represented to the English ambassadors that it would be fair that the help and assistance to be given to the Low Countries should last as long as in Our sister's opinion the necessity for it exists; but, again, if that cannot be obtained, let the clause remain as it is.

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* "Car aussi seroit-il impossible que le dit roy dAngleterre peult dissimuler avec eulx puisque ilz sont alliez avec le roy de France, et tout bien considere emporte (*sic*) au dict Roy et luy touche grandement de les reduire, mesmement le dict duc de Clèves, en estat que luy et nous soyons asseure quilz ne nous puissent nuysre ni leur en laisser force ni moyen quelconque."

† "Touchant la comprehension de nos royaulmes *de par de ça* en la dite deffension, &c.," meaning no doubt Spain.

With regard to the pay of the infantry and cavalry, certainly reason and justice demand that the matter should be brought to terms of equality, either by increasing the number of men to be contributed by England or by reducing their pay. This and other particulars respecting the article of the defence, and the form and manner in which it is to be afforded, We leave for you (Chapuys) to contract and settle in the best possible manner, following the advice and instructions of Our sister, and the very wise considerations which you yourself have from time to time submitted to Us concerning the help and assistance by sea, which, as it seems to Us, will not be of much use under present circumstances.

We ought also to warn you that as far as the intercourse of trade between England and the Low Countries has been spoken of in connection with the treaty of closer friendship and alliance, Our councillors have, according to the advice of Our sister, firmly maintained their former position. We request and command you to negociate and treat according to her wishes, and as advantageously as you can, or, at least, with the least possible damage to the trade of Our Low Countries. We do not enter into more details here, because We have not by Us copies of the commercial treaty of 1520 and others, but only an unsigned one of that of Cambray, all the rest having been lost during Our last expedition to Algiers.*

We also trust that you (Chapuys) will do whatever you may deem most fit and convenient with regard to the condition stipulated in the draft of the treaty, that one party is not to treat without the knowledge and consent of the other, especially in the case of princes included in the article of the "defensive alliance," for it seems to Us that the declaration which Our councillors have asked from the English ambassadors is indispensable. Our reasons for desiring that such a declaration should be made are these: supposing that the French were to invade the Luxemburg, or any other point of Our frontier still more distant from England, or were to lay siege to one of Our towns in Flanders insufficiently provided with means of defence, which might lead to dangerous results and cause mutiny or disorder, whence We should be likely to receive injury unless We entered into immediate negociation to make the enemy retreat, it would be very difficult, if not impossible altogether, to consult England thereupon considering the long distance and the time required to get an answer to Our communication.†

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* "Synon une sans signature de celluy de Cambray, ayant este les aultres perdues au voiage d'Algey (*sic*)."

† "Et mesmes que si les ennemys faisoient quelque emprinse au coustel du Luxemburg ou aultres nos frontieres de par de la plus eislongees d'Angleterre, et paradventure assiegeassent quelque place non pourueue pour tenir, ou suyvis-

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Besides which the condition set down in the draft of the treaty, that one party is not to treat of defence or offence without the consent and approval of the other, is by far too general and absolute. You must, therefore, try to have the article altered and limited, so that it may be understood that "one party is not to treat with the common enemy to the prejudice of the other, and especially against the object and purpose of the present treaty of alliance," for, after all, there is no plausible reason or excuse to allege in favor of the article and its extension to Germany and Italy. As the king of England refuses to take any engagements whatever concerning the affairs of the Empire, it stands to reason that Our dominions, both in Germany and in Italy, cannot be subjected to a general rule. You (Chapuys) must endeavour, if possible, to obtain that the condition of "one party not treating without the full knowledge, consent, and approval of the other," be merely understood to refer to the present king of France, for his successors on the throne might perhaps become more reasonable and accommodating than the one who now rules over that country; besides which it is not probable that the king of England, or his successors on the throne, will ever consent to treat with the French unless they are first paid the arrears of pension owed to them, and get securities for the future. Nor is it likely that the English, even in that case, will desist from other pretentions which the French will never grant, thus obliging Us and Our ally to be for ever at war with France.

You must, moreover, bear in mind that the condition of one party not treating without the consent of the other is established in two different articles, of which the first runs thus: "*Item: conventum, concordatum et conclusum est quod quotiens occasio invasionis factæ, &c.*" In this article, as you will observe, there is no obligation stipulated on the part of the allies to inform each other of their desire to treat with the common enemy except after the invasion of territory on one side or the other, and when the defence or offence has actually begun, whereas in the article immediately following it the stipulation is limited only to "not treating with the king of France, or other princes to the prejudice of the treaty," without making mention of his successors on the throne of France. Care, therefore, should be taken that the article in question be not extended by the English beyond that limit.*

It would also be very reasonable to stipulate that the faculty granted to each of the contracting parties to proceed against the other by way of sudden and real execution,

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sent leur emprinse en coutel perilleux et ou on craint de quelque mutinerie ou aultre desordre, dont pourrions recevoir plus grand inconvenient sans prestement entendre à quelque traicte pour la faire retirer, il seroit trop difficile et long daller sur ce consulter on Angleterre, et en entendre (attendre?) la response et resolution."

* "Et fauldra tenir advertence que le dicts anglois ne l'amplient plus avant."

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in case of contravention, real or pretended, to the letter of the treaty on this point be somewhat restrained and limited, so that the execution do not take place till after a meeting of deputies from each side has examined and determined whether the said contraventions or infractions do really exist or not.*

You will see whether the English wish the king of the Romans, Our brother, to be included in the treaty. A hint on the subject has been given to the English ambassadors, who, We are told, have offered no opposition. If you can manage that he be included in the treaty, so much the better; if not, do not insist, for, after all, his inclusion would only serve as an increase of credit and reputation.

Another point, more substantial, is that of fixing the time at which the intimation or declaration of war is to be made. For the reasons and considerations above expressed, which are so urgent and pressing, We find that it is impossible for Us at present to fix a time for the said intimation. You must do your best to make the king of England accept Our excuses on that head, and be content that the fixing of the time for the said intimation be delayed until We see the tendency and direction of the many undertakings which king Francis and the Turk are planning against Us, lest We should be involved in greater difficulties than those We have to surmount now, and incur more expense than We could support.

As to declaring and specifying in the intimation and challenge Our own grounds of complaint against king Francis and consequent demands, We are of opinion that this ought to be postponed till the time that the intimation of war is made, for it might happen, in the meanwhile, that events should occur to induce or oblige Us to increase Our very just demands. The article in the treaty referring to this point might, therefore, be couched in these or similar words: "that the two contracting parties will summon king Francis to make restitution of, and give satisfaction on all the demands which one or the other of them may bring forward," fixing also the time at which he (Francis) is to comply with them.

And whereas the English ambassadors have most urgently insisted upon the necessity of Our declaring at what time We thought that the said intimation of war to France could be made, and that the King, their master, desirous, as he is, of attacking the French, would dislike any delay or uncertainty on that point, We have willingly consented and agreed to all and each one of the conditions of the particular enterprise which the King, their master, has for some time back meditated against France, and promised to help and assist

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* "Aussi est-il bien raisonable de non delaisser en la nue volonte des contrahans de pouvoir proceder de plain sault par execution reelle pour les pretendues contraventions ains que prealablement il se tienne journee pour examiner et esclaircir les dictes contraventions selon quil est cy dessus contenu."

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him according to the draft of the treaty which they have brought, and in the form and manner above specified. It is important for you (Chapuys) to promote that enterprise as much as you can, and exhort and persuade the King to carry it on briskly and without delay. Even in case of Our being so closely engaged, with Francis or with the Turk, as not to be able to help him personally in an offensive war against the former country, he (the King) must consider that Our own forces on the other side of the French frontier will naturally divert the enemy's attention from him; besides which, should We be disengaged and at liberty, We would help and assist him, Our friend and ally, in his offensive operations against France.

We have likewise told the English ambassadors that the enterprise on Montreuil seems to Us excellent and well planned. The only difficulty in Our opinion is whether that town can or cannot be carried easily by a "*coup de main.*" That is why We have advised that the case be referred to Our sister, the Queen, that she may decide what is to be done in the matter according to her means of offence on that side, the movements of the enemy, and the chances of success, for, as We have heard the English ambassadors themselves say, the King, their master, claims, that should he decide to lay siege to that town, he is to be helped and assisted in his undertaking by the army of Our Low Countries. This is again a point respecting which We could make no declaration as to how, and of what number of men, the said assistance is to consist.

With regard to the above point, you will take care to remark to the King or his ministers, whenever the opportunity offers, that although king Francis has made, and is still making, attempts, either by himself or through third persons (*par tierce main*), to take Us and Our kingdoms by surprise, and do Us all the harm he can in Italy, as well as in Flanders, on this side in Roussillon and in Navarre, and that at this very moment he is concentrating large forces on those frontiers, he has not yet, that We know of, actually commenced hostilities, but has, on the contrary, through some of his ministers, made proposals of peace. We still wish to temporize with him, and wait to see what his final decision will be before We engage in a fresh war, and be obliged to break with him without England's co-operation, which We otherwise should be compelled to do before concluding the treaty, which is now being negociated, and before the intimation of war is made. Nor could We for the same reason help in the undertaking against Montreuil or any other town of France, which would be equivalent to embarking on a fresh war. On these considerations you will employ all your means and resources until you hear from Our sister, to whom We now write on the subject, or else hear Our final determination, which will be very shortly. Should, however, king

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Francis or his ministers break out into open hostilities before We have time to inform you, and thus make a complete rupture between Us, then, in that case, you shall at once proceed to approve of the treaty, after taking the advice of Our sister on the article concerning the enterprize on Montreuil, or any other mentioned by the English ambassadors.

The excuse for the delay to be solicited by Mons. de Courrières and you may be grounded on the desire that he and you naturally have of consulting Our said sister in Flanders on the difficulties of the undertaking, if such exist. You will agree before hand as to the nature of those excuses, making them appear as plausible and well founded as you can, at the same time giving the King the hope and the assurance of a speedy resolution, or otherwise, as the occasion and opportunity may offer, and thus gain time. This done, Mons. de Courrières may leave for Flanders and hold a consultation with the Queen, Our sister, and We Ourselves will take care to let her and you know as soon as possible what Our final intention is. In order that We may more frequently hear from you (Chapuys), and you yourself know Our determination on this and other points, We have from this day given orders that a number of light vessels (*zabras*) be prepared, and if the English on their side do the same, We shall be able to correspond regularly and continually.

Lastly, you may persist as long as you can in urging the request so often made by Us, that the king of England be pleased at all events to grant some help in money against the Turk, which request, besides the reasons already adduced for it on other occasions, must nowadays be backed by you with a much stronger argument, which is, that whatever excuses We may afford the Pope for entering into closer friendship and alliance with England, he is sure to refuse his long promised assistance in money against the Infidel, whilst king Francis, on the other hand, will do everything in his power to persuade the Turk to attack Us and Our brother, the king of the Romans, by land and sea, so that in the end the burden of resisting him will exclusively fall on Us two, unless he himself comes to Our aid as he ought, the more so that his royal dignity, his honor and reputation as a Christian prince, and many other particular considerations oblige him to do so.

Nor can We omit to say that the English ambassadors, after their first conference with Our ministers, expressed the desire of having a memorandum of the points about which difficulties have been raised. That has been done, as they wished, in a summary manner, by means of a simple memorandum, without entering into particulars, telling them besides that they must not consider it as a definitive resolution on Our part, but merely as an "*exposé*" of the representations and requests addressed to them respecting the proposed

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draft which they brought Us, with a view to their answering Our objections in writing. This, however, they have declined to do.*

With regard to the titles which the king of England chooses to assume in the treaty, the difficulty will be avoided by using, as We have written to Our sister, the Queen, those which We have pointed out in Our preceding letter to her. We enclose you a copy of the article.

As to Our granting pensions to those members of the Privy Council who now enjoy most credit with the King, as you propose, that is a thing which We place entirely in the hands of Our sister, the Queen, and of her councillor, the sieur de Praët. You may write to them what your opinion on the matter is, although We had already written to them to make certain presents to that King's privy councillors, and, if possible, avoid the grant of annual pensions. We have no doubt that Our sister, the Queen, and you (Chapuys) will attend to Our wishes in this particular, and that We shall not be put to unnecessary expense through it all.

As to the promise made and engagement taken by you in Our name not to treat with the common enemy to the prejudice of that king during the next month of October—which promise and engagement, as well as that of keeping the most profound secrecy on the whole affair, is naturally mutual—We are fully prepared to fulfil it, and yet We propose listening to any overtures which the Pope, the king of France, and other powers may perhaps make, to prevent, if possible, war from breaking out afresh or restrain it if it should have already commenced.† This, of course, to be done in good faith, with due regard to the king of England and his interests, so as to admit of no condition from which Our brother and ally might receive hurt or damage. We, therefore, warn you that if requested by the King's privy councillors to prolong the time of the said promise, you may agree to it in Our name, but let that be done in such a way that We may not be obliged nor bound to keep Our promise beyond the period thus fixed, nor prevented from listening to any proposals of peace that may come either from the Pope or from the king of France.

With regard to political news from this country and the general state of Our affairs, you (Chapuys) will, in accordance with the sieur de Courrières, speak to the king of England in the manner and words above explained, while We Ourselves promise to you that whatever you and he may stipulate and agree to in Our name, considering the circumstances and contingencies at the time, will be promptly approved of and ratified by Us—such is Our confidence in your discretion and wisdom.—Monçon,[*] 12 August 1542.

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* "Synon pour leur reduyre en memoire les remonstrances quen ont este faictes, selon quilz ont (l'ont ?) desire, et non pour se restraindre au contenu, et afin que ilz y respondent par escript, ce quilz nont voulu faire."

† "Pour empescher et obvyer à recommencement de guerre, et encores icelle extraindre, si elle estoit encommencee."

French. Original draft. pp. 21.

12 Aug. **49.** The EMPEROR to the KING OF ENGLAND.

Wien, Imp. Arch.

"Monsieur, mon bon frère et cousin,"—I now send to you the sieur de Courrières, captain of my body-guard, that he may visit you, and more surely declare my intention respecting the charge brought by the bishop of Westminster (Thirlby). Pray listen to what he and my ambassador (Eustace Chapuys) will tell you in my name, and believe them as if I myself were speaking to you.—Your good brother and cousin=Charles, Monçon, 12 August 1542.[†]

Signed: "Charles."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

16 Aug. **50.** POPE PAUL to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. Roma, f. 150.

"Paul, &c.,"—Although the efforts We have made, and are making, to ensure the peace of Christendom have hitherto proved inefficient, yet We consider it Our duty—in the accomplishment of which We would not fail during Our life—again to call Your Imperial Majesty's attention to the subject, not only on account of the danger to which Christendom is now exposed, but also owing to the hope and confidence We have that Your Majesty will listen to Our prayer. Having despatched Cardinal Sadoletto[‡] to the Most Christian King, and Cardinal Contareno to Your Imperial Majesty with a similar prayer, it has happened that the latter of those cardinals, unable from his old age to bear the fatigues of so long a journey, has died on the road.[§] We have therefore appointed the bishop of Viseu, Cardinal of Sanctorum Apostolorum, to be his successor;[‖] he will verbally declare to Your Majesty Our

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[*] The date is "De Molson, le XII^{me} daoust 1542." *Molson* is evidently an error of the draftsman for Monçon or Monzon, where the Emperor was at the time holding the Cortes of Aragon; in Latin Montison, a town on the confines of Aragon and Catalonia.

[†] The letter itself must have been written in the Emperor's own hand, for it is headed thus:—"Pour escripre au Roy d'Angleterre; de la main de l'Empereur." As to the sieur de Courrières, its bearer, his full name was Philippe de Montmorency, seigneur de Courrières. He was captain of the Emperor's body-guard of archers in Flanders, and not, as the Revd. William Bradford calls him in his "Itinerary of Charles V." (p. 535), *M. de Carrieres, captain in the rear-guard forces. See* above, p. 101.

[‡] Sadoleto (Giacopo), card.

[§] Contareno (Gasparo), also a cardinal, died at Bologna in May or June of this year.

[‖] This cardinal of Viseu was a Portuguese of the family of Silva. According to Vandenesse's *Itinerary of Charles V.*, published by Bradford, (p. 534), that prelate had an audience from the Emperor on the 30th of September. The answer was: "His Holiness had better declare against king Francis, who, besides being the aggressor, is an open adherent and ally of the Infidel Turk."

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intentions and religious admonitions, or rather prayers, for the welfare of Christendom.—Rome, at St. Peter, under the fisherman's signet, on the 16th of August 1542, and the 8th of our pontificate.

Latin. Original. p. 1.

17 Aug. **51.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—Before answering your letters of the 2nd and 9th inst.* by which you inform Us of what has passed there [in England], and also of the representations which that king addressed to you and to the French ambassador, We have deemed it necessary to let you know what Our good brother, the Emperor, answered to the letter We wrote to him on the subject of the closer friendship and alliance between him and that king. Although you will plainly perceive by the enclosed abstract of the Emperor's letters to me, dated the 15th of July, what his intentions are, yet that you may better appreciate Our brother's views of the affair, I shall make a few remarks for your guidance. As the Emperor does openly declare his intention on two most important points, it seems to Us that you ought to limit yourself for the present to employing all your usual dexterity and wisdom, without loss of time, in inducing that king and his ministers to forward the negociations for the treaty of closer alliance according to the Emperor's instructions, without stopping at the new title to be given to him, for fear of his resenting it. Should you, however, find that His Imperial Majesty ought to give him the title you speak of, it would be in Our opinion more convenient and better to suspend the negociation until you know what answer has been made in Spain to the bishop of Westminster's† mission. Our reasons for wishing you to make as much haste as possible with the treaty is chiefly for the purpose of the help and assistance promised Us not being longer delayed, for should the negociation be suspended or otherwise postponed, that king would only be bound to help Us in pursuance of the articles of the treaty of Cambray, which help and assistance, as you well know, would be of little use to Us. Should you, however, find that you can go on with the negociation before you know what has been the Emperor's answer to the bishop of Westminster's overtures, you will of course proceed with it. We have now appointed Franchois de Phallaix,‡

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* "Avant repondre a vos lettres du II^{e} et IX^{e}," says the copy before me, but, as will be seen, there are none of that date. *See* respectively No. 37, p. 76, and No. 39, p. 41.

† "Levesque de Vincestre" clearly enough; but it must be an error of the decipherer for Westmestre or Westminster.

‡ Elsewhere François de Falaix. The same as Toison d'Or, the king-at-arms or herald to the Order of the Golden Fleece.

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bearer of this letter, to repair to England, and according to his instructions, which he will show you, go with you to the King and request him to help Us in one way or other whilst the treaty is being negociated, considering the state in which We are, attacked, as We have been, on various parts of Our frontiers. We should have liked to send to the King one of the principal personages in these Low Countries, but as the enemy is attacking Us on every side, and as all the great lords of this country are at their posts for the defence of Our territory, We have been prevented from doing what We should otherwise have done had We been at peace. Pray offer Our excuses to the King for not having deputed a person of higher rank, and give Our commendations to him whenever you have the opportunity of doing so.

With regard to Tournehem and La Montoire, the taking of which by the French might, as you wrote on the 9th of August, be the cause of the English losing courage, and cooling down in their affection for the Emperor, We must tell you that the worst has already happened, and that since the receipt of your letter those two towns have fallen into the hands of the enemy. We might decidedly have been of your opinion had the French kept those fortresses; but since they have utterly destroyed them, We do not see why the English, as you fear, should cool down in the matter of the alliance. On the contrary, they will see that the loss was unimportant, since the the enemy, after taking those two towns, did not keep them. In the opinion of military men, Tournehem could not, considering its situation, be held against a regular army, nor could it be fortified so as to sustain a siege. That is why many months ago We had ordered the heavy ordnance in it to be withdrawn. As to La Montoire,* the fortifications had not been completed, and therefore the town could not stand a proper siege.

The duke of Orleans, who laid siege to Yvoix, is still before that place. The French say that he has resolved not to raise it until he has carried the town. It is to be hoped that those inside will do their duty and stoutly defend the place, as they have done hitherto, until they are provided with all the necessaries for a long siege.

News has come that some war ships from France, as well as from Denmark, are on the coast of Zeeland and Holland. It is not known whether they have troops on board or not and whether they intend landing and where. We are in a bad condition for repulsing their attack, having so many places to attend to. That is why We pray and request you to do your utmost to induce that king and his ministers to assist Us promptly, because, otherwise, or should the assistance come

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* Elsewhere La Mouterie and La Mouthoire.

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too late, We may receive irreparable damage from the enemy before We can attempt to defend Ourselves efficiently.—Brussels, 17 August 1542.

Signed: "Marie."

Indorsed: "Draft of the Queen of Hungary's letter to the Imperial Ambassador in England."—17th of August.

French. Original draft, entirely ciphered. pp. 4.

21 Aug. **52.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 77–80.

"Madame,"—By my last I informed Your Majesty that I had sent one of my men to the Privy Council to inquire for news. My man returned with a letter from the privy councillors, purporting that just at the time of my man's arrival in the Council rooms, they had received news from Flanders announcing that the castles of Tournehem and La Montoire* had surrendered to the enemy, at which news they themselves were, out of affection for Your Majesty, exceedingly vexed and sorry, the more so that it was no longer a question of attending to the succour of those castles, as we had solicited; though at the same time, in view of the information furnished by my man, and in order not to lose time, orders had been sent to the English governor of Guisnes to put himself at once in communication with the count du Rœulx, without waiting for Your Majesty's answer to my last despatch.

These privy councillors sent me word that they have news of some insurrection or other in Bretagne. It is not known yet whether it be on account of the new taxation (*impositions et gabelles*), or because they wish to have the duke of Orleans as their lord. Whatever may be the cause of their discontent, I really believe that the imprisonment of Chancellor Poyet has something to do with it, and that they (the Bretons) suspect that king Francis is going to unite them to the crown of France. The Chancellor has been taken to the tower of Borgez (Bourges?), and on the road thither wrote two letters, of which a copy is enclosed.† Even the French ambassador here (Marillac) is ignorant of the cause of the Chancellor's disgrace and imprisonment, and has received no particulars about it. He himself went to Antompton (Hampton Court) yesterday, but did not remain long there. I have not yet been able to ascertain what made him go thither, and *I must say that in future I shall have less opportunity of knowing what that ambassador is about, for his man is no longer with him. I am sorry for that, as otherwise I might, as at other times, have got most valuable information from him, and the Emperor's service would have been better done in that respect*

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* Written La Monthoire or perhaps La *Mouthoire* by error of the scribe.

† *See* above, Nos. 38 and 39.

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Soldiers are continually being recruited, armed, and equipped for war, which does not sound well in French ears and especially in those of the merchants of that nation, who, owing to that and to certain words they have heard from the French ambassador's lips, are fast abandoning this country, selling their goods and getting rid of their policies as quickly as they can at low prices. The Scotch ambassador is still here in London; he has, however (as I hear), been recalled by his master in very great haste, the cause being (as I am informed) that the Irish are nowadays under the obedience and rule of this king, and have just made a raid on the Scotch, with whom this king happens now to be very angry, knowing very well that what they lately did, and what they are now planning, proceeds entirely from the French.

The bishop of Vuaimestre (Westminster) arrived at Vervier (Bermeo)* on the 19th of July, and George on the 23rd of the same month, according to the report of certain English sailors coming from those parts. There was no talk yet in Biscay of war, neither were there any news from central Spain, except that letters from Lyons of the 10th inst. say that the duke of Alba was encamped near Saulcez (Salces) and Perpignan with 5,000 or 6,000 men, and that considerable levies of men were being made throughout Spain.—London, 21 August 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

27 Aug. **53.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 81.

"Madame,"—The bearer of this will be Jehan de Hons,† the man of the French embassy who was lately so useful in procuring Us a copy of the ciphered letters of king Francis and his ministers to the ambassador of France in this country (Marillac). I beg Your Majesty to be gracious to him and favor his application.‡—London, 27 August 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

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* Bermeo, which Chapuys' secretary writes Vervier (Vermeo ?), is the name of a small seaport town on the coast of Biscay.

† This is the first time that the secretary of the French ambassador is mentioned by his name, Chapuys having generally designated him as "the French ambassador's man," "our friend," "my confident," &c. In subsequent despatches, however, I find his name written *Hons*, *Honz*, and *Dehons*, though it must be said that once or twice his name is so indistinctly written that one might be inclined to read *Hous* instead of Hons, the "u" and the "n" being alike.

‡ A note on the dorse, purporting to be an answer to the above, has the following: "The Emperor, by his letter of the 10th of June, writes to the Queen *to attend to the settlement of a pension on the personage* alluded to in the ambassador's letter, who furnishes the news from England. The pension to be for his maintenance and that of his mother, and besides that his brother to

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28 Aug. **54.** The Emperor to the Pope.

M. R. Ac. d. Hist. A. 48, f. 26.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 132.

"Most Holy Father,"—The Papal Nuncio residing at this Our court has placed in Our hands the copy of Your Holiness' bull of June last convoking the General Council for Trent for November next, and has also at the same time spoken to Us of Your Holiness' laudable intentions and views respecting the said Council, the good offices done by Your Holiness to persuade all the powers of Christendom to join in it, and the great labour and exertions of Your Holiness in promoting and securing general peace, especially between king Francis and Us. Yet it seems to Us (and let this be said with all respect to Your Holiness) as if in your letters Your Holiness had followed too closely (as it has been said at times, and I think Your Holiness cannot have forgotten the fact) the example of the "Paterfamilias" who, in the most indulgent manner, recalled his prodigal son to duty.[*] For, although on his return, notwithstanding that he had before fled from him, he embraced him with the utmost benevolence, he did not compensate the elder, who had never relinquished his duty, and had borne the burdens and cares of the household, but acknowledged his continual obedience, and commended his good behaviour. This was quite unlike what God did when he accepted the good deeds of Abel and rejected those of his brother [Cain]. Indeed Your Holiness, knowing what Our labors have been for the public welfare of Christendom, what We ourselves have always done to obviate the very inconveniences specified in the bull, and how We have hitherto—with almost incredible fatigue and personal danger and so many journeys and voyages—carried out Our plans for Catholic reconciliation through the means of a General Council, and how, in short, We have always considered it a duty of Ours to promote general peace in Christendom, in order to be able to resist the attacks of the Turk and other enemies of Christianity, might have made some difference between Us and the prince, who, if the truth be told, has done, as Your Holiness knows, the very reverse

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have the first vacant prebend in the Cathedral Church of Arras." Another letter of Chapuys to the queen Regent, dated likewise the 27th of August 1542, though wrongly placed among those of the year 1543, has lately been found in the Imperial Archives of Vienna. It is also holograph, and though substantially the same as the above, is differently worded. "Pour ce quay çy devant par pluseurs fois escript à vre. ma^{te} de la bonne volonte, et dez bons officez de Maistre Jehan Dehons, porteur de ceste, et aussi de sez bonnes qualitez, je nen feray redicte, seullement suppliant vre ma^{te} tres humblement quil plaise à icelle lavoir en singuliere recommendation de sorte quil cognoisse quay du tout adverty vre. ma^{te}, et que sez services ont estez aggreables." De Londres, le xxvii^{e} daoust, 1542. After which follows the above memorandum in the hand of secretary Bave (?).

[*] "Etsi nobis videatur (quod secundum debitam observantiam intelligi volumus) Sanctitatem vestram in suis litteris exacte nimis observasse quod non nunquam dictum fuit, quodque arbitror illi memoriæ non excidisse de patrefamilias qui prodigum filium indigentia sua ne deterius laboretur (*sic*) ad offitium revocavit, nam et si illum a redita" (the remainder of the sentence is so vitiated as to be unintelligible).

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of this. To speak frankly and truly, the context of the bull itself, and specially some passages of it, makes Us doubt (though We do not pretend in any way to impeach the integrity of the Holy College of Cardinals in this matter) whether it can be true that king Francis boasts of having the Holy College entirely at his will and command through the faction he has within it, as he has frequently asserted in writing; or else that those very cardinals have used the pen entrusted to them to write words and sentences which Your Holiness cannot approve. We conscientiously think that if such are Your Holiness' sentiments, they have been thus expressed for a good purpose. Were We to think otherwise, We should certainly resent it, not only for the causes above alleged, but for the dignity and authority which by the permission of God We hold and occupy in this World; besides which We rely on what Your Holiness—and, generally speaking, the whole of Christendom—knows of the acts of the one and of the other. Would to God that the mildness and favor so long used by Your Holiness towards king Francis had been the means of recalling him to a sense of his duty, putting him again on the true path, and inducing him to promote the General Council as well as resistance to the common enemy of Christendom. Then We should have considered Your Holiness' favors to him as profitable to Christendom; but as We are convinced that on the contrary king Francis will persist in his determination, We cannot do otherwise than warn Your Holiness thereof.

We will not allude to events previous to the year 1536, because they are well known to Your Holiness and need not be recorded here. It is a known fact that the truce planned at Nizza, and afterwards concluded at Aigues-Mortes, was chiefly due to the intervention, authority, good direction, care, and vigilance of Your Holiness, who, with great personal inconvenience and fatigue, went thither for the purpose. What good, after all, resulted from Our adventurous voyage to Aigues-Mortes, Our passage through France after that, and Our long stay in that country against the general opinion of those who wish Us well—and who have since blamed Us, and not without reason, for thus risking Our person in a foreign country—Your Holiness can judge. Without heeding what passed before, or the continual changes and variations in king Francis' politics, of which We will not speak at present; without listening to the rumour then prevalent in France—and which has since been verified—that there was a question of retaining Us [prisoner], We did confidently put Ourselves in king Francis' hands. Of what good was it the very moment We passed the frontier and entered the Low Countries again to offer the king of France to observe faithfully what We had stipulated with him before Our departure from Spain?

As it has been alleged on the side of king Francis' friends that, owing to the troubles in the Low Countries, We

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were actually obliged to go thither and pass through France, and that as it was then winter We could not go thither by sea, We must state that the insurrection of Ghent was not important enough to necessitate Our presence there. It had been promoted only by the rabble and scum of the town, not by citizens or well-to-do people; besides no other town had followed its bad example, and Our sister, the regent of the Low Countries, whose prudence and wisdom, as well as capacity for government, are well known, was on the spot. To the above reasons may be added that We naturally trusted to the truce of Nizza concluded by Your Holiness' intervention. Our original intention was to pass through Italy, and thence to Germany, to settle therein certain matters concerning the resistance against the Turk. That was the route We purposed to have followed had We not been urgently requested, as We can show by letters from king Francis and from his sons, from the Sieur and Dame d'Albret, and other chief personages of the French court, to pass through his kingdom. Indeed, so pressing and urgent was the invitation, that king Francis would have made it a point of honor had We selected any other route but that, and not shown him that confidence and trust, which, as he said at the time, was important for his honor and reputation, and indispensable for amending the nonobservance of former treaties.

And yet ever since that time king Francis has shown discontent on all occasions, pretending and saying in public that We do not choose to restore Milan to him—which restitution, he says, We have promised to effect—all the time keeping silence as to the conditions under which We really consented once to part with that duchy, and give the investiture of it to his son Charles, duke of Orleans. Since then king Francis has never ceased intriguing in Germany, as well as in Italy, with the Turk as with the titular king of Hungary, who, after making alliance with the Infidel, and being excommunicated in consequence, did, with his wife's father* and other princes, deliver Buda to Solyman, and bring the Turk into Germany.

Meanwhile king Francis was showing Us great affection, praising above all Our strict observance of the truce, and promising on oath that on his part it should be inviolably observed; and yet he was all the time doing exactly the contrary of that, as Your Holiness knows from his own words uttered precisely at the time that those protestations of unalterable friendship were going on, in the very presence of Your Holiness' legate and cardinals, nuncios, and others. We need not recapitulate here the mischief which his ministers have done everywhere, and especially in Germany, during the meeting of Worms and at the diet of Regensburg, and yet all that time king Francis was (as stated above)

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* Isabella, daughter of Sigismund king of Poland, married Jean Zapoli in 1536.

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temporizing, and expressly assuring Us of his friendship up to the day of the loss of Cesare Fragoso and Rincon, of which he took occasion to resent the imaginary grievances of which he complained. As Your Holiness knows very well what We Ourselves have done, or caused to be done, in order to ascertain the whole truth of that affair, and how We did willingly agree to Your Holiness being the judge in the matter, and deciding on that and other pretended contraventions to the truce on Our part; and as We then (whilst at Lucca) fully complied with Your Holiness' request on that point, and placed the affair in the hands of proctors and lawyers for Your Holiness to decide, We need not dwell longer on it.

In short, We conclude from the above facts that neither Our own submission to Your Holiness' decree, nor the readiness with which the marquis del Gasto—mostly inculpated in that affair—did offer to place his person in Your Holiness' hands, has availed in the least to convince king Francis; whence it seems to Us apparent that his only object is to renew the old quarrel between Us, to trouble and distress Christendom and commence war against Us, as he said and repeated everywhere several months before the misadventure (*perdition*) of Fragoso and Rincon, whose deeds and bad offices with the Turk, as well as in Italy—undertaken at his (the King's) commands—not only against the truce of Nizza, but to the great injury and loss of the universal Christian Republic, are known to everyone. So criminal were their acts, that in any case they must have been considered as out of the truce, since they had passed secretly and in hostile array through the duchy of Milan, accompanied by "*fuorusciti*," which fact, according to the laws of the country, made them worthy of death. However this may be, We could not do more in favor of the truce and its observance than order the contraventions, if any, to be amended and repaired, leaving the truce, as it was, in full vigour, and adding for king Francis' greater satisfaction that, if he wished, We would submit the whole affair to Your Holiness' decision, at the same time that the person of whom he chiefly complained would willingly surrender and stand his trial.

Trusting, therefore, that king Francis would be satisfied with Our complying with his request, and submitting the whole affair to Your Holiness' arbitration, We left for the Algiers expedition, having first sent expressly to him a gentleman of Our household, presently bishop of Orense,* to visit him and announce Our departure, commending to him the peace and tranquillity of Christendom, and begging him to observe the truce. This king Francis readily promised, as expressly and completely as he is in the habit of doing, and yet Your Holiness is aware of what was done at Marano in the Friuli during

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* D. Francisco Manrique, bishop of Orense (episcopus Auriensis) from 1542 to 1556.

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Our expedition to the African coast, and must also have heard of that king's undertakings in Italy, as well as of his intrigues in Germany, Denmark, and other places, and of the enterprize which then and there, at a most propitious juncture, he meditated of invading Our kingdom of Navarre. Your Holiness knows also how matters between him and Us have since got worse and worse. We pass over in silence what his ambassadors did at the diet of Spires to feed the already existing differences in matters of religion, and how by skilfully favoring now one, now the other, party they managed to divide and separate them, and thus prevent the expedition against the Turk. We will say nothing of his urgently soliciting Solyman to send his fleet to the coast of Sicily, and penetrate into Italy, nor of his trying to surprise the Low Countries by means of an army commanded by Martin Van Rossen, the servant of the duke of Clèves. Perceiving, however, that the conspiracy had been detected, and that We were on the alert, what did he do? He recommenced war, made his son, the duke of Orleans, invade Our Luxemburg, and, after threatening Us boastingly of his alliance with the Turk, directed his army to the frontiers of Navarre and the Roussillon, having since the 10th of July publicly declared war against Us in the most dishonorable and cruel form possible, worse indeed than if We were barbarians and infidels, as Your Holiness must have understood, concealing from Us all the time that his ministers and commanders in Italy, as well as in the Roussillon, kept dissembling in imitation of their master, and pretending that they wished to preserve the truce.

Such has been the brilliant result of Your Holiness' favor and condescension towards him. All your persuasions to make him observe the truce; your tolerance of his iniquitous and unjustifiable arrest of the archbishop of Valencia—an act bringing great discredit and opprobrium on the Holy Apostolic See, and lowering the dignity and authority of the Church; and last, not least, the cruel treatment of several Spanish gentlemen, Our subjects—avowed as it has been by him, and in a town, too, like Avignon, belonging to Your Holiness—are but a natural consequence of the favor and tolerance which Your Holiness has shown him.

King Francis has never said or written anything to Us to show his discontent and cause Us to be on Our guard; on the contrary, he has always dissembled, though he must have been sure all the time that Our only wish was to go to Germany, and employ Our person and the forces of the Empire against the Turk. Of this very fact he has profited as much as he could by trying to take Us unawares in these parts; but We hope that with God's help he will be as unsuccessful in this his enterprize against Us as he has been in former ones. One can easily perceive that he tries to make his sons follow in the same path of ambition and lust of conquest in which he himself is engaged, for whoever considers how he invaded and took possession of almost the whole of Piedmont—which he still retains to the damage and injury of the duke of Savoy (Carlo), its legitimate lord—how he has fortified that country with the intention of keeping it for ever—as he has kept Provence, both of which countries are fiefs of the Empire—will easily understand what Francis' ambitious projects are, and what their tendency is. To show that his object is aggrandizement, no matter how or on which side of his frontiers, We will only mention to Your Holiness the usurpation of Astenay in Our duchy of Luxemburg, which is a fief of Ours, as well as the detention and fortification of that town against Our will; the enterprize against the Low Countries, commanded by Martin Van Rossen, the servant of the duke of Clèves, &c.

To put an end to this long letter, if Your Holiness wishes, as in duty bound, to remedy the evils by which Christendom is now afflicted, procure the union, peace, and tranquillity of the latter, and act as befits the authority and high repute of the Holy Apostolic See, Your Holiness must declare at once against king Francis, and demonstrate in vivid colours the consciousness you have that the disturbances in religious matters, the troubles of Christendom, and the danger from the Turk and other infidels, may all have been fostered by his means. Also that the offence and injury by him done to the Holy Apostolic See, to the authority of the Roman Church, and to your own personal dignity through the infraction of the truce and his renewal of the war; the detention of the archbishop of Valencia, and violation of the security given by Your Holiness, and, above all, the scorn and contempt which, as Your Holiness well knows, king Francis has shown in other matters connected with the Holy Apostolic See and your own most reverend person, demand a prompt remedy from you. If Your Holiness will put your hand earnestly to that work, the expectations of all good Christians will be fulfilled, and the vows of all good and honorable men accomplished. Your Holiness will give the example to such other princes and powers as may seem expedient, and by that means the Council will be celebrated, God's service done, and Christendom, which otherwise lies in extreme danger, restored to its former splendour. We again beg and entreat Your Holiness to look attentively to the above reasons and suggestions of Ours, assuring Your Holiness that if the above considerations—which We conscientiously think become a duty on your part—be attended to, We Ourselves shall not fail, as far as the Council is concerned—which Council, however, neither We nor the electors of the Empire, nor the prelates of Our various kingdoms, can possibly attend without that requisite—to do Our best for the good of Christian Religion and the peace of the World and that all the rest concerning God's service, the welfare of the Church and Christian Republic, shall be attended to with the help of Our Creator, whom, Most Holy Father, We beg to keep you under his guard and protection.—Montisoni (Monçon), 25 Aug. 1542.*

Latin. Original draft in the handwriting of Alfonso Valdés. pp. 18.

Indorsed: "The Emperor's answer to His Holiness the Pope, on the convocation of the General Council of the Church."†

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28 Aug. **55.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Chier et feal,"—Besides what you will hear by Our preceding letter, We now tell you that the king of France must have lost all sense of honor, since he declared war against Us on the 10th of July in much worse terms than he would have done against pagans and infidels, and has now invaded Our Roussillon, the capital of which (Perpignan) he is now besieging. We hope, however, he will gain there as little as he did in former enterprizes of his!! In addition to that, We hear from Our ambassador in Rome that the Pope, at his (the King's) intercession, is about to send two cardinals, one (Contareni)‡ to Us, another (Sadoletto) to king Francis, to persuade Us both to make peace. We have expressly sent orders to Our ambassador at Rome § to tell cardinal Contareni, who is the one designated to come to Spain, not to come to Us on such an errand, for We could not receive him. By such doings of the King you will easily understand what his game is; whilst he is threatening and bragging, he is in an underhand way trying to have peace. You will inform the king of England of these particulars, whenever you find a fit opportunity for it.

Should this present courier reach England first, you will send Our letters to the queen dowager of Hungary, Our sister; if he arrives in some port of the Low Countries, she will take care that they reach you.—Mousson (Monçon), 28 August 1542.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

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30 Aug. **56.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to MR. DE PHALAIX.‖

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Tres chier et bien aimé,"—We send you here inclosed the instructions that We have ordered to be drawn up for your guidance in what you will have to represent to the Emperor,

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* "Datum ex oppido nostro Montissoni in Regno Aragoniæ, die vigessima quinta mensis augusti, millessimo quingentessimo quadragessimo secundo."

† Two more Latin letters of the Emperor to the Pope, one dated Monçon, 8 Oct., the other Valencia, 16 December, are in the same volume of Alfonso Valdés, the Imperial secretary for Latin letters. Copies of them are in Bergenroth's Collection, Vol. XXII., pp. 132 and 145.

‡ Contareni (Gasparo?) went to Spain, Sadoletto (Giacomo) to France. Some of their letters may be found in the interesting collection entitled, *Lettere di XIII. Huomini illustri* by Tomasso Porcacchi, Venetia, 1572, pp. 83–97.

§ Still the marquis de Aguilar.

‖ About this individual, whose name is also written Fallaix, *see* Vol. V., Part II., pp. 577–9.

1542.

Our lord and brother. Since the drawing up of those instructions, the French, after getting possession of the town of Yvoix, have marched towards Arlon, which was entirely unprotected, the garrison having abandoned it when they found that it was defenceless. The inhabitants then surrendered without resistance and admitted the enemy. Thence they went to a town of Luxemburg, which also surrendered to them, as it could not be defended against so large a force. We know nothing more about the enemy, nor can We say in what direction they will march next. We request and, in the Emperor's name, order you to prosecute as soon as possible your voyage to Spain, as We have already written to you, leaving to the Imperial ambassador in England (Chapuys) the care of prosecuting the negociation for which you were sent thither.

Signed: "Marie."

Addressed: "To Franchois de Phalaix."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

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2 Sept. **57.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233.
ff. 83–5.

"Madame,"—Intending to write in two or three days hence by the courier Your Majesty sent lately, and fully advise the news of this place, as well as the issue of the affair for which Mr. de Fallaix came, I shall be brief now. Nor could it be otherwise, for the courier who is to be the bearer of this despatch is already in the saddle.

Fallaix and I went twice to Court. The first time we did not see the King, who sent us his excuses, saying that he was very much engaged on matters connected with the Scottish war, and could not possibly receive us then, but that as soon as an answer came from Spain, he was determined to send another army for the defence of the Low Countries. If so (the message was) the King would have to employ all his men, as well as spend a considerable amount of money; alleging besides that if the intelligence he had lately received was true, and both the duke of Orleans and Mr. de Vendôme had retreated, there was no longer need of his helping and assisting in that quarter.

Nor did we see him the second time that Fallaix and I called at Court, though we had a long talk with his privy councillors, who, after repeating in their master's name the very same excuses, asked us point-blank, in case of the king's consenting to help us with men or money, or with both, what amount of money we wanted, what number of men, and at what time, and, in short, whether we had, or had not, powers from Your Majesty to treat of reciprocity. Our answer was that we had no express powers for that, but that on all other points we were ready to subscribe to any terms and conditions the King might dictate. The councillors replied that they would consult the King thereupon, and let us know his intention and *will on the whole, which, unless some unforeseen event happens, is, as I presume, to give us some money and allow besides some gentlemen of his court—those, of course, whom he knows to be attached to the Emperor—to choose the side under which they will serve. In this manner the King will affect a certain neutrality, and not break altogether with the French. I am the more persuaded that such are this king's plans for the present, that he has decided to send his Lord Privy Seal (Fitz William) to the Scotch borders, together with the duke of Norfolk and other lords, and intends making there the greatest effort he has ever made, not sparing either money or men. Indeed, I hear that his intention is not only to attack the Scotch, but to pursue them within their own territory, and make them feel all the horrors of war. Should he be unable this year (as the season is far advanced) to accomplish his aim, the King may perhaps feel inclined to send part of his army across the Channel to help against the French; but, as I said before, at present, and whilst engaged in the Scottish war, there is very little chance of his helping as efficiently as Your Majesty wishes.* However that may be, and whatever his determination, I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty thereof.*—London, 2 September 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, mostly ciphered. pp. 2.

5 Sept. **58.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 86–91.

"Madame,"—The courier, bearer of this despatch, has remained so long in this country in the hope of letters coming from Spain, or else of this king giving a categorical answer to Fallaix' demand of help and assistance in Your Majesty's name—which answer, as I am told, and as I wrote to Your Majesty on the 2nd inst., was to arrive in town in the course of this day—that I have naturally been prevented from writing to Your Majesty. Perceiving, however, that there was no certainty of the one or the other (no letters from Spain having been received, and the King not having answered our application), the said Fallaix and myself have deemed it more expedient to send back this courier, since Your Majesty might perhaps wait until his return, and give him the despatches and letters which Fallaix is to take to Spain, and also allow him time to send me the last news from that country. That would have suited admirably Fallaix' purpose and my own, for it would have given us both fresh occasion and opportunity for again urging the King on this particular matter, or, at least, afforded us the means of ascertaining with dexterity what this king's inclination and final resolution can be, *which I fancy he is purposely delaying until he receives news from Spain. Indeed, I must say*

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* "Et en lieu quil ne pourra pour ceste annee, quest aussi par trop avancee, envoyer armee de par de la pour quelque complement et supplisement, il oseroit condescendre à ce que dessus, de quoy vre. ma^{te} sera bientot advertie."

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that he is exceedingly displeased and annoyed at the answer from Spain not coming, as may be gathered from certain expressions he made use of to Fallaix and to me, when the other day we again pressed him to help and assist you, saying, "It would be a great folly on my part to send away my money, and make enemies of my friends, without knowing first on what terms I stand with the Emperor." Yet after several representations of Fallaix' and mine, and on our assuring, nay, testifying, to the good reciprocity and correspondence on the Emperor's part, this king did not insist so much on the said excuse as he had done on the other two mentioned in my letter, especially on the retreat of the French armies, which argument he might have further developed had we received in time Your Majesty's letters. It seemed to me, when I last wrote, that there was some appearance of this king helping, owing to various considerations which I then explained, and others which I omitted; but since things have turned out differently, owing to the mutability and inconstancy of human affairs, I really do not know what to say about it. Supposing, however, that Fallaix, in pursuance of Your Majesty's commands, will, according to our agreement, describe verbally what passed at our conferences with this king, I will write no more on the subject, but will fill the rest of this despatch with my answer to Your Majesty's letter of the 17*th ult.*

And, first of all, as to treating with these people in conformity with His Imperial Majesty's answer, as contained in the abstract which you were pleased to send me, I must say that there is no means of doing so, as I have had the honor of informing Your Majesty; this king's ministers take quite a different view of the affair.

With regard to the surrender of Tournehem, La Montoire, and Yvoix, thank God that has had no influence on these people, as I at first feared it would; as far as I can see, their goodwill towards Your Majesty has not abated in the least; on the contrary, it seems to have further incensed them against the French.

*As to sending powers to the governor of Guisnes for him to treat with Mr. du Rœulx, that has already been done, as I informed Your Majesty by my last despatch but one, though to no purpose whatever, for Mr. Vendôme has retreated, as the King told us (Fallaix and me) the last time that we went to Court, adding that he was thinking of writing a letter to the Duke, in case of his not having yet evacuated the Arthois, that he (the King) might more honorably carry out his plans, and execute that which might have been concerted between Mr. du Rœulx and his governor of Guisnes.**

Respecting the rumours afloat of certain French ships, as well as of the Easterlings—to which Your Majesty's letters

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* That is Sir John Wallop.

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refer—having sailed off with hostile intentions, this king says and affirms that there are none in those seas; nor is there for the present any appearance of their coming down from Denmark, where the duke of Holstein has only seven wretched ships of his own for the defence of that island. Neither have the French any wish of sailing to the coasts of Zeeland and Holland, for they know the powerful fleet he (the King) has, and that whenever any of his ships meet with a French vessel in the Channel, the latter is captured and her crew taken prisoners, whilst his own favor and help as much as they can those of Your Majesty. "Not later than last month (said the King) my ships have chased and captured several of the French, and will do the same in future whenever they meet one of them on the coast of the Low Countries."

The truth is that, according to my information, this King's Navy is doing wonders in that way, dealing harshly with the French and making prizes every day, thus creating great alarm along the French coast. I should say that these latter, in order to escape such dangers, and repair the losses they are daily sustaining, will in the end give back, as they have already begun to do, considerable property and goods taken from English merchant ships, and will offer to surrender all they have taken or to indemnify the owners, for the King has already ordered that some of their captured vessels should be restored to them.

I hear that four or five days ago this king dismissed rudely enough the Scotch ambassador, but the latter having met on the road a herald of the king, his master, has since returned to Court in order to ask, and if possible obtain, as he says, a safe-conduct for a great embassy, which king James proposes sending to York to confer and treat with the duke of Norfolk, and other great personages of this Court, on the conditions of a peace with England, of which peace there is nowadays a very small chance, considering the great military preparations this king has made, and is making, as well by land as by sea. Whatever may come out of this war between England and Scotland, certain it is that Lord Vuillen will lose nothing by it, for he has been released from his prison at the Tower, that he may go and join at York his brother, the Duke, who has also with him the earl of Surrey, his son.

Had I not been able to mitigate and excuse that odious title of *bel oncle*, which appears in the superscription of Your Majesty's letter to this king, I am sure that we should have had a very curt and unsatisfactory answer. Let Your Majesty give orders to her secretaries not to use that title any longer, in pursuance of the resolution taken when I was last at Mons.—London, 5 September 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 5.

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9 Sept. **59.** The Same to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 156–63.

"Sire,"—Since my last I have received from the Queen Regent in Flanders the abstract of certain letters of Your Imperial Majesty to her, of the 15th of July last, *containing the answer and intention respecting two points of the treaty of closer friendship between Your Imperial Majesty and this king. The Queen Regent thought that after Your Imperial Majesty's final resolution on those two points, I could easily go on negociating the treaty of alliance with these people, or, at least, persuade this king of your good will and inclination towards him, and make him hope that his ambassadors near Your Imperial Majesty would in time receive such an answer as would induce him to give help and assistance to the Low Countries. To that end did the Queen Regent write to this king letters in my credence, which Toison d'Or, the herald, brought to this country, that he and I together should call on the King and solicit the said help. So we did, and yet, notwithstanding our most urgent persuasions and requests on the two or three occasions that we both were before him and his Privy Council, we could never obtain a satisfactory answer to our petition, the King excusing himself in the first instance on account of the war with the Scotch, who had lately made several raids, slaying many of his people, sacking, burning, and laying the country waste, and, more recently still, making two of his principal captains prisoners, and killing a good number of well-to-do gentlemen and others. That if a favorable answer came from Your Imperial Majesty concerning the proposal once made to me by Mr. du Rœulx,* he would naturally have need of all his men, as well as of a wonderfully large sum of money, which he would have to draw entirely out of his own treasury, for hitherto there had been no question of his own subjects contributing towards the expenses of the war, whereas the people of the Low Countries had paid, and were paying, everything out of their own pockets, without any charge on Your Imperial Majesty's treasury.*

On the second occasion the King gave as an excuse that he had heard that the duke of Vendôme had retreated and disbanded his men, and that he had news from a reliable quarter to the effect that he of Orleans (the duke Charles) intended doing the same. If so (said the King), there was no need at all of his help and assistance.

On the last occasion the King alleged that he did not know on what terms he was with Your Imperial Majesty, and therefore that he could not help suspecting that you had no great desire to respond to his own perfect friendship and sincere intentions, inasmuch as he had no news from Your Imperial Majesty, or from his ambassadors residing at your Court, and that it would be an act of folly on his part to send away his money, and perhaps make enemies of his friends,

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* *See* Chapuys' letter to queen Mary of the 29th of June, p. 21.

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without knowing why; and yet, notwithstanding all that, he had submitted to the deliberation of his Council, whether it would not be possible, whilst Mr. du Rœulx was still in the Arthois, to risk some hazardous declaration and enterprize against the French. He had on that account made me write to the Queen Regent to send her powers to the said Mr. du Rœulx for him to treat with the governor of Guisnes on matters of great importance for the people of the Low Countries, your subjects and his own. Those powers had either never been received or had come too late.

After replying to the King's arguments and excuses as well as I could, the King said that he would communicate with his privy councillors, and let me know the result of their deliberations. Two days after Toison d'Or and I were asked what amount of money or what number of men we asked for, and whether we had, or had not, sufficient powers to treat of the reward (recompense). *Upon Toison d'Or answering that we had no such powers, and that the whole of the affair rested in the King's hands, as we both were ready to submit to his conditions, the privy councillors said that they would report to the King, and let us know his resolution. And yet up to this moment no message has come from them, only that, upon Toison d'Or going (the other day) to take leave of the King to embark for Spain, in obedience to the Queen's commands, he (the King) repeated to him and to me the very same excuses he had made on the first occasion, adding that one of two things must be the case, either we had powers to treat of the reward* (recompense), *or else the help and assistance demanded of him must be in the form specified by the treaty of Cambray, and in no other. In either case he would see what answer it was fit and convenient for him to make, and in what way he was to assist, and help. He then began to charge Your Imperial Majesty with having neglected the defence of the Low Countries, saying that had you listened to the advice and counsel of the bishop of Winchester, when he was residing at your court, all inconveniences and dangers might have been overcome; but that Your Imperial Majesty would scarcely hear his ambassador; ten months had passed without your giving any sign of being ready to become his friend and ally, whereas he himself had done, on his side, the utmost he could to court your friendship. On this last point the King insisted so much that I was obliged to remonstrate, telling him that his accusation was not well grounded; he knew very well that when the bishop of Winchester went to Your Imperial Majesty he carried no powers to treat, and that it was the bishop himself who had proposed the ten months' term, whereas Your Imperial Majesty, within the time then fixed, had sent full powers to me. That had he chosen to keep an honest and friendly reciprocity in the negociation, the whole business would have been settled without my having to cross the Channel and go to*

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Flanders, from whence, on my return, I brought him a full answer to all his questions and a final resolution as far as Your Imperial Majesty and the queen of Hungary were concerned. His deputies, after that, had made such preposterous and exorbitant demands that, had they really wished for an alliance and confederation between Your Imperial Majesty and their master, they would have been omitted and set aside as an obstacle to the negociations. As to the imputation that Your Imperial Majesty had insufficiently provided for the defence of the Low Countries, the fault, I said, if any, was not Your Majesty's, who, measuring the King's faith by your own, could not possibly believe, as they said, that a king of France could at that moment, and when another Christian prince was meditating an enterprize against the Turk, so forget the claims of honor and conscience as to make war on a Christian emperor, and break his oath of keeping the truce, especially as he had been saying, nay, asserting, until two days before his declaration of war, that he wished to observe that truce, and not molest Your Majesty in any way. That you had been lulled asleep, as the King said, by your excessive confidence and the hope of ultimately coming to terms with France was an accusation which I could not admit; you had, on the contrary, to my certain knowledge, been over-watchful and vigilant. Whatever steps His Holiness may have taken, as asserted, in settling Your quarrels and making You and king Francis friends, they were not taken at your instigation, nor had Mr. Marvol's sudden return to France, of which the French ambassador had kindly informed him, anything to do with it. There was, besides, no cause to complain of that, for Your Imperial Majesty had always preferred, and will in future prefer, his friendship and alliance to that of any living Christian sovereign, provided You were met with honorable conditions for both the contracting parties; for, after all, it could not be expected that Your Imperial Majesty should entirely shut your ears to French overtures, when he himself had been all the time listening to their proposals of a marriage between the Princess [Mary] and the duke of Orleans. In addition to that I said, that since the term of ten months during which both parties (Your Majesty and the King) had agreed not to treat with the French has already expired, I had no objection whatever to write home again and ask for the prorogation of that term, and that if he (the King) would only write to his ambassadors to the same purpose, all matters might be soon satisfactorily settled.*

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* Here one or two sentences must have been omitted by the deciphering clerk, as otherwise the sense is not clear. The original passage stands thus: "Et que vre. ma^{te} ne sestoit endormye, comme il pensoit, et touchoit, sur espoir de traicter avec les dits françois, et que oyres que sa S^{te} (Saincteté) sen meslat ainsi quil disoit, et que Monsr. de Marvol fut retourne en France, ainsi que luy avoit donne dentendre l'ambassadeur du dit France, toutesfois il navoit cause [de] sen douloir, comme sembloit quil faisoit, car vre. ma^{te} preferoit tousiours son amytie à toutes autres moyennant quil se voulsist contenter dhonnestes et egales condicions," &c.

On the King leaving the Council-room some of the privy councillors came up to Fallaix and me, and declared that although the King, their master, needed now all his disposable forces to repulse the present Scotch aggressions, and any other that might be made in future, yet he was a prince so careful of his own honor and reputation that he disliked above all things to incur the risk of being reproached hereafter for having failed in the observance of treaties, with whomsoever they might be; and, therefore, that he begged us to declare conjointly whether the help and assistance which we now claimed from him was to be in the form and on the conditions stipulated by the treaty of Cambray. And upon our answering, as before, in the negative, they replied that in order to remove all scruples in the matter, they wished us to draw out a declaration in writing, which we then and there declined to do on many considerations, again begging the councillors to induce the King to grant his help and assistance without further conditions.

This the privy councillors promised to do, adding that the day after, which was the 8th of this month, we should receive the King's answer on the whole. Up to this hour, however, none has come.

As Your Imperial Majesty will soon hear from the lips of Fallaix himself, who is to be the bearer of this despatch, the details of our conference with the privy councillors, I shall not trouble you further with it. *He (Fallaix) will verbally inform Your Imperial Majesty of this king's military preparations for war with Scotland, and possibly, also, for the invasion of that country, though it might happen, after all, that the whole ended in smoke, because the Scotch ambassador, who was already on his way back to his master, has again returned [to Greenwich] to solicit, in the name of king James, a friendly interview in the city of York, which interview the duke of Norfolk and other noblemen and courtiers of this king should attend, whilst king James of Scotland would be represented by certain grand masters* (grans maistres) *of his own kingdom, the interview being fixed for the* 15*th inst.*

Nothing that I have heard respecting this business can persuade me that this king can willingly enter into negociation with Scotland, though, on the other hand, knowing very well, as he does, that the present opportunity is perhaps the best and most favorable he can have for a treaty with that country, I dare say that he will not let it pass. Indeed, I presume that it is the Cardinal (David Betoun) and the ecclesiastical party who have prevailed upon king James to declare war against England, fearing lest by the two kings*

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* "Et à riens que aye peu entendre de ce dit roy, je tiens quil condescendra volontiers à quelque traicte, oyres quil voye bien que par adventure il ny aura oncques si beau jeu contre le dit roy descosse, car je suppose que le cardinal et les autres ecclesiastiques ont esmeu le dit roy descosse à luy faire la guerre," &c.

becoming friends and allies, or the Scotch not being otherwise engaged, they (the ecclesiastics) would be treated there as they have been here. That is why this king imagines and hopes that by entering into negociations with king James, or his delegates, he will draw them to his side, or, at any rate, undermine the authority and influence of those who, like the Cardinal and the ecclesiastics of his party, are the cause of the present troubles, besides which he dislikes so much to spend his treasure in similar enterprises that, in my opinion, he will accept honorable conditions from Scotland.

I will not omit to say that in order to convince me that the King, their master, in anticipation of the conclusion of the treaty of alliance between Your Imperial Majesty and himself, had already begun to declare openly against the French, and favor Your Majesty's subjects, a friend came the other day to me *and showed me a letter from the French ambassador, complaining that three or four merchant vessels of his nation had lately been captured in the Channel by English war ships having troops on board; and also that no French ship equipped for war was allowed to remain more than four and twenty hours in any port or harbour of this country, whilst Your Imperial Majesty's could stay there as long as they liked. Further, that Your Imperial Majesty's subjects were permitted to land, and go from house to house in Dover and La Rye (Rye), in order to observe and ascertain whether there were Frenchmen ready to cross the Channel, and, if so, attack them in their own lodgings, as had lately been done at Dover—a very improper act, and one contrary to the neutrality professed by this king, as the French ambassador maintained.* However this may be, I have no doubt that the English will behave in future with more moderation (*plus modestement?*) than hitherto, for I hear that the French have already offered to make some reparation for the damage done by them to English navigators, and promised to continue to do so in future.—London, 9 Sept. 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, on the 9th Sept. Received at Barcelona the first day of November."

French. Holograph. pp. 7.

13 Sept. **60.** The Same to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
f. 100.

"Madame,"—I have been very earnestly requested on the part of this king, as well as of several lords having the command of large bodies of troops for the next campaign against the Scotch, to intercede with Your Majesty that a permission be granted to Godfrey van Halisson to purchase in, and export from, the Low Countries 3,000 shafts for spears, such as are used in Scotland, also three or four hundred complete

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steel harnesses for foot soldiers.* I humbly beg Your Majesty to attend to this request of the King and of his lords.—London, 13 September 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

14 Sept. **61.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 92–9.

"Madame,"—Fallaix, the Esquire, received on the 5th inst. Your Majesty's letter, together with the despatch for the Emperor in Spain. On the ensuing day he and I went to Court, not only to take leave of this king, but also to hear from him whether he had or had not taken any resolution on, or had anything to answer to Fallaix' charge; which answer (I must add) neither the Esquire nor I had solicited sooner, owing to the considerations contained in my last letter to Your Majesty, and also because we both were expecting from day to day that this king's privy councillors would send us some sort of message or communication about it, as they had promised. *This promise was probably made, as I imagine, for the express purpose of preventing further solicitations on our part, and for the purpose of gaining time whilst they waited for news from Spain.*

The King's answer was that he had already declared to us his reasons and the cause of the delay, as well as the difficulties lying in the way of his granting help and assistance in the form and manner applied for. As he had notified to us through his Privy Council, had we been properly empowered to treat of the return or reward for his own services, or else had we requested his help in virtue of and under the form specified by the treaty of Cambray, it might have been quite a different thing.† *He would then have seen what sort of reply he was to make to our demand, which would have been a suitable one. And upon our representing to him, among other things, that as only a few months ago he (the King) had excused himself from sending troops to Germany against the Turk, owing to the great distance, and especially because he himself thought of making war this very year upon other people as bad as Turks, and had since alleged as an excuse that the season was too far advanced for that, he might (we thought) very easily lend now the assistance required; in doing which, besides service rendered to God and the obligation under which he would place Your Majesty and the Emperor, he would get immense honor and reputation, as well*

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* "De vouloir interceder devers vre. ma^te^, et impetrer quil soit le bon plaisir dicelle octroyer et promettre (permettre) à Godefroy van Halisson de pouvoir tirer les hastez de trois mille picques, tellez quils usent au dit Escosse, et davantaige trois ou quatre cens harnois pour gens de pied."

† "Et que comme il nous avoit fait dire par les dits de son conseil, si avions charge et pouvoir de traicter de la recompense de ce que que demandions, ou que le requissions en vertu et en forme du traicte de Cambray, ce seroit aultre chose."

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as profit for his own subjects, who would this year suffer great damage from the stopping of the Antwerp trade during the war, so much so, that I (Chapuys) had heard several worthy citizens and merchants of this city say and affirm that the French war was as destructive to them as to the inhabitants of Flanders and the Low Countries.

I also maintained that should Your Majesty be helped with a respectable sum of money, you might easily gain over the landgraf of Hesse to the Emperor's party, which would be, after all, the greatest blow (*coup de baston*) king Francis could receive under the circumstances. "As a further proof of my assertion (said I to the King) one of the things that has most disheartened the English in general, and especially those who trade with Flanders and the Low Countries, is their belief that when I crossed the Channel it was for the purpose of concluding and consolidating the alliance and confederation between Your Majesty and him, and, therefore, should war break out, the Flemish would be powerfully helped and assisted by him and his army, whereas, now, being frustrated in their hopes, their fear had increased two-fold."

Hearing this, the King began to say that it would indeed be a very good piece of work to gain over the landgraf of Hesse, but as to his own subjects being deprived by war of the trade with Antwerp, that he did not admit, because if the merchants of England lost that mart, they would find elsewhere another for their goods. That respecting the first point touched upon by me, namely, the undertaking against France, and the second, or that of the defensive alliance, it was no fault of his if one or the other had not been carried out. Had His Imperial Majesty in Spain consented to listen to the bishop of Westminster,* his ambassador, or had Your Majesty accepted the very honorable and reasonable conditions, which I myself took when I went to Flanders, things would have turned out differently. The King went on so forcibly with his arguments, that I could not do less than justify Your Majesty's and the Emperor's conduct in the whole affair, by representing to him that Your Majesty had granted every one of his demands, though on conditions rather unequal, and that since then his commissioners had proposed others so exorbitant that Your Majesty could not possibly agree to them.

After some more talk on this and other minor subjects, the King charged Fallaix to be the bearer of his most affectionate commendations to the Emperor, and to say that he wondered much why he had no news or answer from Your Majesty; the nature of the times (he said) required more diligence and haste than that used in this instance, and that unless the Emperor sent me full powers to treat otherwise or provided

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* The original has Winchester, but there is reason to think that Westminster is meant.

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efficiently for the affairs of Flanders, he himself would be obliged to go thither in person.

Soon after the King had left the room where we were, and had conversed for a while with secretary Vristle (Wriothesley), some of the privy councillors came up to us (Faillaix and me) and declared that although their master actually wanted at present all his forces, yet he looked so much to his honor and reputation that he would not willingly fail to observe treaties or conventions to which he himself had been a party, and that if we required his help in virtue and in the form specified by the treaty of Cambray, he was ready to furnish such help. And upon our answering that our request did not rest on that foundation, as they could have observed, they begged us to say so in writing, and under our signature, so as to remove all scruples on both sides. This, however, we declined to do, remarking that we did not consider it at all needful. After again begging them to reconsider the matter, and grant the help in the manner and form specified in Fallaix' instructions, we took leave of the privy councillors, who again promised faithfully to intercede with the King on the subject, and let us know his answer on the ensuing day. The King's answer, however, has not come in, and although I, myself, have sent various messages to the Privy Council, up to this hour none has been received.

Yesterday I met (*ie sailli contre*) the King as he was going to visit the prince, his son, but not a word was said about the matter, the conversation turning on the last news of Flanders and Germany. Indeed, I am sure that until these people receive news from the Emperor in Spain, they will keep silence on the whole. Besides, the King, as I imagine, doubts of the answer being favorable to his plans; he has some suspicion of His Holiness being able, sooner or later, to make the Empire and the king of France friends again; so much so that he is particularly annoyed and angry with himself for not having stipulated a longer term during which neither of the parties is to treat with the French to the prejudice of the other.

Fallaix left yesterday (the 13th), as he himself cannot have failed to inform Your Majesty. He is gone to Bristol to embark for Spain, under the protection of this king's fleet for greater security.

The day before yesterday a great Irish lord, named the Great Onel (O'Neil), who is here considered the most powerful lord of that island, arrived in this city. He has come with rather a small retinue of followers, to render, as it is said, homage to this king. *This latter has lately dismissed from his service a gentleman of the Royal Chamber, owing only to his having, as the common report goes, visited the French ambassador with too great familiarity, and invited him to a park which he rents from the King. For the same reason of excessive familiarity with the French ambassador, joined* *to some light words uttered in public, a gentleman named Lord Granade was some time ago deprived of his estate* (cassé de son etat), *and dismissed from the Royal service, though since then the King, at the intercession of some courtiers, has given him another estate.*[*]

The military preparations here being made against the Scotch, and the number of soldiers continually marching towards the Borders, are really incredible. Notwithstanding that, I am told that the ambassador of Scotland has no doubt that there will be a treaty made at this next meeting in York, because, says he, the English wish for peace, and king James, his master, is also desirous of it. Of whatever may result from this, as well as of other events in this country, I shall not fail to advise Your Majesty from time to time.—London, 14 Sept. 1542.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 7.

14 Sept. **62.** The Emperor's Secretary to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

" Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—As the enclosed letters will fully acquaint you with the news of this court I shall be brief. I will only tell you in two words that the bishop of London came here from Valbestre[†] last evening, for the express purpose of showing the Emperor the letters which the king of England's privy councillors had written to him and to his colleague, the bishop of Westminster,[‡] wondering why they had no news from this country. Full satisfaction has been given on this point, telling him that the delay, of which the councillors complain, has been entirely caused by the bad weather and the difficulty of the sea voyage, and that besides the Emperor has nothing to add to the contents of the papers and letters which Mr. de Courrières is now taking [to England].

The letters exhibited by the English ambassador were of the 11th of August. After giving the last news of Flanders, the councillors expressed the displeasure and annoyance which the King, their master, had felt at hearing of the violent aggression made by the French in the Luxemburg, as well as in Flanders and Arthois. The Emperor thanked the Bishop in suitable terms (*le merciment quil convenoit*), without, however, laying great stress on the French invasion of those countries, only saying that he hoped the Germans would soon be on the spot, and had no doubt that the queen of Hungary has by this time provided for the defence of the country, since it is known

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[*] The passage, which is exceedingly obscure, owing, no doubt, to the deciphering clerk having omitted one or more words in it, stands thus in the original:—" Pour la mesme raison de familiarité avec le dit ambassadeur, joinct quelques parolles ligueres, (legères) [lord] Granade a este casse de son estat, et avoit son conge, mais depuis le dit roy, à lintercession daucuns, luy a dosne autre estat."

[†] Valbestre is Barbastre in Aragon.

[‡] Thomas Thirlby. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 497.

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for certain that before the 11th—the date of the councillor's letter—the Germans were already marching to Flanders.

True is it that we have not heard from the Queen since the 17th of August, and that neither official nor private letters have been received from Flanders since the 31st of July, which causes the Emperor and all of us some anxiety. This would be greatly increased had we not the certainty that with the arrival of the Germans in Flanders the French will be repulsed.

As to king Francis' armies on the side of Pamplona and Narbonne, I must say that the former is about to join the latter. There is good need of that, as you will see by the contents of the enclosed letter of Secretary [Idiaquez?], my colleague, to you. Indeed, there is full hope of the French not gaining any advantage at present, but, on the contrary, being repulsed with loss and shame to themselves,* for the military preparations at Perpignan and on the frontier of Roussillon have been very active of late.

The Bishop [of London] besides spoke disparagingly of His Holiness, telling the Emperor over and over again, and trying to persuade him, that the Pope is not doing his duty in these affairs, and that His Imperial Majesty ought to resent it. The Emperor avoided as much as possible all conversation on this subject, declaring to the Bishop that the respect and reverence which he (the Emperor) felt for the Holy Father was owing to his dignity and authority, and that he trusted in the end that he would act in the matter much better than people did imagine.

I myself have since spoken to the Bishop on this very subject, as well as on the events in Flanders, and the Emperor's persistence in his political ideas. It seems to me as if he (the Bishop) were perfectly contented and satisfied, for he has taken in my presence and that of other councillors innumerable oaths that he himself wishes for the Emperor's prosperity as much as for that of his own master, boasting and glorifying himself as being the enemy of the French. It will be for you (Chapuys) to ascertain and find out whether the Bishop's professed sentiments are true or not.—Mousson,† 14 Sept. 1542.‡

French. Original draft, unsigned.

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* This paragraph, besides containing several lacunes, is anything but clear. It stands thus:—"Et quant aux armees que le dit roy de France a faictes aux coustez de Pampelonne et Narbonne, celle du dit Pampelonne senchemine pour soy joindre à celle de Narbonne, et il est bien besoing parceque vous verrez par ce que le Secretaire nostre [collegue?] nous escript, et y a bon et gros espoir que les françoys ny guingueront (*sic* gaigneront) gueres et par adventure en rempourteroient (remporteront) honte et dommage."

† That is Monçon in Aragon, where the Emperor was holding Cortes since the 23rd of September. On the 10th of October he left for Barcelona. *See* Bradford, *loco laudato*, pp. 532–3.

‡ The letter, evidently a draft, is not signed; but as the endorsement says, "From one of the Emperor's secretaries to Eustace Chapuys," it can safely be conjectured that Alonso Idiaquez is meant. After the retirement of Cobos, who in 1540 became councillor of State, Idiaquez succeeded him in the post of secretary for Foreign affairs. He was slain in 1547 at the passage of the Albis or Elbe.

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24 Sept. **63.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 102–3.

"Madame,"—These people (*ceulx-ci*) have not yet sent me, nor even made the slightest allusion to, the King's answer on the subject of the help and assistance [to the Low Countries], which they faithfully promised to forward; nor will they, as I imagine and have often suspected, unless they get a favorable answer from Spain, whence, I must say, nothing at all is forthcoming.

The only intelligence that has reached us from that country is that which a servant of the English ambassador at the court of France has brought lately, purporting that on the 29th of last month, as the French were laying siege to Perpignan, nine hundred Spaniards of the garrison of that place made a successful sortie against the besiegers, slew seven hundred Frenchmen in guard of the guns, and, had it not been for Montpezat, who arrived in time with a large body of infantry and cavalry, would have carried away the whole of the French artillery, of which, however, they succeeded in spiking six or seven of the best and largest guns. On the ensuing day 2,000 Spanish infantry entered the town in full day-light with the loss of only two men, besides twelve more killed in a skirmish on the preceding day. On neither of these occasions had the Swiss behaved well, refusing to march to the position which they were ordered to occupy, at which king Francis became so very indignant, as well as suspicious of some treason on their part, that being at the time sporting and hunting between Narbonne and Carcassonne, he considered it expedient to raise the siege of Perpignan altogether, and fix his residence at Narbonne.* The man who brought this news to London said, moreover, that the French before Perpignan complained of the want of provisions, and especially of fodder for their horses.

The above intelligence has been received with pleasure by these people (*ceulx-ci*), and, though Your Majesty may already have heard of it through confidential agents or spies (*spiez*) in France, yet, as in times like these news do not always reach their destination, I have thought it my duty to communicate the intelligence.

According to official reports and other documents here published, as well as to the rumours current at Court, this king's forces on the borders of Scotland or the immediate counties amount to upwards of one hundred thousand men, exclusive of 20,000 more that the duke of Suffolk is now recruiting for the purpose of strengthening (*rafraichir*), if need be, the Royal army. Notwithstanding that, the King is daily enlisting men, passing musters, and storing an incre-

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* "Et ny eust ordre de faire marcher ne mouvoir lez suissez ne lung jour ne lautre, dont le roy de France avoit conçeu merveillieux ennuyt mesle avec quelque mefiance, et a ceste cause, au lieu quil alloit esbattant et chassant entre Narbonne et Carcasonne, yl avoit advise pour plus expedient soy retirer dans le dit Narbonne."

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dible quantity of provisions as well as ammunition, a good portion of which has already been sent to the Northern counties. Nor have this king's fleet been inactive in the meantime, for already this coast has been cleared of French marauders and privateers. Indeed, I hear from authentic quarters that within the last two days the King's war ships have captured two vessels, one French, the other Scotch, laden with artillery, harness, armour of all kinds (*harnois*), and provisions of war. It is not likely that the commissioners on both sides, who are already at York since the 18th inst., will conclude a peace, for the King will not throw away unprofitably the money he has already spent in military preparations for the war with Scotland, and, besides that, he knows this to be the time for carrying out his undertaking, now that the French have their hands full elsewhere, and that their confederates, such as the king of Sweden, the duke of Prussia, and the king of Denmark, cannot help king James. Of what may happen Your Majesty will be advised by me in time.

The King has just been entertaining and feasting the Princess beyond measure, presenting her with certain rings and jewels, from which present, however, she has not received greater pleasure and contentment than she has felt on hearing from me of the provision made by Your Majesty for the defence of the Low Countries, and the good prospect there is of military affairs there going on more prosperously than hitherto.

There is no further news to report from this place, save that within the last few days intelligence has been received here that 13 Spanish ships armed for war met on the coast of Holland a French fleet returning from Newfoundland, consisting of eighty or one hundred small fishing craft, nearly all of which were captured.

Esquire Fallaix is still in Bristol waiting for a favorable wind to set sail.—London, 24 September 1542.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

27 Sept. **64.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
ff. 104–13.

" Madame,"—I received yesterday Your Majesty's letters of the 11th, 16th, and 19th inst., together with the despatch (*depeche*) addressed to Thoison d'Or, which I immediately forwarded to Bristol, where I have no doubt he may be still waiting for his passage [to Spain]. And to-day, in pursuance of Your Majesty's orders, I have been to the King to communicate the news of that country, with a view to induce him to grant the help and assistance of which we have been treating for some time. In order to remove his chief excuse, which always consists in saying that he has no news from Spain, and does not know on what terms he is with His Imperial Majesty, I have shown him private letters from merchants, asserting that before the 10th of last month the bishop of Vuasmestre (Westminster) had taken his leave from the Emperor with as favorable an answer as could be wished. After long talking to him of political affairs in general, the King said to me that he was glad to hear of His Imperial Majesty's successes, adding that he had no doubt that on the side of Perpignan the French would soon receive some great blow (*quelque lourde bastonnade*), provided the garrison of that town were not in want of provisions. With regard to the assistance, he answered in the same words as on other occasions, notwithstanding the letters which I put into his Royal hands, alleging that he did not believe in private news from merchants, for had they been true some one attached to the English embassy in Spain would not have failed to bring them to England, considering the urgency, quality, and importance of the affair. No arguments I could put forward in reply, such as the prevailing bad weather and contrary winds at sea, were of any use; the King persisted in his opinion, *regretting over and over again (as he said) the delay in answering his overtures, as well as the Emperor's approval of the undertaking suggested to me by Mr. de Rœulx. That delay (said he) was exceedingly inconvenient; it was equal to losing his best and fittest opportunity of retaliating on the French. He could no longer remain in the situation in which he was, and, as it were, in suspense; for, as above stated, he knew not on what terms he was with His Imperial Majesty, all the time that the French considered him the Emperor's friend and ally, so much so, that they had lately done some damage in the neighbourhood of his town of Guisnes, the territory of which Mr. de Byes had very lately thought of invading and laying waste. That is why the governor of that town (Sir John Wallop) was incessantly applying to him for permission to make a raid into the adjoining French territory,* whilst the French garrisons in that province had been concentrated in Dorlens (Doullens). He (the King) would in nowise grant him the permission he asked for; until he heard from His Imperial Majesty, and knew what he had to expect, he could not do anything. Indeed, were he to get an answer to his overtures, much could still be done for the advancement of their common affairs. If that answer was favorable, as he expected, an interview might take place, for the Emperor and himself (the king of England) to discuss a plan of campaign against France.*

Having then asked him, by way of consultation, whether it was true that Yvoix had been recovered from the enemy, as he had heard, and if so, what our army there ought to do next, he answered that in his opinion the Imperialists ought at once to march towards Mazières (Mezières), lay waste the country round, and do all the harm they could to the enemy,

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* "Et que à ceste occasion son capitaine du dit Guisnes ne cessoit de lui rompre la teste pour avoir licence daller courir le pays des dits françoys."

without, however, stopping before any fortified town, or penetrating further into France, for it might be, after all, that the French themselves would afford us an opportunity of shutting them out[*] *of their own country, in order that they might afterwards cut off our retreat. He (the King) was sure that the French, suspecting that his army would soon take the field against them, had made up their mind not to make any resistance nor put obstacles in his way until his men had actually crossed the river Somme, and that if the duke de Vendôme took the field, he ought to be allowed to penetrate further* (s'engouffer) *into the Emperor's country, that he might afterwards be attacked and destroyed, which it would not be difficult to accomplish, considering the large number of troops sent by His Imperial Majesty to Hainault.*[†] *"Such being the case (added the King), if powers from the Queen come to treat with me or with any of my ministers on reasonable conditions, I will readily furnish any quantity of men or money that may be wanted."*

Little by little I brought him to speak about the affairs of Scotland, in order to judge what appearance there might be of peace or war with that country. He told me confidentially and under reserve—not as ambassador of His Majesty, the Emperor, but as his friend—that he thought there would be no war at all; for the Scotch ambassadors had already agreed, in their King's name, to release all their English prisoners, and give besides some sort of compensation for the damage caused by the last raid, or, at least, for the private property taken and carried away. They had, moreover, agreed to a lasting league with England against all countries, not excluding even France, as they had always done in former times, and promised besides that king James, their master, would come [to London] before Christmas to hold a conference with him. The only standing difficulty was the giving of hostages as security for those engagements, the ambassadors having asked for two days' respite to send to Scotland for that purpose, offering in the meantime to remain here as hostages and stake their lives for the fulfilment of the treaty [in London]. The King, moreover, is expecting an answer from Scotland next Sunday, and has told me that he is more proud of having achieved that than of having gained a battle over the enemy. I agreed with him as to that, provided he could only rely on the Scotch, and be sure that the engagement would be a lasting one, for it might happen, said I, that the Scotch, seeing they were alone, and without the assistance of France and other confederated powers, were speaking now humble words and suing for peace, whereas later on, when assisted by France, Sweden, or Denmark, they might change their opinion and

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[*] "Car pourroit estre que les françois leur en ministreroient assez loccasion pour apres leur serrers le passaige."

[†] "Ce que vre. maieste pourroit faire actendu le bon nombre de gens que vre. maieste avoit envoye au cartier (quartier) de Haynnau."

become harder to treat with, and perhaps, too, more difficult to beat. To this observation of mine the King replied that the league and confederacy of which the French boasted so much was only a bugbear, and, besides that, if king James would come to London everything would be set right.

There was also between the King and me some conversation on other small topics, which would take me too much time to enumerate, for the courier, bearer of this despatch, is already in the saddle ready to start, and scarcely will he give me time to sign, much less to read over, what I have hastily written. I therefore beg Your Majesty to pardon me if there be any faults or incorrectness in this despatch.—London, 27 September 1542.

Signed : " Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed : " To the queen of Hungary, regent in Flanders and the Low Countries."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 3.

29 Sept. **65.** The Emperor to the Pope.

S. E. Roma, L. 147.

" Très sainct père,"—Your Holiness' letter of the 26th of August, brought by cardinal de Viseu (Miguel de Silva), Your legate, came duly to hand shortly after Our arrival in this city. Respecting the Cardinal's mission, as Your Holiness must have heard by Ours of the 28th, the reasons We then had, and still have, for not accepting the proposals for peace then made and again renewed, I will not further trouble Your Holiness with a repetition of the same arguments. Suffice it to say, that whilst We on Our side, with Your Holiness' valuable intervention, were sincerely working towards the maintenance of the truce, in order to employ all Our forces by sea and land against the Turk—the common enemy of those who profess Christianity—king Francis, without previous declaration of war, as is customary, or before informing Our ministers, assailed Our dominions and attacked Us everywhere. We have no doubt that the tolerance which Your Holiness has vouchsafed him (Francis), and Our own natural propensity to listen to any overtures apparently bearing on peace, have hardened that king's heart, and rendered him more audacious and bolder than ever. What, indeed, can be the use of new treaties with a prince when former ones have been so wantonly and willingly violated by him ? For what purpose to speak of peace, when his insatiable cupidity and ambition are continually throwing Christendom into trouble and confusion ? What trust can be placed in the prince who never, on any occasion whatever, did consider himself bound by engagements to keep faith and fulfil his promises ? Did he not say, over and over again, to Our ambassador at his court, that his good will towards Us and his friendship were unalterable, and that he would for ever observe the truce of Nizza ?

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But to return to the subject of Your Holiness' mission by the bishop of Viseu. Your Holiness must already have perceived what effect your tolerance and indulgence have produced on king Francis. Instead of recalling him to the right path, they have rendered him harder still, a good deal bolder and more audacious, and more prone to disregard Your holy admonitions. Our own natural desire for peace, the facility with which at all times We have condescended to adjust Our differences in an amicable manner, and even now on this present occasion, when following our Own inclination, and listening to Your Holiness' persuasions from the lips of Your legate, We were prepared to make a sacrifice of Our interest, have only served to encourage king Francis in his mad career!

As We are fully convinced—and, indeed, the experience of what We and Our subjects have had to endure in consequence of king Francis' bad faith increases Our conviction—that nothing good can come of these fresh overtures and persuasions on the part of Your Holiness, We may perhaps be excused if We do not listen to them. We might, if We did, be accused in future of having allowed Ourselves to be deceived in the transaction, especially under present circumstances, when no previous reparation is offered for the many flagrant violations of the truce, and the many damages and losses We sustained through those violations. Besides, if Your Holiness is so anxious for peace, why not begin with king Francis, persuade him to relinquish some of his ambitious projects, keep faith, and not invade Our dominions as he has done?—Monçon, 8 October 1542, the 22nd year of Our Empire, and 27th of Our reign.

Indorsed: "His Majesty's answer to the Papal breve, brought by the Cardinal of Viseu, his legate, about the peace with France.—Monçon, 8 October 1542, a duplicate of which was given to the Cardinal."

Latin. Original. pp. 5.

2 Oct. **66.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 114–5.

"Madame,"—I have this very morning received Your Majesty's letter of the 23rd inst., inclosing several more for the Emperor, which I immediately forwarded by express to Bristol, in order that if Fallaix is still in that port, and has not yet sailed for Spain, he may himself be the bearer of them. In case, however, of his having left, which I very much fear he has, I have made arrangements with a Spaniard here, who has almost decided to go home on his own private affairs, to undertake that voyage immediately and be the bearer of the packet of letters, which he has faithfully promised to do in return for a gratuity (*moyennant un pot de vin*), which I have promised him. This afternoon, after dinner, I called on the King, who told me that very willingly would he have received (*accueilli*) here the Germans mentioned in Your Majesty's letter [to him] had it not been that, according to reliable information, of which he was in receipt, the Emperor was not likely to want their services for the purpose of having the siege of Perpignan raised, inasmuch as the French, after the great loss they had sustained by the regular and periodical sorties of the garrison, as well as by the artillery fire from the batteries (*bellowars*) of the town, and another from a hillock commanding the place, had actually raised the siege, and attempted another town in the neighbourhood called Henne (Elne),* the inhabitants of which had also repulsed them; so that they had returned crestfallen to their camp. They had since made another vain attempt upon Colibre and Port Vendres, until perceiving that they were losing their time, and being afraid of the army under the duke of Alba, which amounts to 15,000 or 16,000 men, including the reinforcements shortly expected from Italy, they had retreated to a small town called Elarak (Clairac)† two or three leagues from Perpignan [on the frontier of France]. King Francis has sent for all the best military engineers in his kingdom to ask their advice as to the fortification of the town, near which he is now encamped, so as to reduce Perpignan by famine, or oblige the Emperor's army to come and attack him in his fortified camp, he (king Francis) boasting (*bragoit*) of being extremely anxious and eager for battle, and saying that he had only one daughter, but he would rather see her become a prostitute than lose his hope of fighting a good battle with the Emperor. And yet, notwithstanding that taunt, this king believes, and so does his resident ambassador in France, that his brother of France is more desirous of peace or truce, whichever it may be, than of a battle with His Imperial Majesty. The King has expressed his wonder to me how the French can possibly think by that means of reducing by famine a place like Perpignan, having at its back the whole of Spain, especially when the Emperor, as they themselves own, is stronger by sea than they are, by which means the garrison, if short of provisions, could at any time be revictualled.

That Your Majesty may better understand what his plans of campaign are, he has given me the enclosed map that you may have it copied and forwarded to the Emperor. He has also told me that having heard by letters from Anvers (Antwerp) that the bishop of Westminster had already taken leave of the Emperor, and is returning in company of certain Spanish personages of the Emperor's court, and that at Dieppe fourteen or fifteen French ships were being hastily armed, he had thought of dispatching the best and fastest vessel in these waters to warn the bishop and the others, and tell them

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* "Et apres ont tasté, silz pourroient mordre à la cite de Henne, mais ceulx du dedans leur sortirent au devant et les chasserent."

† "Ylz se sont retirez dans une petite villette à deux ou trois lieus de dict Perpignan, que sapelle Elarak, et a envoye le roy de France pour tous les engeniers, &c."

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of the danger of the said French ships, and advise them to come by the Irish Channel.

With regard to Scotch affairs, the King has declared to me that the ambassadors of king James have shown of late greater coldness than before in the affairs of the peace, especially since they had received their master's answer. They will not engage that king James shall come beyond York until the Queen has been delivered of a child. This condition the King refuses to accept, and is decided, unless the ambassadors speak differently, to give orders for his army to march into Scotland at once. And upon my surmising that perhaps the Scotch had heard (*avoient senti quelque fumée*) of the French ships being armed at Dieppe, the King replied to me that there was no fear of that, for his ships at sea kept so good a watch on the coast of Normandy that the Scotch could have no news whatever from France. He believed, however, that the French are trying to do him all the harm possible, and slighting as much as they can his ambassador, whom they purposely keep away both from Camp and Court. Notwithstanding that, the ambassador has managed to send a secret herald (*herault*) or agent to king Francis' camp in the environs of Perpignan, through whom the King got the information he gave me the other day,* and, what is more, he has ascertained that Mons. d'Orleans was also in that frontier with the King, his father, and that a good portion of the men of Clèves (*Clevois*) and other lanskennets were going thither.

The Irish lord of the name of Nel (O'Neil), of whom I wrote in my despatch of the 14th,† was yesterday created count (earl), having sworn fealty and obedience to this king in the most ample manner, and what is still more wonderful, the [Irish] bishops who came with him have renounced the titles and dignities they hold from the Pope to receive them again from this king's hands.—London, 2 October 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

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7 Oct. **67.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 116–8.

"Madame,"—Yesterday, in the afternoon, after dinner, the privy councillors sent me word that the bishop of Vuasmestre (Westminster) had arrived at Plemua (Plymouth), and had been obliged to land in a fishing boat with two of his men and his despatches, owing to the large ship, on board of which he and Mr. de Courrières ‡ came, not being able to enter the port from stress of weather. As to the latter, being rather indisposed on account of the sea voyage and of the wind blowing harder than ever, he would not go into the boat, and preferred remaining on board the ship, which took to the high sea again. It is thought, however, that on the same day that the bishop landed at Plymouth, which was Tuesday, Mr. de Courrières was enabled to land at Falemue (Falmouth), which is seven leagues from the above-mentioned port. I have also received a particular and private message from one of this king's privy councillors to the effect that the Bishop has brought from Spain a very favorable despatch, and that His Imperial Majesty is in very good health, and has decided next year to pay the French a visit, attacking them both in Guyenne and in the Languedoc, in spite of all the sermons and admonitions of the Portuguese Cardinal.*

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* *See* above, p. 143.

† *See* above, No. 61, p. 134.

‡ That is Philippe de Montmorency, seigneur de Courrières, who in March of this year had been employed in a former mission to king Henry. *See* Vol. V., Part II., pp. 480–1, 483, and 500. Bradford (p. 533) calls him Corieres, and captain in the rear-guard forces, which is a mistake. He was captain of the Imperial body-guard in Flanders.

This king has sent to Falmouth Master Huyet (Wyatt) and certain other courtiers to receive and accompany the said Mr. de Courrières, of whom I have not yet got news. Indeed, I am rather astonished at his not having written to me, or sent on one of his suite or else the courier who comes over with him.

Within the last three days the King has laid an embargo on almost all foreign ships in the ports of England, or at least on their crews, owing to his having had intelligence that at Dieppe the French are fitting out a fleet, and also that some of the men, who had lately served in Picardy, had actually come down to man that fleet. The King, moreover, somewhat suspects that the said fleet and infantry are intended to succour the Scotch in case of war. The negociations with the latter still continue, for their ambassadors here are, as I imagine, delaying as long as they can for the sole purpose of gaining time, and waiting only either for succour from France or for the arrival of winter, which will naturally put a stop to all military operations against their country, and then they will laugh at the company.†

Please God that a good peace be concluded in the meantime between England and Scotland, so as to enable this king to bring all his power to bear against the French. I believe, however, that Your Majesty has already heard from other quarters the news of the French armaments at Dieppe, and taken measures against any attack on that coast.—London, 7 October 1542.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

7 Oct. **67.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
f. 116–8.

" Madame,"—The day before yesterday, after dinner, these privy councillors sent me word that the bishop of Westminster [*] had arrived at Plemua (Plymouth). The Bishop had been compelled, owing to the boisterous sea, and to the fact that the large ship (*navire*) in which he was with Mr. de Courrières could not approach the land, to throw himself into a fisherman's boat with his despatches and two men of his suite. As Mr. de Courrières, who was rather sick and fatigued from his voyage, saw that the wind was increasing and that the waves were getting higher and higher, he dared not land at Plemua, but was obliged to put to sea again. It is, however, calculated that on Tuesday, the very same day on which the Bishop landed, he (Mr. de Courrières) must have arrived at Falemue (Falmouth), a port seven leagues from the said Plymouth.[†] *By a private message received from one of the privy councillors I am informed that the Bishop brings very good news from Spain, declaring that His Imperial Majesty was in good health (God be thanked for it), and has determined to pay the French a visit, invading their country both on the side of Guyenne and on that of Languedoc, all in spite of the sermons preached by the Portuguese Cardinal!!*

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* Miguel de Silva, bishop of Viseu, about whom *see* above, pp. 141–2.

† " Que la saison de menner guerre soit passee par la survenance de lyber (l'hiver) que inste, et aprez ce (se) gaudiront ilz de la compagnie."

This king has sent Master Huyet (Wyatt) and certain others to meet on the road and accompany to this city the said Mr. de Courrières, of whom I have had no news yet. Indeed, I am really astonished at his not having already written to me or informed me of his arrival by one of his men or by the courier who comes with him.

For the last three days the greater part of the merchant vessels in the ports of England are being sequestered by this king's order, that he may avail himself of them, or at least of their crews, in case of need. This has been done, exclusively of other reasons, in consequence of intelligence received from Dieppe that considerable naval armaments are making ready in that port, and that some of the men-at-arms, whom king Francis has in Picardy, have also gone thither to man the fleet. The King, moreover, has reason to suspect that those French armaments are intended in favor and for the assistance of the Scotch, with whom negociations for a peace are still being carried on here, though in my opinion they are purposely delaying them as long as they can, in order to gain time and give the French time to prepare a fleet for their defence, or else that by winter setting in, all appearance of war may pass away for the present, after which they will laugh at the English. May it please God that a good and lasting peace be concluded with the Scotch, for then this king will be able to make greater efforts against the French!

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[*] The original has distinctly the bishop of London (levesque de Londres); but it is an oversight of Chapuys himself, or a mistake of his secretary. In like manner the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) is occasionally confounded with the bishop of Westminster (Thomas Thirlby).

[†] The original, which, as may be seen, is mostly a duplicate of the preceding, reads: "quest à sept lieues du dict Porsemue," evidently a mistake of Chapuys himself, or of his clerk, for the letter is not in his own hand.

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I have no doubt that Your Majesty knows already of the reported French armaments at Dieppe, and has by this time taken precautionary measures against them should they be destined against the coasts of the Low Countries.—London, 7 October 1542.

Signed : " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

10 Oct. **68.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 119.

"Madame,"—I write in favor and commendation of Guillaume d'Amizelle, sent by the king of England for the purpose of purchasing in the Low Countries and exporting therefrom one thousand "*bois de sappin*" to make shafts for spears.—London, 10 October 1542.

Signed ; " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

18 Oct. **69.** The SAME and MR. DE COURRIÈRES to the SAME.*

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Madame,"—The day before yesterday, the 16th inst., Mr. de Courrières and I (Chapuys) went to the King, who, after our declaring to him in virtue of our joint credentials the Emperor's reciprocal good-will and intention to treat of closer friendship and intelligence, said to us that it was not his fault that the alliance had not been sooner established. He was astonished (said the King) at the delay there had been in the matter, and, above all, at the difficulties and scruples raised by His Imperial Majesty, who ought not (he added) to have been stopped by trifles, thereby preventing the accomplishment of a work of such importance. Neither the article about the rebels, nor the clause specifying the ecclesiastical dignitaries to be included in the defensive league, were worthy of the scrupulous and minute examination bestowed on them, in doing which so much time had been lost. For since we came to treat in the Emperor's name of renewing and strengthening that intimacy and alliance which already existed between the two friends, the treaty confirming that alliance must be so worded, and its clauses so specifically and closely bound together, that there should remain no possibility for misinterpretation and calumny, through which hereafter greater inconveniences than before might ensue.† Upon which Mr. de Courrières and I (Chapuys) summarily explained to him the Emperor's legitimate reasons and excuses for delaying his final answer, without, however, entering into many details, or trying to discuss the matter

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* The same De Courrières elsewhere alluded to, that is, Philippe de Montmorency, sieur de Courrières.

† " Yl convenoit de le faire de sorte, tant plainement et punctuellement quil ny peust rester aucune *scintille* ne occasion ou *sinderesse,* par ou lon voulsist mal interpreter et calumpnier le traicte."

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with him. This process seemed to us more convenient and less likely to over-irritate the King, reserving all our best arguments and excuses for our next conference with the privy councillors; the more so, that I (Chapuys) had three days before discussed the matter at length with the King himself,* who had sent for me on some excuse or other, but in reality to lament himself and complain to me (as a friend, he was pleased to say,† not as Imperial ambassador) of the difficulties and obstacles in the way of the treaty.

At last, after inquiring about the Emperor's health, congratulating us on his successes in the duchy of Juliers, and speaking of various things and affairs—of which, as well as of the honorable reception made to me on my arrival in this country, I (Courrières) intend informing Your Majesty verbally on my return—this king said that in order to put an end to this matter of the treaty, he would appoint two deputies and commissioners to debate about it with us. So did the King, for, yesterday, the bishops of Winchester and Westminster‡ and secretary Vristley (Wriothesley), named for that express purpose, came to dine with me. The dinner over, we at once proceeded to business. First of all we examined the doubts and difficulties, which had been started by the Emperor's ministers in Spain to this King's ambassadors. Having repeated the very same arguments, of which the Emperor's ministers had made use in Spain, and added such others as then and there came to our mind, we perceived at once that we could not persuade the deputies to agree with us on that point; for scarcely had we ended our speech, when one of the councillors rose and said he was afraid that the King, his master, would not accept the proposed terms, and that the whole structure would fall to pieces in consequence. This notwithstanding, we went on with the discussion of the points until we perceived, or at least imagined, that the deputies laid less stress on the article concerning the Pope than on those of the resort (*hantise*) and of the rebels. True is it the deputies did not expatiate at any length on those subjects, for fear, as I presume, of their not knowing then how to meet our arguments, or else of their wanting to know first what their master's final resolution would be concerning the said articles, with which resolution, as it appears, we are to be apprized this very day, though we very much doubt, to judge from the deputies' countenance and words, of the resolution being a favorable one, and are afraid that the whole business will be retarded rather than quickened by it. That is why we should wish, above all things, that the discussion of these matters took place there in the Low Countries, and in Your

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* "Joinct que moy, Chapuys, en avoye desia trois jours paravant estrifve avec le dit s^r roy bien longuement."

† *See* above, p. 139.

‡ Stephen Gardiner and Thomas Thirlby.

Majesty's presence, rather than here, in England, though we are afraid that this king and his ministers, for the sake of etiquette (*reputation*) and other motives, when asked will not consent to it. In this state of things, and our joint charge being entirely dependent on or strictly founded upon the advice, the will, and the commands of Your Majesty, we very humbly beg you to instruct us as soon as possible as to how we are to act respecting other articles of the treaty not expressly reserved by the Emperor, and whether Your Majesty agrees or not to our proposal of remitting the discussion of the whole [to Brussels], and temporizing with this King's deputies so as to gain time, &c.

We cannot pass over in silence the very singular fact that this king, who at other times was almost continually talking to us in favor of the duke of Clèves, and even suggesting a reconciliation between the Emperor and him, has not said lately one word to us about that, but, on the contrary, has shown satisfaction and pleasure at hearing of the success of the Imperial army against him.*

Of other news we have none of importance to advise, not even as regards Scotch affairs, save saying that the Lord Privy Seal died the other day of the plague in the North.† It is a very great pity, for he was a prudent and wise personage, and as much inclined and devoted to the Emperor's service as could be imagined.—London, 18th of October 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys"="De Montmorency."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

18 Oct. **70.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 221–2.

"Madame,"—Since our joint letter ‡ of this morning, the King has sent us a message to excuse his deputies for their being unable to attend the conference fixed for to-morrow morning, in consequence of important business likely to occupy them for some hours. At the same time he has forwarded to us a summary of the news received from his ambassador at the court of France, with the prayer not to reveal them to anyone, or say that they came from him. The French had deliberately raised the siege of Perpignan, and retreated altogether from the county of Roussillon, after fortifying a few places of little or no importance at all in it. It appears that some time before their retreat, the duke of

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* "Ne nous en aie dict la moindre parolle du monde, ains monstroit avoir plaisir du bon succez des affaires de vostre maieste contre le dit duc."

† Sir William Fitz-William, earl of Southampton. He had been admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascony, and Aquitaine in 1536, and appointed Lord Privy Seal in 1539. He was, as captain of the war-ship *Forward*, engaged in the expedition against Scotland in 1542, but died, as it is said, on board his ship on his way to Newcastle.

‡ That is the preceding of the same date.

Alba* had reinforced the garrison of Perpignan with 3,000 men, and king Francis, guessing what the Duke's intentions were, had detached a considerable force to stop him on the road thither. The French, however, had not dared to attack the Spaniards, and the consequence was that the Duke had succeeded in altogether relieving the place.

King Francis intended to remain some time at Narbonne, to see whether the Emperor would or would not march his army into Languedoc, and, if he did, resist as best he could. In case of the Emperor attempting to proceed to Italy, king Francis intends going to Lyons. If, on the contrary, the Emperor's army invades France on the side of Navarre, king Francis will march straight thither, and afterwards to Sanctonga (Sainctonges), and lastly to Britanny, where he will collect his fleet, sail for Picardy, and attack the Low Countries by sea and land next spring. He (king Francis) is very much annoyed and displeased at his not having disposed once for all his forces in that direction, and made the most of it. The Swiss had quitted his camp, not over satisfied with him or he with them, inasmuch as when recruited they had been given to understand that their services were intended for a defence of French territory, not for foreign countries, and principally for an invasion of the Emperor's dominions.

Johan Paule Ursin (Giovan Paolo Orsino), and various other Italian captains, have left for their own country, with a view to raise levies for next year, and do all the mischief they possibly can. King Francis, moreover, is treating with Pope Paul, to whom he has offered the kingdom of Naples. The former already looks upon the duke of Ferrara† as his friend and ally, since the latter has actually sent—or, at least, promised to send—artillery and ammunition to Maran.‡ The Venetian ambassador, whom king Francis had for some time back refused to receive, has of late been very much caressed by him, and held frequent conferences with the Admiral (Brion-Chabot) and others of Francis' ministers, whilst that king himself has sent to Germany agents to make levies of men for next year's campaign. He has also despatched to the kings of Sweden and Denmark a secretary of his to solicit their co-operation, and beg them to be prepared for next spring's campaign, and given the bishopric of Mâcon to cardinal Sadolet.§

The English ambassador in France also writes that the marquis del Gasto is master of the field (*dominoit la cam-*

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* D. Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, third duke of Alba, son of D. Garcia, who was killed at Los Gelves (Gerba), in Eastern Africa, in 1510, before he came to the title.

† Hercole II. d'Este, son of Alphonso I., third duke of Ferrara of the Este family. He had in 1527 married Renée of France, daughter of Louis XII. and of Anne de Bretagne.

‡ Marano in the Friuli. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 460.

§ Cardinal Giacopo or Jacopo, who died in 1547.

pagne) in Piedmont, and that his men have gone as far as Suza, and even passed close to Grenoble.

Besides the above news, the King's messenger tells us that the duke of Norfolk has written to say that he has lately heard that a number of Frenchmen had landed at a port near Scotland (*près d'Escosse*); but that, if the report be true, he would soon nail them down * so that they could not do any mischief.—London, 18 October 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys"="De Montmorency."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

28 Oct. **71.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 125–7.

"Madame,"—Though this king's deputies at our second conference with them, on the 21st inst., promised to let us have a prompt answer, and inform us of their master's final resolution on pending matters; though we have almost daily solicited them to procure the same for us, yet up to this hour no message has come from them, and we clearly perceive that they are getting colder and colder on the subject. Nor has there been a question of our again meeting until the day before yesterday, when De Montmorency and I (Chapuys) were cited for the bishop of Winchester's house, lying half way between mine and the town of Greenwich. The first thing the deputies told us was that the King, their master, thought it very strange indeed that we should object to the spiritual state being mentioned in the treaty,† alleging, among other reasons brought forward by the King himself, that it seemed as if no great regard was paid to his Royal person, and as if his own rank, will, and power were not taken into account, for otherwise (they said) there would have been no question of preferring the Pope's friendship to his own for innumerable considerations, and especially that of his own succession and posterity being continuous and certain, whereas the Pope's was not; besides which it ought to be considered that the present Pope is very weak (*fort caduque*), and may die to-morrow, and be succeeded by another Pope belonging to the French party, and consequently hostile to the Emperor. As to the Venetians, added the privy councillors, our master enjoys so much credit with the Signory that he will have no difficulty in inducing them to form a league with him for the defence of Italy. "Indeed (said the privy councillors to us) it would be a great loss of reputation and folly for our king to spend his money in carrying on war with a people and country where his friendship and alliance are sought even with advan-

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* The word used is *lez enclourroit*, which most likely is meant for "lez encloueroit."

† "Que celluy sieur roy trouvoit marveilleusement extrange que nous voullions [nous] arrester à non exprimer lestat spirituel en cas de defension."

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tageous and profitable offers. God has endowed him with sufficient prudence and discretion to prevent his attaching faith to those who advise and solicit him to declare himself and make war on the French merely on the expectation of the Emperor's good-will and affection, which in the present case he finds rather cold and meagre. In short, unless the articles, as conceived and worded, are agreed to in such terms as to include both the spiritual and ecclesiastical state—or at least without any reference to the spiritual—the King, our master, does not intend going on with the negociation;* as otherwise it is to be apprehended that the whole will come to an end."

Hearing this, Mr. de Courrières and I made such an answer, and placed so urgently before them the convenience of yielding to our joint representations, that they knew not what to answer. There was no question then of debating the other articles, inasmuch as both De Montmorency (Courrières) and I (Chapuys) supposed that once the article about the Pope being disposed of, one way or other, the deputies would become more tractable and more conformable to reason. *Yet, whatever their countenance and words on the occasion, we are both of opinion that there is no reason to despair altogether, and that the game is not yet entirely lost. Until the affair comes to extremity, we will not think of proposing that it be submitted to Your Majesty's arbitration; it will be enough for me (Montmorency) to make the offer when I take leave of the King to return home, which will be to-morrow, if I can first obtain audience from the King. Chapuys and I counted upon having it to-day, as the deputies had promised, but the King and they have no doubt put it off in order to reconsider the case. When we again go to the King we shall resume the debate as temperately as it will be in our power to do, and follow altogether the advice and prayers of secretary Wristle.*

The duke of Norfolk writes, on the 22nd inst., to the King that he has actually entered Scotland. He would have done so two days sooner but for the breaking down of a bridge, which had caused the loss of some of his men, either wounded or precipitated into the river and drowned. He hopes soon, by means of certain war ships that had arrived there, on the coast, to be able to make some successful enterprize against the Scotch, of whom not one had yet appeared in arms in front of him.—London, 28th October 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys"="De Montmorency."

French. Holograph, partly in cipher. pp. 3.

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* "Et que sans luy accorder lez articlez ainsy quil lez a faict coucher en cas de deffension, ou du moings une qualite sans expression de lestat spirituel et ecclesiastique, yl ne pouvoit ne entendoit proceder au parfaict du traicte."

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31 Oct.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

72. The Queen of Hungary to the Imperial Ambassadors in England.

"Messieurs les ambassadeurs,"—We were about to answer your joint despatches of the 18th of this month, when We received that of the 22nd, which came to hand in such good time that it will render Our answer easier. We sincerely hope that since the king of that country and his ministers begin to be more amenable to reason, they will offer no opposition to the proposed amendment of the remaining articles of the treaty. For, certainly, after a close examination of those which they themselves propose, and after maturely weighing all that has passed between them and you with regard to the closer friendship and alliance, We always feared that it would be very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to come to an agreement, and, if so, that We might incur the King's displeasure instead of gaining his friendship.

As in your despatch of the 18th you ask Our advice, and wish to know whether it would not be expedient under the circumstances, and in case there is a chance, to propose that the present negociation be carried on here, and, if so, try and see whether that king will send someone here to conduct it, We cannot fail to tell you what Our intention and wishes are on that particular, requesting you in the first place to weigh and consider the state of the Emperor's affairs, public and private, at this present moment, especially in the countries that We are now governing in his name. We do not think it at all convenient (*convenable*) that the negociation for a treaty of closer friendship and alliance be carried on in this country, for, as you yourselves wrote, and the English allege, the proposal will not be accepted by the latter for the sake of his reputation.* Even if they desired it, you are to excuse yourselves, and decline as graciously as you can for many reasons, even if you saw that a rupture was imminent (which may God avert); for certainly We should prefer that it came without Our intervention in the affair, so as not to engender any ill-will in that king's mind against Us. However this may be, We request you, should you not come to an agreement, to try and persuade that king that, notwithstanding, neither His Imperial Majesty nor We Ourselves will cease to profess and entertain perfect friendship for him, according to the old alliances existing between his kingdom and these Low Countries.

With regard to the second point, on which you and your colleague wish also to have Our advice, We have no doubt —judging from the Emperor's letters to you (Chapuys),† of which We have copies by Us—that you have perfectly under-

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* "Ores comme escripves, ceulx de par de la pour la reputacion, ne le vouldroient consentir."

† "Quant au second poinct, pour le quel desirez avoir mon advis sur les pointz demourez en difficulte, amplement reprins et debattus en lettres de sa Ma^{te} à vous Chappuys" (*sic*).

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stood his orders as to that, and must, therefore, know how and in what manner you are referred to Us for advice; for he (the Emperor) wrote to you expressly: "that with regard to the Pope, the rebels, and the resort (*hantise*) of the Emperor's subjects to England for trade purposes, nothing is to be said in the articles of the treaty likely to lead to the imputation of Our having acted against God or the World. With this sole limitation, I leave it entirely to you to continue the negociations and conclude the treaty." To the above words, as communicated to Us by the Emperor, Our brother and lord, you should pay attention, for, as reason demands, We would not in the least contravene his commands so expressly and precisely set down, nor can We allow you to refer in any way to Us concerning the said limitation. Even should that king's ministers still insist on the articles concerning the Pope and the rebels remaining as proposed by them, and not according to the Emperor's amendment, We could make no alteration whatever in them. It is, therefore, incumbent upon you to obey implicitly the Emperor's commands with regard to the one as well as to the other article, though with reference to the period of time during which the rebels may be withdrawn (*retires*), rather than become a cause for rupture, it seems to Us that it could be shortened instead of lengthened, provided this alteration were the means of the Royal deputies passing the article concerning the rebels as it was couched in the treaty of Cambray.

Respecting the third restriction and limitation proposed, namely, that of the resort (*hantise*) of the Emperor's subjects to England, it seems to Us as if it embodied and comprised two points, that is to say, those touched in the *second* and *eighteenth* of the said treaty of Cambray. And if so, We cannot go beyond the limit marked in the Emperor's letter to you, and We fancy that if you can persuade that king's deputies to have the second article of the new treaty altered, and to put aside the restrictive clause about the resort (*hantise*)—that is to say, from the words *et mercatores mercimonii exercendi causa* till *aut principali diplomate fuerit indultum*—the difficulty might easily be avoided. Otherwise, the article would indicate that the contracting parties do not treat for a closer friendship, but, on the contrary, desire to restrain and curtail ancient friendships and past treaties, and thus the residence in, and frequentation of, England by the Emperor's subjects—which was formerly free, not only for merchants, but also for people of all classes, crafts, or professions indifferently—would be seriously interfered with. If this point can be carried out without mentioning in the amended clause any laws or statutes made in England, let it be done, for, after all, the English cannot pretend to be the winners by that arrangement, it being a notorious fact that whoever wishes to reside in a foreign country must needs accommodate himself, and be subjected

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to the laws and usages of such country in which he chooses to fix his residence, without that being considered a derogation of this treaty, or the preceding ones, by which the said residence and frequentation are absolutely free.

With respect to the intercourse of trade, for which the English ask the confirmation of the commercial treaty of 1520, that is a point which has always been found extremely difficult to settle, and one which, if granted, will be the cause of Our merchants never getting a reasonable intercourse with England, besides which the English do not observe the treaties as to the payment of "*tollieux*"* and Royal duties, which constitutes the principal grievance of the merchants of these Low Countries, inasmuch as by the treaty of 1520 it is stipulated that with regard to the payment of "*tollieux*," the contracting parties shall take as a rule the treaties of the years 1400, 1420, and 1500, wherein it is expressly said that the subjects of the Low Countries are not to pay more duties in England than those which they themselves were accustomed to pay fifty years ago, that is to say, before the year 1445, when no higher "*tollieux*" were due in England than those which the Easterlings do now pay.† If the English consent to clear up this point, it will be easy to come to an understanding respecting the remaining items of the intercourse of trade. That will at once show that king's good intentions and desire of closer friendship with His Imperial Majesty and his subjects. But if the Royal deputies will not accept the article as put down and worded in the treaty of Cambray, or otherwise agree to leave it out entirely, without mixing up with it the affair of the intercourse of trade—which, after all, concerns chiefly merchants—with that of the closer friendship and alliance touching only princes, We really do not know how the Emperor can allow the article to pass as it is. For it has been observed in almost all Our treaties with England until that of Cambray that the English deputies and commissioners have invariably tried to insert the article of the intercourse such as it is now worded, imagining that by doing so they would succeed in making the treaty of the year 1520 perpetual. We leave it entirely to your discretion to address to the King's deputies any remonstrances and raise any objections that you may think proper and convenient on this matter of the "*tollieux*," or else to have the article left out altogether, as you may think best for the perfect conclusion of the treaty.

Article "the seventh," touching the number of men which each prince ought to send to the other's assistance when required in case of invasion from the enemy, is so unequal as to be almost unbearable for these Low Countries; for it would be entirely out of Our power to assemble, in the course of forty days, 3,000 horse with such pay as that specified in the article. Indeed, it ought to be considered that the English have cause to rate soldiers very low, knowing, as they do know, that on this side of the Channel We should ask for assistance in money rather than in men, who are, generally speaking, untrained for war,[*] whilst they themselves will most likely apply for men instead of money, in doing which the people of these Low Countries will necessarily have to sustain double damages; for, if called upon to furnish men, We shall be obliged to give them higher pay than that stipulated in the article, as it would be impossible for Us to recruit men at that rate, without counting officers and those entitled to double pay. On the other hand, should We want assistance from the English, and were they to send Us a contingent of troops, We certainly could not support them at the rate specified in the article,[†] so that instead of the 7,500 infantry to be furnished by them, We could scarcely support 5,000 with the money allotted for that service, in addition to which it is to be feared that if the English ask for men, they will want 3,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry.

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* "Avec ce que par dela ilz nobservent le dit entrecours quant au payement des tollieux" (*sic*).

† "Que lors on ne payoit autre tollieu en Engleterre que cellui que presentement payent les Osterlinges."

Likewise in case of the invasion of English territory on this side of the Channel by the enemy, we find that the Emperor would be obliged to help with a force of 3,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, the expense of which armament by no means corresponds to that of the 7,500 foot that the king of England is himself obliged to furnish. Indeed, it seems to Us that the Emperor might just as well ask for 3,000 foot and 2,000 horse, which number it will be more difficult to furnish since the king of France is likely to make a greater effort on other frontiers of these Low Countries,[‡] which cannot be defended except with large masses of men. That is why you, his ambassadors [in England], are to take care not to make promises or take engagements, which, if unfulfilled, might over-irritate or offend that king.

Besides which, there is another argument to bring forward, which is that for the defence of the lands on this side of the Channel no such amount of cavalry is requisite as that which would be indispensable for a joint invasion of France by Picardy. These are the objections which you are to raise respecting the assistance to be given by the contracting

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[*] "Et doibt estre prins bon regart que ceulx de par dela non sans cause mettent petite soldre pour les gens de guerre, à cause quilz sçavent que de ce coste on demandera plustot argent que davoir leurs gens, que ne sont trop aguerroies."

[†] "Car on ne pourroit les recouvrer à si petitz gaiges, et dans le cas par raison, en requerant assistance deulx non ne sçaueroons (nous ne sçaurions) entretenir le nombre de gens convenu."

[‡] "Et nous semble que lempereur feroit grant avantaige pour icellui sieur roy accorder III^{m} pietons et II^{m} chevaulx, lesquelz en cas bien facillement seront plus difficiles de furnir (*sic*), en tant que lon indubitablement le roy de France fera (*sic*) quelque grant effort sur les aultres frontieres de par deça."

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parties in men or money; and yet if you, the ambassadors, can have the rest of the article settled according to the Emperor's views in that respect, you are authorized to yield to the demands of the Royal deputies rather than come to a rupture with them.

As to the interpretation of the treaty itself, in case of supposed or pretended contravention by one of the contracting parties, the articles seem to Us so couched as to indicate not so much a closer friendship between the two princes to be preserved for ever, as rather one which may be broken whenever it may be convenient for either one of the parties, which is by no means the Emperor's intention, nor, as We hope, that king's either; and, therefore, you, the ambassadors, are to make no difficulty about having the heading of each article of the intended treaty reformed, as is customary between princes, so as to indicate that the two contracting parties have perfect confidence in each other, that is to say, that whatever contravention there may be, the treaty shall not be considered as broken and violated on account of that, but is to be faithfully observed in future, notwithstanding the said contravention, which ought to be repaired by the customary clause of "*rato manente pacto.*" To that end We send you the clause of the treaty of . . . .* in which the condition is specifically stated, that you may act accordingly.

With regard to the duration of the defensive war in all cases, as well as to the offensive one, We have to observe that were His Imperial Majesty to look out for his own advantage only, no difficulty ought to be made on Our part, provided it was stipulated that after that the king of England would furnish the contingent of men or money which would seem to him sufficient for his own co-operation in the enterprize, as the French are in the habit of doing in similar cases; but in order not to make promises which cannot be afterwards fulfilled, the English might and ought, in Our opinion, so to moderate their demands on this point that they may be complied with, as the Emperor has very wisely recommended in his last letter to you (Chapuys). To that letter and instructions you shall both adhere without any further advice on Our part.

Respecting the dukes of Clèves and Holstein, it is for you to follow closely the Emperor's prescriptions in the matter, and endeavour to have them declared enemies of the allies, since both are at present at war with His Imperial Majesty. If you cannot obtain that, you must ask for time to consult Us, rather than have the negociation broken on that account. For if the English object to both these dukes being declared in the treaty enemies of the Emperor, they cannot do so to

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* A blank in the minute, which, I presume, must be filled by the word Windsor.

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the latter treating with them whenever he considers it proper or convenient—as generally speaking they (the English) seem to desire—without the King's will and intervention. The article, moreover, is couched in terms too general as far as the Emperor's dominions and these Low Countries under Our government are concerned, for to say that no treaty with princes and electors of the German Empire or neighbours of these Low Countries can be valid without being approved or ratified by the king of England, is too vague a stipulation to be accepted as the article is worded. That is why it is important for the Emperor to do away with that vagueness, which might in the end be injurious to one or the other of the contracting parties, or in some way derogatory of this present treaty, as His Imperial Majesty has pointed out in his letters to you (Chapuys). However, should you both find that in trying to have that article amended there is danger of the negociation being suspended or altogether broken off, you may, after assuring the King of the Emperor's constant wish to maintain friendship and alliance with him and his subjects, seize the first opportunity at hand to have the three above-mentioned points cleared up and elucidated for the better interpretation and execution of the treaty now being negociated, and, above all, that one referring to the prohibition of treating with foreign princes, which points and articles We do not hesitate to say the Emperor in nowise could grant without injury and serious damage to himself. That is why We advise you not to subscribe the said articles as they are worded, but follow to the letter the Emperor's orders and prescriptions as contained in his last letter to you (Chapuys). —Brussels, on the last day of October 1542.

French. Original minute. pp. 3½.

n. d. **73.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—Your letters of the 13th, 24th, and 27th of September, and 2nd inst. have come to hand.* I thank you for your diligent care in advising Us of events in that country. As that King has told you that the Germans whom We were about to send to England, there to embark for Spain, would be well received and treated, I now request and order you to look out for an early opportunity of going to the King and thanking him for his good-will, telling him at the same time that hearing from every quarter that the French have already retreated from Perpignan, and considering also that the season is so far advanced that the Germans could not

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* "Voz lettres du xiii., xxiiii., et xxvii. dicelluy mois, et du second du present" are the words in the original, from which I conclude that this must have been written in the second week of October, when the ambassador's despatch of the 2nd (No. 66) had already been received. For that reason the letter itself, which is an undated draft, has been placed within the month of October.

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arrive in Roussillon in time to do efficient service this year, We have changed Our opinion and sent them towards the Lutzenburg (Luxemburg), which the French have again invaded in great force.

Some days ago We received, through a merchant of this country, a letter of your's asking permission to export to England certain pieces of armour (*armures*) out of this country. That permission We have refused to grant, owing to the great difficulty there is nowadays, even for us, of procuring any harness or armour in these Low Countries; the consequence being that such articles have risen in price more than one-third. We, therefore, request you in future, whenever you are called upon to support such petitions, not to yield so lightly to solicitations of that kind for the reason abovementioned, unless the request comes directly from the King himself, for We find that at various times English merchants and private persons have made similar applications, and taken out of this country large quantities of armour.

Addressed: "To the Ambassador in England."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

2 Nov. **74.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
ff. 164–201.

"Sire,"—On the 2nd inst. Mr. de Courrières arrived at Falemue (Falmouth). The moment the King heard of it, he gave orders for Mr. Huyet (Whyat) to go and meet him as hastily as he possibly could. As he (Huyet) was about eighty miles from this city he fell ill of some distemper or other, which brought on his death two days after,* owing to which accident Mr. de Courriéres was deprived of his company, being only attended by the governor of Falmouth and his son-in-law, who accompanied him to my lodgings in London, bringing with them a French corsair of the name of Ureica,† who had been taken prisoner sometime before. The said Mr. de Courrières arrived on the 14th ult., having been met on his road, about two miles from this city, by the captain of the King's body-guard ‡ and a great number of gentlemen, who accompanied him to my lodgings. After putting into my hands Your Imperial Majesty's letters of the 16th of August and 13th of September, and paying the customary visits to the privy councillors, we sent to ask audience from the King, which was readily granted for the 16th, when the sieur de Coban (Lord Cobham) and the captain of the King's body-guard came to fetch us. *Not to conceal from Your Imperial Majesty any of the various incidents of this our visit, I must begin by saying*

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* Sir Thomas Wyatt died at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, on the 10th or 11th of October.

† "Ung corsaire françois nomme Ureica."

‡ "Et nous vindrent querre le sieur de Coban et le dit capitaine de la garde." Coban is probably meant for Sir John Brook Cobham, but who was *le dit capitaine de la garde*, unless the governor of Falmouth be meant, I cannot determine.

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that the reception made us by the privy councillors was meagre enough, when compared with that of other times; the same may be said of the King's, when we both entered his chamber after dinner. After Mr. de Courrières had presented his credentials; after he and I, in pursuance of our orders and instructions, had thanked the King for his affection and attachment to Your Imperial Majesty, which his ambassadors in Spain had positively asserted; after having assured him that Your Imperial Majesty reciprocated and partook of similar sentiments towards him—all this being said by us with the most persuasive language that occurred to us at the moment—the King said that for some time back he had listened to and heard similar professions from the lips of Imperial ambassadors, but that he had never experienced the effect of such professions, and that if Your Imperial Majesty had the least desire of preserving his friendship, you could not stop at such minor points as that of the rebels, and he insisted more than ever on the article remaining as it was in the draft of the proposed treaty. Then he passed on to that of the defence against spiritual and ecclesiastical persons, saying that it seemed to him quite impossible to arrive at a true, solid, and perpetual alliance, unless the two said articles passed in the form in which he had had them couched. He (the King) had been so often cheated (fourcompte) *in the treaties he had previously made, and had found in them so many flaws, misinterpretations, and cavillings, that nowadays he intended to remedy that evil by treating so clearly, and having all articles and clauses in a treaty so explicitly worded, that there should be no opening in future for misunderstanding or dispute. Courrières and I replied as graciously as it was in our power to do, addressing to him such representations as came to our mind at the time, without, however, going too far, for fear of over-irritating him. Indeed, we thought that if his privy councillors had faithfully reported to him the whole of my conversation with them, there was no need for us to repeat the same arguments; for the King, as I have observed, considers it a point of honor never to yield to reason, or retract from any statement he has once made, though he may know the contrary of what he has asserted to be the fact.* We, therefore, refrained from contradicting or disputing much with him, the more so that three days ago, after long debating with him on this question of the treaty, and though he had sent for me on the plea of talking about a vessel of Mr. de Beures, yet it was evidently for no other purpose than to lament and complain to me—as his friend, not as Imperial ambassador, as he was pleased*

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* "Car il tient à poinct dhonneur de [non] ceder à la rayson, et soy retracter de quelque chose quil a affirmé, ores quil saiche le contraire." Such is the reading in the original, with the omission of the negative between brackets, but there can be no doubt, from what follows, as to the true meaning of the sentence. "Aussi nous desportasmes destriver beaucoup avec luy pour aultant que trois jours auparavant en avoyt (avions?) dispute bien au long et à certes avec luy."

to say—of the said two articles, respecting which I then spoke to him in such terms that I left him more satisfied and contented than he had been ever since.

For this reason and others Mr. de Courrières and I avoided as much as possible any further argument likely to displease the King, who began shortly after to speak of the non-observance of the treaties which he himself had made with Your Imperial Majesty, as well as with king Francis. Indeed, he went so far as to say in passing, and half between his teeth, that not only had the treaties with him not been observed, but that a league had been made against him, as well as a certain partition [of his kingdom] between the Pope, the king of France, and Your Imperial Majesty; and that the ships fitted out three years ago in the Low Countries, which people said had been collected there against the Turk, were destined for an expedition against himself. After which grave accusations, all of a sudden, as if to efface or in some manner attenuate them, giving us no time for a reply, as indeed I (Chapuys), had already done that fully enough at other audiences, he approached Mr. de Courrières and asked him in a sweet voice how Your Imperial Majesty was when he left last; and in order to stop the answer, which naturally was to come from my colleague, he began to make game of me (Chapuys), praising me quite outrageously,† and ended, after some talk on indifferent matters, by saying that he would order his deputies to come and communicate with us.*

Next day, the 17th inst., the deputies, that is the bishops of Winchester and Westminster and Secretary Varistley (Wriothesley), came to dine with us, and, after dinner, we all four had a conference together, when they (the deputies) put forward the article about the Pope, which they qualified as the principal one in the treaty—from which, as they said, depended the effect and fruit of the whole negociation, at the same time declaring that they intended to apply themselves to the settlement of that one before passing further. We had considerable difficulty in making them, and especially the two bishops, stop to consider the reasons alleged by Your Imperial Majesty for not complying with the articles; but at last we succeeded, and the article about the Pope was discussed for upwards of two hours, the conclusion being that they (the deputies) would report to the King, their master, and let us have an answer the day after.

On that day news came to town that the Lord Privy Seal (the earl of Southampton) had died in the Northern Counties of

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* "Et soy eslargist de dire en passant, et demy entre ses dents, que encoires ce nestoit beaucop de ne luy avoir observe les ditz traictez aupres (apres?) davoir faict une lighe contre luy et certain repartiment entre le pape, vre. maieste, et le roi de france."

† "Et pour mieulx serrer le pas á la dite response, il reprint (se reprint) á soy gaudir de moy, me louant par trop desmesuresment."

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his ordinary disease, the stone; this certainly is a very great misfortune. On hearing the news, the King sent immediately secretary Varistley (Wriothesley) to the house of the deceased, not only to condole with his widow, but also to withdraw certain packets [of papers] and other effects belonging to him, so that owing to that and other causes there was no meeting until the* 21st, *when the King's deputies came again to us.*

The first thing they told us was that, after a good deal of trouble, they had prevailed upon the King to consent that the article concerning the rebels should remain exactly as it was in the treaty of Cambray, or else that the term specified should be fifteen days instead of the other, which was longer; this to be effected by the insertion of a short clause (clausule) *to that intent, if it could be done conveniently. The King (said the deputies) had likewise agreed to the words* personne *and* prince spiritual *being taken out of the article relating to the defence league against princes, and that instead of those words, the general clause which usually appears in treaties, that is to say, to promise the defence from and against all, of whatever rank or condition they may be, be substituted. They did insist very hard on the article of the intercourse of trade* (hantise) *habitation, and residence; but it seems to me (Chapuys) that they will not stop much at the others, except it be at the one relating to the assistance against the Turk, to which they do not choose to be compelled, nor will they consent to have the subject mentioned at all in the treaty, saying that after the conclusion and ratification of the same, they will see what can be done in that line. It will also be extremely difficult to obtain for Your Imperial Majesty exemption from the help and assistance to England in case of Your being engaged with the common enemy in Italy, or occupied there in an offensive war. The same difficulty there will be, as we apprehend, in obtaining assistance against the dukes of Clèves and Holstein, or even making the King specifically and verbally promise not to favor and assist them, the deputies maintaining that it is quite sufficient that the two dukes be comprised under the general denomination of friends of friends and enemies of enemies.*

As to the term of duration of the defensive assistance, if it could be prorogued to one month more, it seems to us that, if obtained, that will be all we shall get from the deputies. We have not entered on the subject of the invasion of France, nor on the time of the year at which that invasion is to be made, nor how long it is to last, because, as Your Imperial Majesty is already making war on the French, it will be of no use attempting to modify or reform the article.

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* "Sur les quelles nouvelles le dit sieur roy envoya le dit secretaire Wristsley à la maison du dit privesçel, tant pour consoler sa femme que aussi pour retirer quelque paques (paquets ?) et aultres besognes appartenantes au dit sieur roy."

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As to our persuading this king and his ministers to undertake Montreuil, we have made no attempt, as we are awaiting the Queen's commands, Your Imperial Majesty's orders to us being not to do anything in the matter without her advice; besides which, after a conference, which some days ago we held with the Royal deputies, it was resolved not to make that enterprize this year, in the first place for fear of the Scottish war, which might possibly require all this king's forces, and, secondly, because the season is too far advanced, and all opportunity of making an attack upon that town over for the present.

The King's deputies, perceiving by our urgent reasoning that we neither ought to, nor could allow the "spiritual quality" to be mentioned or in anywise alluded to in the article of the defensive alliance, gave signs of extreme regret and displeasure at our not conforming with their views in that particular, telling us, among other things, that we ought to bear in mind that the French were wide awake; that their practices and intrigues reached much farther than we imagined, and that this king's ambassadors at the Imperial Court had been given to understand that with the single suppression of the word spiritual, *the whole of the article would be approved of. Our answer was that Your Imperial Majesty's intention was that not only the word* spiritual *should be altogether suppressed, and disappear from the treaty, but that the intention and meaning of that word should not be perceived or guessed at, lest His Holiness hereafter should have occasion or pretence to be offended with Your Majesty. And then we read the second paragraph of Your Majesty's letter* [*to me, Chapuys*], *in which the respect and reverence due to His Holiness are thoroughly explained. Of that paragraph the deputies begged us to give them a copy that they might show it to the King. This, however, we declined to do, saying that, as we knew them to have a good memory, we had no doubt they could repeat word by word to the King, their master, all they had heard us read; and, moreover, that the King would not fail to attach faith to their report, considering that Your Imperial Majesty in Spain had uttered the very same sentiments to his ambassadors there. As to French practices (we added) we knew enough of them, more, perhaps, than they themselves were aware of, and that they ought to know that there was nothing the French desired so much at this present juncture as to come to terms and make peace with Your Imperial Majesty. In short, that all their practices and intrigues at Rome and elsewhere were directed to that end. They (the deputies) could not doubt that Your Majesty's intention was to do their King's pleasure in everything he wished for, and that, although Your Majesty had given no indication whatever, nor made express mention of it in Your letters to me, I (Chapuys) considered it my duty to let them know that Mr. de Courrières, my colleague, had pressing*

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orders to return home. I said this much to the deputies in order to show them that, if they are becoming colder with us, we ourselves are not particularly anxious for the conclusion of the treaty in the manner they wish it to be shaped, and that the whole business may be better accomplished after the departure of Mr. de Courrières. Which hint of mine, as I afterwards heard, had such an effect on the King's mind, and on that of his commissioners, that had not the matter been of such importance, had I been authorized to act as I pleased on the occasion, and shown them still greater coldness and indifference than that which they themselves had manifested, I am sure the move would have been a profitable one for us.

But to return to the Royal Commissioners. They began to say to me that the King, their master, thought it very strange that Your Imperial Majesty should make so much of the Pope as to prefer his friendship and alliance to his. That, they said, was a very inconsiderate act, inasmuch as the help favor, and assistance of their master, the king of England, was far greater, nay, more substantial and necessary for Your Imperial Majesty, than any the Pope could bestow in any case whatever; to say nothing of the succession to the crown of England, which was hereditary and sure, whereas the Papal one was ephemeral, the present Pope being besides a very old man, who might die a week hence, and after his death another Pope be elected. That Pope would most probably belong to the French party, and consequently be hostile to Your Majesty. In addition to which the King, their master, thought he had such credit and authority with the Venetians as to be able at any time to make a league with them against Francis, nay, against the Pope himself, for the defence of Italy. Hearing which, I said to the deputies that I did not see the necessity of replying to their argument, the thing being so clear and notorious, and having besides been so frequently debated between us. Yet, as they seemed to wish for an answer from me, I would tell them my opinion on the matter. "Glad as I am at Mr. de Courrières' departure to attend the Queen's orders in Flanders, I am sorry at his not being present at the defence I am about to make of the Emperor's acts. As to his having offered to assist the Pope and king Francis in an attack upon the King, their master, it is untrue." Then, after having given them some taste of the matter* (après leur en avoir donne quelque goust), *I continued: "I would willingly give up a good portion of my own private fortune to be able to tell you what I know of the French, and that the King, your master, should hear from my lips, and believe, something of the treacherous designs of the French against him, as well as of their urgent solicitations to the Emperor, my master, who would never listen to them."*

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* "Sur quoy leur dis quil me sembloit quil ny avoit mestier (besoing?) daucune response."

The conference ended by the commissioners saying that in a day or two they would let me know the King's pleasure on the whole. Yet though I (Chapuys) have since then sent various messages, reminding them that my colleague, Mr. de Courrières, is in a hurry to go to Flanders and report on the whole to Your Majesty, and afterwards return to Spain to ascertain the Emperor's final resolution on the whole, up to this hour no message has come from Court, and the commissioners have shown as much or greater coldness and indifference than ever at our repeated applications.

At last, on the 26th, we were summoned to meet at the house (*au logis*) of one of the commissioners, the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner), to which Mr. de Courrières thought he had better not go, firstly, because he (Mr. de Courrières) did not feel quite well, and, secondly, because I (Chapuys) imagined that as there was likely to be a warm and long discussion on certain points, the commissioners might perhaps not tolerate my remonstrances so well in the presence of my colleague as if uttered by me in private. On the other hand, were I to utter any angry words, they could bear better to be temperate and give up part of their pretentions (*radouleir et rabiller*). There was still another reason for my acting thus, which was that were I alone with the commissioners, I could in my colleague's absence speak to them more frankly and freely, as befits a good servant of the King, their master, such as I profess to be. For these reasons, and others which I omit, I induced Mr. de Courrières not to attend the proposed meeting, and went by myself to the bishop of Winchester's house (*logis*), as above said. There, in the presence of the assembled commissioners, I began to remonstrate with the bishop and his colleagues in office on the impropriety of the amended article in question. I told them that Your Imperial Majesty was certainly doing more for the King, their master, than he himself was doing for you, and that the amendment they proposed was so unreasonable and ill-founded, nay, so dishonest, that I could not conceive how the King, their master, could possibly attempt or wish thus to throw Your Imperial Majesty into danger and inconvenience without any advantage or profit to himself. I firmly believed (said I) that if the King, their master, came to consider what he himself would do in similar circumstances in Your Imperial Majesty's place, he would not ask you to do anything at which he (the King) might take offence, but would, on the contrary, dissuade and prevent Your Imperial Majesty from it, even if you were so inclined. It was no question now of weighing and comparing together the relative friendships and alliances of which they (the commissioners) talked. The King, their master, for the causes already alleged, and many others, ought to desire, above all things, the increase of the friendship between Your Imperial Majesty and the Holy Father; for then, and by means of that, Your Majesty would enjoy greater credit

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with the Pope, and be better enabled to persuade him not to do or attempt anything against their master, whose friendship Your Imperial Majesty valued above all things. But it was also requisite and necessary that their master should equally prize Your Imperial Majesty's friendship, for since the Pope was old and infirm (*caduque*), as they said, he might well, in his old days, think of something else than planning and concocting undertakings against England. Besides, whenever another Pope succeeded him—even supposing he happened to belong, as they said, to the French party—there would be plenty of time and opportunities for guarding against that event, and should the election fall, as they said, on a French cardinal, be prepared for the worst. In my opinion (said I) the exclusion of "spiritual persons" from the treaty was under a certain point of view more favorable for their master than for Your Imperial Majesty, for You might in the future have to dissent from the Holy Father and his successors, and the Apostolic See might cause war to be made against Your kingdoms and dominions,* so much more easily invaded on various sides and frontiers than those of their master, the king of England, in which case the latter would have to spend his treasure for the defence of Your own, if invaded, as would also the bishops of Liège, Cologne, Trèves, and Munster, all of whom are princes of the Empire and near neighbours to Your Imperial Majesty, whilst he, the King, and the spiritual lords above alluded to, would be exempted from that aid if the treaty only referred, as intended, to temporal lords.

As to their allegation that the Venetians might alienate themselves from the Pope, as well as from king Francis, I told the Royal deputies that they were very much mistaken as to that; the Venetians had no weight in Italy when compared with the power, the authority, and the suite of a Pope, and England being so far off, any help and assistance given by their master in Italy would necessarily be very tardy. It was, moreover, to be considered that should Your Imperial Majesty consent to the articles about the defence passing as they were in the draft of the treaty, not only would His Holiness and the Cardinals' college resent the injury, but the Catholic States of Germany would likewise be much offended at it, as might be inferred from what passed lately at the Diet of Ratisbonne (Regensburg), besides which, Your Imperial Majesty's subjects, or the greater part of them, in Spain, Flanders, Naples, and elsewhere, would be highly scandalized and shocked thereby, which would become a serious inconvenience.

To these arguments of mine the Royal commissioners knew not what to oppose, save saying that they saw well that God was not pleased that the treaty of closer friendship and alliance between Your Imperial Majesty and their master, the King, should be completed. That the whole was from that moment to be considered as lost, and the negociations as suspended, though they hoped that the pressure of political events might still afford some opportunity for proceeding to its final conclusion.

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* "Car icelle pourroit tumber en dissention avec le dit sainct pere ou ses successeurs, et pourroit le siège Apostolique mouvoir et faire mouvoir guerre aux pays de vre. ma^{te}, trop plus commodes à envader (*sic*) que cestuy."

Perceiving the coldness and indifference with which the Royal deputies pronounced these last words, I deliberately told them that since they thought there was no chance of our agreeing to that article—which, as they said, was the principal point in the treaty—I begged them to ask the King's leave for Mons. de Courrières to go back to Flanders, and at the same time ask the King what his final intention was concerning the treaty in question, that I myself might at once inform Your Imperial Majesty through my colleague. Your Imperial Majesty (I said) had much pressing business to attend to under the circumstances, and it was, therefore, very important that you should know as soon as possible what their master's resolution was in order to act accordingly. These words of mine had a most singular effect upon the Royal deputies, for they looked at each other in astonishment, and after conversing with each other for a while in a corner of the room, came up to me and said that they much regretted that the matter of the treaty did not proceed to our complete satisfaction; they would do on their part whatever was needed for removing the difficulties standing in the way of its conclusion. They could not be persuaded that my colleague's presence at the Queen's court in Flanders was so imperative and urgent as to make him leave England without seeing the King first, and taking leave of him.

After some more talk of this sort, and just as I myself was about to depart, Secretary Vristley (Wriothesley), who, as I have often written, is the man who nowadays enjoys most credit with the King, and almost governs everything here, begged me in private to accompany Monsr. de Courrières to Court when he went to take leave, and recommended us both to address the King in mild and gracious terms.* I thanked the Secretary for his advice, and begged him to think of what the Sieur de Courrières and myself were to say at the audience, that we might prepare our oration accordingly.

The day before yesterday Mons. de Courrières and I called on the King. I must say that before dinner I had again a private conversation with the Secretary, who informed me that he and his colleagues of the Privy Council had duly reported to their master the substance of our last communication with the Royal deputies. The King at first (said he) got rather into a passion,† but in the end was somewhat

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* "Que venant le dit sieur de Courrières à prendre conge voulsissions tenir bons et gracieux propos."

† "Le quel de prime face sestoit ung peu escamonché."

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pacified, and said that he exceedingly wished that some form or means could be found of insuring him from the Pope without trouble or danger to Your Imperial Majesty; but as to sending an ambassador to the Queen Regent in Flanders, as I (Chapuys) had proposed, that he would not do, suspecting, as he himself expressly declared to Monsr. de Courrières and myself after dinner, that nothing he could negociate in Flanders would turn to his advantage, inasmuch as the Queen was surrounded by councillors and ministers who were not his friends. "Respecting this objection of the King (the Secretary said to me), you and your colleague may represent what you think proper and needful; but if you find that my master is obstinately fixed in his idea, and will not give in, I strongly advise and recommend you not to oppose him too openly, but rather to beg and entreat him to take the trouble of reconsidering the affair, rather than have his own ideas on the subject committed to paper, for there is no councillor or secretary who can equal him in grappling with business of that importance."

After dinner, therefore, the King came into the Hall, where, we were, and said immediately after that he had heard that Monsr. de Courrières had pressing business to transact in Flanders, and wished, as soon as possible, to go back to the Queen. "As to me (added the King), since the Emperor's service is concerned, I think that his ambassador ought to go back at once to the court of the Queen Regent of the Low Countries, where his duty calls him. I would not keep him longer in England, since his master's affairs—the promotion of which I desire as much as the promotion and advancement of my own—require his presence elsewhere. I regret that the negociation which has been going on here has not advanced as much as I should have wished, nay, has rather retrograded; for I was told, on good authority, that at the Imperial court it had been said that there was absolutely nothing to alter, change, or amend in the treaty save the words *princes et personnes spirituelles*, and now that I have consented to the clause being removed and another one substituted for it, namely, *against all persons of whatever degree, condition, state, or quality—as is customary in all treaties of alliance between princes*—you draw back, and will not even grant me that, besides which you are daily raising new difficulties respecting other articles; so that it is quite clear that it is not my fault, but yours, if the treaty of closer friendship and alliance is not concluded." In justification of which, and as a proof that he himself had done his utmost towards it, the King reproduced all the arguments of which he and his ministers had made use during the debate on the articles.

After patiently listening to what he had to say without contradicting him in the least, Monsr. de Courrières and I begged and entreated him to listen to us, and hear our arguments patiently, as uttered by the lips of his most devoted servants, as we professed to be, trusting that, with his great wisdom and knowledge of political affairs, he would kindly excuse any fault, error, or incorrectness of ours.

Upon which, after replying to the most substantial and fundamental points touched by the King, we drew up a summary statement of all the representations addressed by us to his deputies in our conference with them, to which statement, though a long one, the King listened attentively and patiently, without interrupting us, as he is in the habit of doing. True it is that now and then, when we said something that was unpleasant to him, there were signs of disapproval on his countenance.[*]

Our peroration at an end, the King observed, before he began his reply, that we, the Imperial ambassadors, knew very well how to interpret and comment upon things to our master's advantage, and that, as he had told me (Chapuys) many a time before, Your Imperial Majesty was right in keeping true to (*entretenir*) your friends, but ought at the same time to try and make fresh ones; that, however, was no reason (he said) for trying to procure the friendship of the Pope, who was his enemy. In the same manner, and for the same reasons that Your Majesty refused to treat against His Holiness, he himself was justified in refusing to hold as his enemies the king of France, and his ally, the duke of Clèves, between whom and him—though qualified by us (the ambassadors) as common enemies—there had been hitherto good friendship and intelligence. He thought that Your Imperial Majesty, owing to Your friendship for and alliance with His Holiness, might easily induce the latter to be contented and take the thing in good part; nay, he even fancied that the Pope would not grumble at hearing that there was community of views and union between Your Imperial Majesty and himself.[†]

And upon our replying that since he (the King) thought thus, there was no occasion for him to insist so strongly on the article of the defence, and consider His Holiness as the enemy of both parties, especially as his dominions and forces were so far away from those of His Holiness, he seemed to be half beaten by our argument, not knowing what to reply. After a time, however, he began to warm up, saying that were His Holiness to try to do mischief, means could be found to set up the Venetians against him. "The

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[*] "Bien est vray que oyant quelque chose que ne luy agreoit point il fesoit ung peu de myne et grimace."

[†] "Que aussi bien luy pouvoit reserver le roy de france et le duc de Clèves, les quelz quoy que les appelisions (*sic*) ennemys, il navoit jusques içy que toute bonne amytie et intelligence, et quil pensoit que vre. ma^{te}, pour lamytie, alliance quelle avoit avec sa S^{te}, induyroit bien icelle à soy contenter et prendre la chose en bonne part, et mesmes quicelle auroit garde de grondir, saichant lunion entre vre. ma^{te} et luy."

Signory (said he) is much stronger than you imagine; it would not be so easy, as you think, to detach them from His Holiness, whose friends they appear to be nowadays." Then, getting warmer and more animated in his speech—not, however, in a passion, but in a tone of boasting assurance [*]—he replied to our previously adduced argument, that at all events Your Imperial Majesty would be more in need than he was of help and assistance against a Pope,[†] and yet had not solicited that from him, nor would he have granted it if requested; he added: "You are very much mistaken as to that. I should if I was asked. I would willingly treat with the Emperor if he wished it." To which we replied that we trusted that Your Imperial Majesty would behave in such a way towards the Holy Apostolic See that there would be no need of coming to such extremities, for it would be an ominous novelty among Christian princes for the Holy Apostolic See—generally named in treaties as principal contracting party—to be named and designated therein as if it were one of the powers against which the defensive alliance was made. Indeed (said we), should the Holy Apostolic See and its adherents (*sa suite*) be so powerful in Italy as they are represented to be, the help and assistance required ought to consist of 25,000 or 30,000 men, who could not be conveyed to Italy save at a most tremendous cost and expense, and it would be necessary to send thither in time money and provisions for the maintenance of that army, which, considering the distance from England, and the usual difficulties in such cases, would not be an easy matter.

Pursuing the argument, we told the King that should king Francis in any way offend His Holiness, there would be means of gaining the latter over to our party, for (said we), besides having offered him the kingdom of Naples as if it were his own, and given Pope Paul to understand that if he (Francis) had made alliance with the Turk it was merely on account of the former refusing to help him, His Holiness might very well, under pretence of charity, make an alliance with king Francis, and after that, finding himself disappointed, turn against him and become his enemy. The King answered that we were misinformed as to the affairs of France. The king of that country (he said) would take care not to make such offers; in saying which he forgot that not ten days before, whilst communicating to us the news sent by his resident ambassador in France, he himself had alluded to the offer of Naples made by king Francis to His Holiness.

He also told us, by way of argument and in support of his opinion, that in those matters in which Your Majesty's interests were concerned you had not been so over scrupulous; nor had you treated Popes so respectfully—as for instance when you took Rome, and made Clement your prisoner.* This thrust of the King we tried to parry by observing: "That was done without the Emperor's will or knowledge, as was afterwards ascertained; nevertheless, His Imperial Majesty had then just cause and occasion to take up arms against a Pope, who, besides intriguing against him, had already begun to invade his kingdom of Naples."

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[*] "Non point en colere, mais pour une bravete et gayete de cueur."

[†] "Que combien que pourroit advenir que vre. ma^{te} eust trop plustot besoing dassistence pour soy deffendre contre ung pape que luy, pour les respectz dessus touchez."

As to our statement that neither after their defeat at Pavia, nor at any other time whatsoever, had the French been so low and dejected, and so unprovided with money and friends, as they at present are, and, therefore, that they could the more easily be punished for their misdeeds, and brought to reason through fair terms, or by force, and, moreover, that they themselves would prepare the way to peace the very moment they heard of the conclusion of the treaty, the King again replied that we were completely mistaken as to the real state of affairs in France, and that he (the King) knew more about it than we did.

After a good deal more conversation and debate on the said point, the King declared to us that he would much prefer to remain neutral than enter into a treaty which, in his opinion, would still be faulty and deficient. There might be in future some occasion of removing the scruples and difficulties now existing. As to sending an ambassador to the Queen in Flanders (he added), as we had proposed, that he would not do on many considerations. If there was any chance of an amendment, either Monsr. de Courrières in person verbally, or else I myself in writing, could manage the thing much better than himself. And upon my representing to him that in order to take a final resolution in the affair, by verbal reference or by letter, it was still necessary for us to hold a last meeting with his deputies, the King at first made some difficulties, alleging that his deputies had already declared to us his intentions and will in the matter, and, therefore, that any further conversation with them was entirely superfluous. It was for us, who had first started the objection, to propose the means and terms for removing the existing difficulties; yet in the end he consented to the meeting taking place.

Yesterday, after dinner, we called upon the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) at his house, where, after much altercation and dispute, we begged him and the rest of the Royal deputies therein assembled to take pen in hand and remodel the

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* "En outre, nous dit, que en ce que ne comptoit (importoit?) à lappetit de vre. ma^{te} icelle se monstroit scrupuleuse, mais lon avoit bien[veu] au çy (içy) devant que vre. ma^{te} navoit eu de respect au Pape, comme sestoit veu à la prinse de Rome et du pape Clement."

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article of the defence, without mentioning the "spirituality" in it, which they did in the following manner, the article itself to come immediately after the fourth :—

"It was agreed, settled, and concluded that in case of an armed invasion, as above described, being made of the kingdoms, dominions, countries or provinces, in the possession of each of the princes respectively, as expressed and specified in this article, against one or other of the two parties, their heirs and successors, or of the heirs and successors during the minority of such heirs and successors, their curators and administrators of the said kingdom of England, the invader may at once be reputed, considered, and held, as a common enemy by both parties.

"It was likewise agreed and settled, that should the invasion of the above-mentioned kingdoms, provinces, and territories be made by an army consisting of at least 10,000 men, etc."*

The above having been written down and read in our presence, Monsr. de Courrières and I made some slight objection to the article itself, more with a view to introduce our own clause about the ecclesiastics in the very terms and words mentioned by Your Majesty than for any other purpose. This my colleague and I did as an extreme resource, proposing that the defence should be against all persons temporal and secular. *To this, however, the deputies objected, saying that should there be one chief ecclesiastical and spiritual, thereby might be understood all the spiritual class. We could not, therefore, come to a resolution on this point, and the meeting broke up, the deputies promising to speak to the King about it, and try to make him accept the article, we ourselves promising to do the same with the Queen. To-day they were to let us know the King's resolution on the whole, and at the same time send the passport to my colleague.*

Ever since the day before yesterday I have been thinking of closing and sealing this despatch of mine, calculating that the King's final resolution in the matter would be communicated to me on the 30th of October, when, seeing that neither the passport for Mons. de Courrières nor the King's answer came, I kept it open until yesterday, the 1st of November. This morning the clerk of the Council came with the passport and 1,000 ducats as a present from the King to Monsr. de Courrières. As to the King's answer, he said that we should hear it from the deputies themselves. It was thus conceived : "*The King,*

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* "Item conventum, concordatum, et conclusum quod casu quo aliqua invasio huiusmodi facta fuerit in regnis, dominiis, patriis et provinciis per alterutrum eorum respective possessis, et in presenti articulo expressis et specificatis contra alterutrum eorum heredum et successorum suorum aut durante minore etate principum, sive heredum, eorum curatores sive administratores, hic est in regnis Angliæ, etc., author (*sic*) invasionis illius, quique sumptus gentes aut arma suppeditabit, habeatur, reputetur et sit ipso facto communis inimicus et hostis.

Item conventum quod casu quo dicta invasio cum numero decem milium armatorum in provinciis infra descriptis facta fuerit, videlicet, etc., tunc, etc."

our master, persists in his idea that the 6th and 7th articles of the treaty ought to remain entirely as they are; that you (the Imperial ambassadors) are to try to have them accepted, and if not, persuade the dowager queen of Hungary to agree to our amendment as above. Meanwhile we (the deputies) will do everything in our power to make the King, our master, accept your terms."

The deputies' message also mentioned that the King, at the intercession of Mons. de Courrières and my own, had lately released from prison the person and property of a young and honest fellow, a native of Haynault, accused of having retained in his possession a small piece of silver plate belonging to the King's dinner service (*vaisselle*), in which some food or other had been taken to the house of the said youth and there left.*

Your Majesty did right well in not causing particular letters to be written in Your Imperial name to the councillors and courtiers most in favor with this king. Time and more favorable circumstances will show how and when those letters had best be written, as well as what pensions are to be distributed among them, on which last point, however, I (Chapuys) shall take care to obey implicitly Your Imperial Majesty's commands. Most particular care shall also be taken on my part respecting the *prolongation mentioned at the end of Your Majesty's letter of the 13th of August, to which no allusion has hitherto been made here one way or other.*

Respecting the export of corn from this country, about which Your Imperial Majesty was pleased to write to me privately on the 14th of August,† the King's answer has been that corn is by no means over abundant in England since the last harvest; but that if it can be done without his subjects being inconvenienced through it, he shall be glad to grant to the person mentioned in Your Imperial Majesty's letter permission to buy and export a certain quantity of it, and will besides grant licenses to English merchants, so that his own subjects may also gain by the transaction.

As to the duplicate of the letter which Your Imperial Majesty wrote to the Pope concerning the convocation of the General Council, I immediately took care that it went into the hands of the King's privy councillors, all of whom, and especially the King, have much praised and extolled its contents.‡

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* "Aussi nous ont envoye dire que le dit s^r^ roy, en contemplation du dit s^r^ de Courrières et mienne, avoit donne la grace et de la personne et biens à ung jeusne honneste compagnon de Haynault, questoit accuse davoir retenu quelque petite piece de vaiselle de cellez du dit s^r^ roy, dans la quelle lon avoit apporte quelque chose au logis du dit compagnon."

† There is no letter of the 14th of August, but only one of the 12th (No. 48, p. 91), in which the Emperor officially informs Chapuys of the result of the conferences between Mr. de Granvelle and the English ambassadors.

‡ *See* above, No. 65, pp. 141–2.

News on the side of Flanders is rather stale, as I have not heard from the Queen Regent since the 23rd of September last, but letters of merchants have here been received purporting that in the early part of October a body of Germans, amounting to 14,000 or 15,000 men, were marching on Julliers, and that soon after Duren capitulated and surrendered, the inhabitants agreeing to pay 70,000 florins, and to take the oath of vassalage to Your Imperial Majesty, promising besides, as the report goes, to erect there a castle or citadel at their own expense. Julliers had held out much longer, owing to its having been somewhat (*aucunement*) fortified, but on the 10th of the said month the town surrendered at discretion, the Imperial army proceeding afterwards to occupy the rest of the Duchy, which, on the 22nd of October, had already been taken, without the Germans meeting with any resistance in the field. It is feared that there will be more resistance at Clèves, owing to the assistance of the Gheldrese (Gueldroys), among whom the duke (Guillaume) has taken refuge.* It is said that Madame (the Queen Regent) was once on the point of gaining over the Gheldrese, or at least, persuading them to keep neutral; she would have completely succeeded in alienating them from the duke of Clèves, had it not been for a certain capture (*proie*) which they happened to make on the Rhine; for it appears that merchandize to the value of upwards of 80,000 ducats, going down from Cologne (Kohl) to Antwerp, was seized by them as it passed their territory, that being enough to make them change their plans and help the Duke as much as they could.

The remainder of the Imperial army, as Monsr. du Rœulx wrote to me about twenty days ago, had been divided into two bodies—one was in the Luxemburg, the other in the Haynault, going towards Liège, in order to guard against the succours which the French were sending on. According to the latter, the French had made three or four incursions into Haynault and Arthois, in every one of which they had been repulsed with considerable loss. At the time he wrote to me he had just returned from a successful expedition to Corbie. He himself, with some horse and foot, had passed two days and one night in the close neighbourhood of that town, thinking that he might draw out the French garrisons of Peronne, Dorlans, and Corbie, but although he remained there all the time, not one Frenchman dared show his face over the walls. No sooner was he back at the camp than the captain of Bapaulme met out in the fields the French garrison of Chastelet, of whom not one single man escaped, for they were all slain or taken prisoners.

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* "Et bien tost apres Dure se rendist, et compousa à LXX^{m} florins, et feist le serment à vre. ma^{te}, et disoient aulcungs quilz avoient promis de faire la ung chasteau. Julliers tint plus longuement pour avoir este aucunement fortiffiee, mais au X^{me} du dict mois elle se rendist à discretion, et marcha larmee pour gaigner la reste, et au XXII^{me} du dict mois fust gaignee la derniere ville du dict Julliers, et ne se dict que larmee de vre. maieste ait trouve nulle resistance aux champs. Lon doubte quil y aura quelque peu plus de resistence en Clèvez, pour lassistence des Gheldroys vers les quelz le duc du dit Clèvez sestoit retiré."

As to the war in Scotland, very little has been done owing to the heavy rains, which have prevented the carriage of artillery and provisions for the Royal army, that being the reason why the duke of Norfolk has come back after laying waste a good portion of the country without meeting with resistance in the field.—London, 2 November 1542.

Signed : "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed : "To the Emperor."

Indorsed : "From the ambassador in England, of the 2nd of November 1542; received at Valencie le vme de Decembre de 1542."

French. Original. pp. .

3 Nov. **75.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep. P., Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 123–30.

"Madame,"—As Your Majesty will no doubt learn by the documents herein enclosed, as well as by Mr. de Courrières' verbal report, what the course of our affairs has been in this country, there is no need for me to say anything more on the subject. I will only beg Your Majesty most humbly to let me know expressly what Your intentions are on the whole, and for greater security have the same put in writing, that I may inform these deputies thereof; *considering that, if I dare say so, besides the pressure of time and affairs, if it pleased the Emperor, the treaty would not be obligatory on his side, although I am sure that neither he nor Your Majesty would have recourse to such an expedient.*

With regard to the pensions, about which His Imperial Majesty asks my advice, I can only say that, in my opinion, there is no great need for the present of paying, or even promising any, but I think, at the same time, that a gracious present to secretary Vuristley (Wriothesley) would not be amiss. I fancy that a gift of that kind would be well employed, and might be beneficial for the issue of the affair in hand and the Emperor's service. It is for Your Majesty to decide on the whole.

At my departure [from Brussels] Your Majesty was good enough to promise me an order on the financial minister in the Low Countries for a certain sum of money. Not to be importunate, and at the same time to save the expense of sending an agent thither, I have waited patiently four months without Your Majesty's orders being complied with as far as I am concerned. Besides what I consider due to me as part of my salary, I am that Treasury's creditor for the money paid to George, the courier, as well as for that paid to the other Spanish courier, who took the despatch containing the Emperor's resolution on the affair now being discussed.

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The resolution having arrived so opportunely, there is no occasion to grudge the expense caused by it.—London, 3 November 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

3 Nov. **76.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—The day before yesterday, at Our departure from Mousson (Monçon),* your letters of the 10th of August were received, and on the 1st inst. that of the 9th of September, together with the documents enclosed therein. By which letters of the 10th of August, as well as by those brought by François du Falaix, We have properly understood the state of affairs in that country, chiefly in what relates to the treaty of closer friendship and alliance between the king of England and Us. The said Falaix having told Us that before his departure from England he heard that Mr. de Courrières had arrived in that country, you must also have learnt from him, as well as from the despatches of which he was bearer, what had been settled here in Spain between the bishops of London and Westminster and Ourselves, as well as Our final determination upon the whole. We hardly need write about it before We know from you what you yourself have done and negociated; what the King has said to you on the subject, and how far he condescends to modify his demands respecting the articles of that treaty, which, in Our opinion, require alteration. We have no doubt that in this, as well as in other things concerning Our service, you (Chapuys) have acted with your usual diligence and zeal, trying by all means in your power to persuade that king to conclude the treaty in question. We expect soon the news of that country and your own despatches, of which you will always do well to send a duplicate to Mr. de Granvelle, who is now going to Italy and Germany on the business of the General Council and others of Our own. We have no doubt that on his arrival there he will communicate with you. At present he is still at Palamós on account of the bad weather, and likewise because he is waiting for Falaix, whom We are sending in haste with this and other letters. You will hear from him the rest of the news from this country.—Barcelona, 3 November 1542.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

French. Original. pp. 1½.

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* If Mousson is here for Monçon in Aragon, on the borders of Catalonia—where the meeting of the States of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia took place in September 1542—there must be some error or oversight in this passage, for on the 1st of November the Emperor was no longer at Monçon but at Barcelona, where he arrived on the 16th. On the other hand, the Cortes of Monçon, where prince Philip was sworn heir to the crown of Aragon, as he had been some months before at Toledo to that of Castille, were prorogued at the end of September, after voting him 500,000 ducats.

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8 Nov. **77.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 37.

. . . . were the King to listen to the proposals of the French, he might get from them anything he pleased.*

I suppose that Your Majesty has by this time given orders to the treasurers to settle accounts with my man. In case they have not, I most humbly beg Your Majesty to deign to repeat Your commands.—London, 8 November † 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the queen dowager of Hungary."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

16 Nov. **78.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—*By Mr. de Courrières' and your own letters to the Emperor of the 2nd inst.*,‡ *as well as by the note* (billet) *thereto appended, We have learned what passed between the king of England and his deputies on one side, and yourself and Mr. de Courrières on the other, whilst negociating the treaty of closer friendship and alliance between the Emperor and that king. Above all, the insistence of the Royal commissioners upon the articles VI. and VII. of the intended treaty, touching the kingdoms and dominions of each of the contracting princes, has particularly attracted Our attention. We have seen in writing the slight alteration which, after your powerful argumentation, and at your urgent request, that king's deputies consent to make in the words and meaning of those articles; but, considering that the King still persists in having the said articles couched in general terms, without admitting the restriction of* secular princes or powers,—*which the Emperor wishes to be added—We feel rather perplexed as to how We are to answer your question on the subject, fearing on the one hand to exceed the commands of His Imperial Majesty, who has entirely remitted to Us the care of prosecuting the negociation,* stipulating that the article about the Pope be so modified and altered that on no ground can the reproach be brought against him that he has

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* The first two lines of this letter are in cipher, not in the one generally used by Chapuys, but in another quite different, the sentence ending with the words "*es aux françois ilz ouroint* (auroient ?) *merveille*," which might possibly mean that "if the King and his ministers were to lend ear (*oreilles*) to French overtures they would undoubtedly get marvellous conditions from them." As about this time king Henry was hesitating about his alliance with the Emperor, it is most probable that the above words came from the lips of the Lord Privy Seal, Fitz-William, already earl of Southampton, secretary Wriothesley, or some other of the Royal commissioners deputed by Henry to discuss with him the base of the treaty.

† Such was originally the date, but over it, and in a hand of last century, I find *December* written, which, in my opinion, is wrong, for on the 3rd of November (*see* No. 75, p. 175) Chapuys complains of his account not having been paid, although he had sent his man purposely to Brussels.

‡ *See* above, No. 74, p. 159.

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failed in his duty to God or the World. *Such are the Emperor's words, as We wrote to you on the last day of October, when Mr. de Courrières departed for England with the instructions, of which We have a duplicate by Us. In those instructions His Imperial Majesty expressly persists in his idea that, in order not to afford the Pope any occasion for resentment, nor to the ill-wishers a pretence to accuse His Imperial Majesty of trying to treat to His Holiness' prejudice, the inclusion in the article of the defence* (comprehension en la defension) *ought to be of* all kings, princes, and powers secular and temporal, *that being the reason why, by Our last, We requested you to send Us every particular concerning the pretended inclusion of the Pope or Apostolic See in the article.**

On the other hand, We weigh and consider the reasons which you have given Us from time to time, and the fear you have that, by delaying the conclusion of the treaty, or by the king of England perceiving that he is sent and referred from one to the other, he may, out of disappointment or spite, listen to French proposals, and that even supposing he is disinclined to an alliance with them, he may still become less tractable and more difficult to please, so as to oblige Us to subscribe to still more exorbitant demands than those he now puts forward, which would by no means improve the Emperor's affairs, general or private, just now, especially in these countries under Our government. That is why We are in great perplexity and doubt, not knowing exactly whether We ought to take ad pedem litteræ *the Emperor's commands, or follow a reasonable path in conformity with the Emperor's intentions and wishes. In fact, We should have much preferred not to be called upon to decide in so arduous a case, and that you could temporize with the deputies and gain time until a fuller answer came from the Emperor to your letter of the 2nd inst. And, therefore, if you possibly can, without actually coming to a rupture, persuade that King's deputies to wait, We shall be extremely glad, as then We may avoid all responsibility in an affair of such importance.*

Should you, however, fear a rupture of the negociations, or perceive that the English are inclined to listen to French overtures, then, in that case, We are of opinion that, rather than run that risk, the articles which the King's commissioners put into your hands, as you tell me in your letter of the 2nd inst., ought to be accepted, for after all the wording of them is more gracious and less obligatory respecting the Pope and the ecclesiastical state than that of the former one stipulating the defence "against all princes and powers of whatever denomina-

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* "Que a este cause que par mes dernieres lettres vous ay requis remestre à moy [ce] que concerne la dite comprehension du pape ni siege apostolique."

In all this paragraph, and, indeed, in all the letter, the clerk of the Council who drew it out uses the first person singular instead of the plural, as was customary in the Queen's despatches to the Imperial ambassador.

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tion, state, or condition," which last clause seemed as if it had been added on purpose to comprise the Pope and the ecclesiastical state. That inconvenience can, in Our opinion, be better avoided by the words contained in the amended articles, provided you are sure that the King will be satisfied with that, and not attempt to supplement them by some clause or words expressing his idea in clearer terms, or which may in any way counteract and thwart His Imperial Majesty's intentions. Provided also that the article stand wherein it is stipulated that no further interpretation or rendering (*entendement*) of the treaty shall be admitted, but it is to be observed *ad pedem litteræ*, or be modified and amended in reasonable terms, so as to remove all scruples and cavilling interpretations contrary to reason and to the sincere intentions of both the princes—those only excepted, which, according to right, might be suggested by either of the contracting parties. To this you (Chapuys) shall attend particularly.

With respect to the desire expressed by the King's commissioners that articles VI. and VII. of the treaty should come immediately after the IIII., though We have our misgivings that the proposed alteration has some mysterious cause, yet, not to delay the conclusion of the treaty, and enter into fresh debates, We think you ought to make no difficulty, but let the two articles pass, or make one of the two, as may best please those commissioners.

As to other minor objections to which you call Our attention by brief notes (*apostilles*) on the margins of the proposed treaty, We must say that We should have been glad not to have to decide for or against, and wish that you (Chapuys) had waited until the Emperor's final answer had been received, or else that the treaty should have been concluded, signed, and ratified in accordance with the powers and instructions you have from the Emperor. And yet, considering the state of affairs in these countries under Our government, We cannot do less than give Our opinion on each and all the remarks made by you, and at the same time answer, if possible, all your questions, so that you may proceed to the conclusion of the treaty as may be most convenient for the Emperor.

And, first, We perceive that you object to the second article, which the King's commissioners agree to reform according to that of the treaty of Cambray, by inserting the words, "*salvis legibus et constitutionibus regni*," which short clause, in Our opinion, is derogatory, as you have very justly observed, and contrary to the spirit of the treaty, inasmuch as by inserting those words, "*salvis legibus, &c.*," the English would seem to imply that We approve or have approved in this respect of their laws, statutes, and constitutions. You must make the greatest efforts to persuade the commissioners to put aside the said short clause (*clausule*), and leave the article as it was in the treaty of Cambray, for otherwise it would be said or thought that We consent to have the free communication of the Emperor's subjects in these Low Countries curtailed and restricted far more than it was by the treaty of Cambray, which would be contrary to the closer friendship and alliance that We are now endeavouring to procure between the two nations. Nevertheless, if you see that the commissioners insist upon the insertion of those words in the article, you may consent to their being added textually, as they are at the end of the treaty of Cambray *i.e.*, "*salvis legibus, statutis, ordinationibus et constitutionibus regnorum, patriarum, dominiorum et terrarum predictarum.*" To which addition the English can make no objection whatever, as the condition is reciprocal for the subjects of both countries, whereas, if only the words, "*salvis legibus, et constitutionibus regni,*" that is, the laws and statutes of England, stand, it might be supposed that We approved in general terms of laws and statutes contrary to, or derogatory of, Our faith and holy religion, of which, however, there is no need to make mention in the fifth article relating to the rebels, since the English feel disposed to reform it according to the letter of the treaty of Cambray; the term of fifteen days, with the addition, "*si commode fieri poterit,*" seems to Us reasonable enough.

With regard to the islands which the Royal commissioners wish to be comprised in the article of the common defence, if the kings of England have, as you say, possessed them from time immemorial, the Emperor has no objection to their being expressly named in the treaty. No difficulty, in Our opinion, either should be made to article the 8th.

We have fully warned you by Our preceding letters of the sort of inequality that exists between the contribution of each prince towards the defensive aid, and the damage which the countries under Our government would have to sustain, were the article to pass as it is worded. We, therefore, urgently request you to look closely to it, so that the article may be . . . . . . as equally just as possible for both parties, which will not be difficult if, as you write, the English commissioners admit that the terms are unequal, and ought to be equalized.

Respecting other articles which, you hope, will offer no difficulty at all, since the Royal commissioners seem inclined to accept them as they originally came back from Spain amended by the Emperor's ministers (though perhaps they will not grant the defence for more than four or five months at the most,* nor hold the Emperor excused from similar help,

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* "Saulfz que craindez quilz ne vouldront accorder laide deffensive que pour qualtre ou cinq [mois] au plus hault, ne aussi tenir sa ma^{te} pour excusee dicelle aide selle (si elle) estoit en guerre du coustel ditalye contre le roy de France ou le Turq."

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in case of his being at war [in Italy] with king Francis or the Turk), you must try and persuade the English to yield concerning the said points, and follow the instructions received from the Emperor.

As to the intercourse of trade between the two nations, We have already notified to you what Our intention is in various letters, to which We refer you in connexion with articles XV. and XVIII. of the treaty.

We are glad to hear that the English have abandoned all idea of Our contributing to the defence by sea, and that they no longer insist upon Our fitting out a number of war ships, for otherwise, certainly, these countries under Our government would have been unable to help at the same time by land and sea.

We shall end this letter by again recommending to you to exert all your powers, and do as usual the utmost of your duty for the conclusion of the treaty in conformity with His Imperial Majesty's views and instructions, all the time assuring the King of the affectionate desire which the Emperor and Ourselves feel for a closer alliance and perfect friendship with him, that We both may apply to him for help and advice in affairs of importance, and conduct the same by his direction and counsel, and, in fact, any other gracious expressions and words that you may think of suitable to the King's character and temper, which you seem to know so well.—London, 16 November 1542.

Signed; "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "Copy of the Queen's letter to the Ambassador in England." XVI. Nov., XV^c^XLII.

French. Original draft. pp. 5.

19 Nov. **79.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 131.

"Madame,"—After Mr. de Courrières' departure Your Majesty's letter of the 31st of October,* addressed to him and to me (Chapuys), came duly to hand; since the date of which Your Majesty must have heard as much from him verbally as from my preceding despatch of the 28th of October, all I could say for the present in answer to Your letters.

In pursuance of Your Majesty's commands, I shall do my best to recommence and carry on with these deputies the suspended negociations, if there should be any opportunity to do so before an answer arrives from Your Majesty to my last of the 18th.† That answer the deputies are very anxious for, and I need scarcely say, that considering the state of affairs, it should be as speedy as possible. In the meantime,

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* *See* above, No. 71, p. 151–2.

† No. 69.

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as there is no news of importance to communicate, and I do not feel quite well in consequence of a slight intermittent fever from which I am suffering, I shall put an end to this my despatch.—London, 19 November 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the queen dowager of Hungary, regent in the Low Countries."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

21 Nov. **80.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 133.

"Madame,"—I duly received yesterday Your Majesty's letter of the 16th inst.,* and this very morning I have sent one of my own men to the King to hear when he will be pleased that the conferences with his deputies be again resumed. Whenever these recommence, Your Majesty may be sure that my utmost efforts, however insignificant, shall be employed to put things in the channel and direction desired by the Emperor and Your Majesty, and I shall not fail to apprize You of whatever may happen worthy of notice. In the meantime, I humbly request Your Majesty to order that my own private affair be attended to.

It seems to me as if on the borders of Scotland there only remained now 6,000 men, of whom Milort Lyl (L'Isle), whose former name was Master Dodele (Dudley), is to be one of the chief commanders whilst the duke of Norfolk, who is shortly expected back here, is absent. *The Duke being too much of a Frenchman, I am afraid he will perhaps do us harm and spoil our game.*†—London, 21 November 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

22 Nov. **81.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 202.

"Sire,"—On the 2nd inst., whilst answering all Your Imperial Majesty's letters,‡ I took care to report all the news from this country, and likewise the ins and outs of the negociation for the treaty of closer friendship and alliance from the arrival of Mr. de Courrières in this country up to his departure,§ the substance and abridgment of which is contained in the enclosed note (*billiet*), which, at all hazards,

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* *See* above, No. 78, p. 177.

† "Il me semble quil ne demeure au quartier dEcosse sinon six milles hommez de guerre, dont Milort Lyl, que se disoit m^e (maistre) Dodele auparavant, sera lung des principaulx chefz, et sera icy en brefz le duc de Norforq, le quel est ung peu trop françois et crains quil ne nous brouille les affaires."

‡ *See* above, No. 73, p. 153.

§ Monsr. de Courrières must have left London on the 30th of October.

I now send instead of a duplicate of the original letter.* Since then there has been no occasion or need of my repairing again to Court, so that matters remain, as it were, in the same state, though I must say that on the two or three times that I have sent my man to Court, under various pretences, the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) has interrogated him as to whether I had received letters from the Queen Regent, all the time manifesting the greatest possible desire that the answer should be such as to enable the King to conclude the affair in hand. I must say, however, that not one of the other commissioners, nor of the privy councillors, did say on the occasion a word about it to my man.

Just at this moment the Queen's answer † comes to hand, purporting that she would very much like to execute "*au pied de la lettre*" Your Imperial Majesty's commands; but that considering the pressing and urgent state of Your affairs, both public and private, and the fear there is of these people being discontented or offended, and, if so, of their listening to French overtures, she is of opinion that if I (Chapuys) cannot persuade this king to wait for Your Imperial Majesty's answer to my despatch of the 2nd [of November], and if I see danger of a rupture, and consequently of discontent and indignation on the part of this king, I may at once proceed to the conclusion of the treaty according to the terms and conditions detailed and specified in the note *(billiet)*, of which a copy is inclosed, all the time trying to gain as much advantage as possible for Your Imperial Majesty. I need not say that in pursuance of the Queen Regent's orders and commands I will do my best in this affair, and shall not fail to inform Your Imperial Majesty as soon as possible of the result.—London, 22 December 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, the 22nd of November. Received at Tarracone (Tarragona) the 22nd of December 1542."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

7 Dec. **82.** The Same to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* C. 233,
f. 135.

"Madame,"—This King's privy councillors have sent me the enclosed,‡ which I beg leave to forward.—London, 7 December 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the queen dowager of Hungary."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

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* The original letter of the 2nd of November, here alluded to, is really in the Vienna Archives, as has been seen (No. 74, p. 159–75), but the note (*billiet*), said to have been appended, is not. Most probably the note referred to was only an abstract of the official letter.

† The letter of the 16th of November (No. 78, p. 177).

‡ Not in the packet.

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16 Dec. **83.** The EMPEROR to POPE PAUL.

S. E., L., B. M. *Add.* 28,593, 148.

"Beatissime pater,"—Your Holiness' letter, under the form of a breve, dated the 12th of November, We duly received from the hands of the Nuncio residing at this Our court. That breve refers to the evils and calamities by which Christendom is at present afflicted, as well as to those which are in store should the Turk invade Germany as reported. We are again advised to treat of a peace with king Francis, to which end, and the better to discuss the affair, Your Holiness suggests that a place be designated and a time fixed for a conference, and that before the prelates of Our kingdoms and dominions designated for the Council start for Trent. These were the proposals which the Nuncio made Us in Your Holiness' name. We Ourselves can but praise and applaud Your Holiness' constant desire for the peace and welfare of Christendom; but as it is well known to Your Holiness and to the whole World how frequently king Francis has broken his faith and violated the truce, how many sacrifices of Our rights We have consented to make in order to attain that peace, and of what arts and dissimulation he has made use in order to take Us unawares and by surprise, We consider it superfluous to take any step in the matter. There is no need for Us to recapitulate here the arguments We made use of in Our answer to Your Holiness' breve brought by the bishop of Viseu; We shall only add one, which is that We can see no reason for trusting to the man who does not keep his faith and oath, and never fulfils a promise, and, therefore, that the interview proposed by Your Holiness seems to Us useless for the purpose of peace. Should, however, Your Holiness, really think that, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, some good may be effected in that direction, We shall be pleased at Our next visit to Italy to meet Your Holiness' wishes in that respect. But Your Holiness must bear in mind that immediately after the receipt of the "breve," We left Aragon, and proceeded to Castille to hold the States of that kingdom; that We shall proceed by sea to Italy; and that as Our presence in Germany from various causes cannot possibly be delayed, We shall not stay long in Genoa. How can, under such circumstances, an interview be managed? That is what We cannot say at the present moment. At any rate, on Our landing at Genoa, We will inform Your Holiness of Our arrival.—Valencia, 16 December 1542.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 2.

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17 Dec. **84.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 138-40.

"Madame,"—Since my last of the 8th * inst. I have under various pretences sent twice to the Privy Council for the purpose of ascertaining whether the deputies and Royal com-

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* Chapuys' last despatch to the Queen (No. 82) is of the 7th.

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missioners had or had not to communicate any resolution from their master respecting our business. On the first occasion, which was the day after the date of my last despatch, the Royal commissioners sent me word that owing to the King having been latterly going from place to place for sport, without residing at any fixed spot, they had been unable to report thoroughly, much less get their master's final resolution, concerning the treaty; but that within three or four days at the latest I should hear from them the King's will and intention on the whole affair. In the very same words did Secretary Wristley (Wriothesley) answer one of my men whom I sent yesterday on a similar errand, adding under reserve that it was at present inopportune for the privy councillors to attend to our affairs, inasmuch as the French ambassador's secretary was then before the Privy Council soliciting some affair or other so earnestly that the Royal commissioners, who were also members of the King's Council, could positively have no rest. Were I allowed to state my opinion about this, I should not hesitate to say that what these English people are doing is merely to temporize and gain time, waiting to see how the Emperor's affairs in Germany will turn out, for I take it that it will be rather disagreeable for them to have, at the very onset of the game, to contribute with money towards the expenses of a war against the duke of Clèves or Holstein, when they may want all their resources for the undertaking against Scotland, which this king seems to have much at heart. This is the reason why I imagine it will be difficult, if not altogether impossible, to make this king carry on war and invade the French territory next spring. I am the more persuaded of that being the cause of the deputies' sudden change of opinion in that particular, that instead of insisting, as they formerly did, on the joint invasion of France taking place about the first of July, they now ask that no precise time be fixed for it, and that the operation, if carried out, be first submitted to the advice, will, and arbitration of the two *contracting parties.*

The Scotch, not contented with their first thrashing (*bastonnade*), have lately penetrated into England by another frontier pass, with intent to rob and waste the land. The Scotch numbered sixty-eight horsemen. On their return to Scotland, they were met in a narrow pass by forty Englishmen, who took away the spoil they were carrying off, and slew or took prisoners a portion of them. Unable to take their revenge otherwise, the Scotch killed near Dumfries Castle a herald of this king, named Sombreset (Somerset), who was returning from Scotland, whither he had been sent. This is likely to rekindle the fire. On the other hand the successes against the Scotch have considerably raised this king's spirits, who ever since his last wife's misdemeanour has been rather sad and dejected. There was no question after that of his

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banqueting or paying his court to ladies. Nowadays things have changed; he has given orders that the Princess is to go to Court for these next festivities, accompanied by a great number of ladies; he is having workmen day and night at Hampton-Court preparing the lodgings for the said ladies,* and it might be that in the midst of this carousing the King was tempted to marry again, though at present there is no rumour of that.—London, 17 December 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

21 Dec. **85.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 141–4.

"Madame,"—Yesterday I sent again to Secretary Vristley (Wriothesley)—the deputy who enjoys most credit with this King—to know when we could meet again, and learn this King's final resolution on pending affairs. The Secretary's answer to my man was rather cold; he had (he said) spoken to the King about it, and fancied that the affair would for some time lie dormant. The better to avoid entering into details, he referred my man to the bishop of Westminster (Thirlby), who was very much astonished that a man like Secretary Vristley, who had almost all the authority and management of affairs, besides enjoying the King's entire confidence, should refer to him in a case of such importance. *However that may be, the Bishop said to my man, in the most affectionate and regretful terms, that he was sadly disappointed and vexed at the slow progress of the affairs in hand, and exceedingly sorry not to see them advance quicker; he would (he said) give up the greater part of his private fortune to see the negociation terminate soon to the complete satisfaction of both the contracting parties; but (said he confidentially and under reserve) the French are troubling our affairs with their diabolical practices and their intrigues, in which arts they are no doubt more experienced and cleverer masters than either of the two princes—the Emperor and the King, my master—or any of their ministers. "And yet (added the Bishop) I do not doubt that one of these days there will be a good resolution of the whole affair. As to my part (he continued) I will do my best, though nowadays the Councillors' time is so much taken up with the affairs of Scotland that they have scarcely leisure to eat their meals."*

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* "Le quel depuys quil entendist le [maulvais] gouvernement de sa derniere femme sest monstre continuellement triste, et nestoit question de parler de banquet ne de dames, mais le tout est change maintenant, et a desja ordonne que la princesse ira ces festes [prochaines] en Court, accompagnee de grand nombre de damez, et faict le dit sieur labourer jour et nuyt à Amtoncourt pour parachever le logis de la dite dame (*sic*, des ditez damez), et pourroit estre, &c."

Had any other of the deputies but the Bishop spoken to my man in these terms, and sent me such a message concerning French practices and intrigues, I should have suspected that the whole was an invention for their own profit—the more so that the Secretary (Wriothesley) had said something about it to my man, and that since my last despatch I know it to be a fact that the French ambassador has gone to Court and seen the King. The message coming from the Bishop, who is a plain-spoken man, true, and without dissimulation, and, besides that, very well inclined to the Emperor's service, I attach faith to his words, and perfectly believe in what he said to my man. I have, moreover, no doubt that the King will listen to French overtures, especially if they promise him to deal with the abbeys and monasteries in France as he himself has dealt here, which, by the way, is the thing this King most desired at one time. Indeed, I recollect once having spoken to him on the matter, and his having declared to some of his privy councillors that should king Francis do that, he would thereby become so rich and powerful that he would no longer care for him, but would, on the contrary, wish to make war on him, and assist the Scotch with money.

The King had just determined to send to the Emperor one gentleman of his privy Chamber, for what purpose or mission I cannot say; but his Secretary Vristley (Wriothesley) sends me word that he has now desisted from the idea. Yesterday, about the hour of noon, twenty-four Scotchmen of the principal lords (*sieurs*) and gentlemen taken prisoners in the last encounter * were sent to the Tower. After duly promising on oath, before the Privy Council assembled, not to absent themseves from this city without previous leave from the King, they will be released and quartered in the houses of lords and gentlemen of this City respectively, each according to his rank.

The Princess has this very day come to Court, triumphantly attended and accompanied on her passage through this city.—London, 21 December 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly in cipher. pp. 3.

22 Dec. **86.** The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—In answer to your letter of the 8th inst., after collating the article of the defence, couched as that King's privy councillors have lately shown to you, with that which you sent Us enclosed in your letter of the 2nd of November,† We find an important alteration, which makes it still less acceptable than it was at first, since there is nothing in it to do away with the difficulty experienced at first with regard to the mention therein made of the ecclesiastical state.

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* That of Solway Moss, in November 1542.

† The 3rd, *see* p. 172.

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Yet, as the King seems to like it better than the other, We are of opinion that you should pass it, and satisfy the King in that respect.

With regard to the express mention of the dukes of Clèves and Holstein in the article of the rebels, which the English refuse making in any way, if you perceive that they will be satisfied with their being held after the conclusion of the treaty as enemies under the general clause, the express mention of their persons and titles might be omitted. Yet care should be taken that they (the English) do not except the two dukes from the rebels to the Emperor, Our brother, by reason of his Imperial dignity, and afterwards by cause of the said exception attempt to comprise them under the general clause of the common enemies. That would be directly contrary to His Imperial Majesty's intention, who thinks that after the conclusion of the treaty the king of England ought and must consider them really and truly as his enemies, not only on account of the just grounds of complaint the Emperor has against them, but likewise for the invasions which they themselves have caused of his Imperial dominions. It seems to Us as if the Emperor's insistance that the two dukes should be expressly named in the treaty as enemies had its principal origin and ground in the attempt, which the King's deputies once made not to preclude free residence in England to the inhabitants of those duchies, who might have rebelled against the Empire. We, therefore, request you so to conclude the treaty that though the two dukes may not be named in it as enemies, they may yet, after its final conclusion, be effectually considered and reputed as such, without their being admitted, sheltered, or in anywise favoured in England in virtue of the general clause about the rebels. As We wrote in Our preceding letter, you should dally and temporize with the English until you got an answer from the Emperor to your letter, unless you yourself were much pressed, and thought that any further delay might make Us lose this favorable opportunity of bringing the treaty to a conclusion; especially since the season was advancing, and the time approaching when a final resolution must be taken one way or the other as to the manner of conducting the war this next spring. So We thought then; We are now obliged to change Our opinion, and request you to try and use your discretion so as to ascertain what the king of England's intentions may be respecting these matters before king Francis makes a fresh invasion in the countries under Our government, which he threatens to do this next spring on all sides of Our frontiers, as that king's declaration might undoubtedly make some change in the plans of the French.

With regard to the complaints of that King's privy councillors of the bailli and customs' officers of Flissinge (Flushing) having, as they say, seized an English vessel laden with various merchandize, on the plea that she was not bound

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for England, but for France, as they say they can prove, and that the cargo belongs really to French merchants, though under English names, that is an infraction of the naval ordinances of this country, which, without a judicial inquiry made on the spot, cannot be decided one way or the other. We have, therefore, sent orders to Flissinge to have the said inquiry instituted in as short time as possible, so that, without any injury to English subjects, and safeguarding the persons of the bailli and customs' officers if they have only done their duty and complied with the naval ordinances, proper reparation be made. Since the parties are already before the judges, We have no more to say on the subject.

You have written to Us about the good fortune of the English against the Scotch; We shall be glad to hear more particulars of that war whenever they come to your knowledge.—Brussels, 22 December 1542.

Indorsed: "To the ambassador in England (xxii^{e} de Decembre XV^{C}XLII) of the 22nd of December 1542."

French. Original minute. pp. 4.

23 Dec. **87.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 145.

"Madame,"—Having this very morning sent to the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) to know whether the King had or had not, taken a final resolution in the affair of the treaty, he (the Bishop) sent me word by my man that I ought not to take the delay in bad part, or impute it to anything else than to his many engagements and the important business the Council has had to attend to ever since the defeat of the Scotch. He, himself, would do everything in his power for a speedy conclusion of the treaty, though he feared that could not be done as soon as he (the Bishop) wished, owing to the news that had lately come from Scotland. It appears that the King of that country (James), soon after he heard of the defeat of his people, had, out of regret, sorrow and rage, fallen ill and died in a few days; that both his widow * and his daughter were so ill that their lives were despaired of by the Court physicians; that the Scotch earl of Douglas,† who for many years past had been exiled, and lived here on a pension from this king, had already entered Scotland and retaken possession of all his property. All which events (added the Bishop) were of such importance that the King, his master, and all the privy councillors were so much engaged that they could not for the present attend to any other State business.‡ The Bishop ended by assuring me that the news he had imparted was positively true, and that I might write so to the Emperor without fear of contradiction.

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* Mary of Guise and her daughter, Mary Stuart.

† Archibald Angus, earl of Douglas.

‡ "Pour les quelles occurrencez tant importantez le dit sieur roy son m^{e} (maistre), et aussi tres tous eulx estoient si tres tant enbesongnez, quil nestoit possible de plus."

The Bishop said nothing to my man concerning French intrigues, nor did he mention the fact of their ambassador going to Court to-day.[*]

No other news to record, except that the other day the King received the Princess in the kindest possible manner, and spoke to her in the most gracious and amiable words that a father could address to his daughter.

The Scotch prisoners, as I said in my last, have been individually billeted on the lords and gentlemen residing in this city.—London, 23 December 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

26 Dec. **88.** THE POPE to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 871, ff. 3-6. B.M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 150.

As soon as he heard of the Emperor's arrival in Spain on the return from his African expedition, he (the Pope) wrote to congratulate him. He now sends John de Montepulciano,[†] his chamberlain, with the same object, and to treat of other affairs.—Rome, at St. Peter's, 26 Dec. 1542, the eighth of Our pontificate.

P.S.—Your Majesty, by Your singular wisdom, will clearly understand to what extremity Christendom—weakened, and continually assailed by its powerful enemies, temporal as well as spiritual—has been reduced, to which evils I see at present no other remedy but Your Majesty's health and preservation [from the evils of war] that a peace may be concluded. The more difficult to attain, the more acceptable and pleasing will it be to God, the more desired by Us, and the more praiseworthy Your work in bringing the same about.[‡]

Latin. Original. p. 1.

28 Dec. **89.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 147-50.

"Madame,"—On the 23rd inst., as I wrote to Your Majesty, the French ambassador left this city to go to Court.[§] He passed the night one mile from Antoncourt (Hampton-Court), and arrived there next day in the morning. Then, without seeing the King, he communicated with the privy councillors, and returned to London the same evening rather late. I have been told that the ambassador's reception by the coun-

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[*] "Il na riens touche des practiques de France, ne aussi declaire comme lambassadeur du dit France alloit aujourdhuy en court."

[†] Giovanni Riccio da Montepulciano, Papal Nuncio to Spain in 1541. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 242–3, 428, &c.

[‡] The whole of this postscript, in Italian, is in Pope Paul's hand.

[§] *See* above, No. 85, p. 187.

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cillors on his arrival and at his departure was rather cold and meagre, though, as these people are so bent upon dissimulation, it might be, after all, that the report has been circulated for some mysterious, purpose; perhaps, too, not to afford me cause for jealousy or suspicion. Among the other charges of the French ambassador, one was, as I am told, to show this King a letter from the King, his master, dated Cugniat (Cognac), the 13th inst., relating that the Imperialists had disguised the events of the last campaign at their pleasure; he (king Francis) was about to tell him the whole truth, that he might, if he had an opportunity, inform the King and his ministers of it. To begin with Perpignan (the letter said), his army on that frontier had always been victorious and remained masters of the field; it had taken almost all the places in the Roussillon. The garrison of Perpignan had never made a sortie without being shamefully beaten back with great loss. He (the King) had caused certain towns and castles in that county * to be strongly fortified, to the great annoyance and disadvantage of the enemy. On the side of Piedmont, his army had not only kept whatever they had before, but had gained innumerable other places. On the side of Picardy, it was a notorious fact that his troops had triumphantly overrun that province, almost without opposition. In Luxemburgh the enemy held only Thionville, whilst he himself was master of Ivoix, Satteney, and another town.† As to Gueldres, the duke of Clèves had 30,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry under him; and as to himself, he could prove that he was much better provided for the next campaign than he had been for the last, both as to men and provisions, without counting money, for of that he had now in his chests one million and a half francs more than at the beginning of the war.

All this has been related to me by a person to whom the French ambassador showed the letter in question, or, at least, that portion of it containing the above information, purposely destined for the King's ears, which information leads me to suspect that such a preface or introduction to a letter cannot but involve and hide some secret and mysterious intrigue of the French against which we must guard. I am the more persuaded, nay, convinced, of it that the French ambassador went again to Court yesterday, whither I myself sent a third person to watch his movements and report to me. Indeed, there is every reason to suspect that at this present moment the French and the English are negociating together, that being the reason why the latter, though they may not be in a hurry to conclude the treaty of friendship and alliance with us, will, nevertheless, keep the negociation alive for fear king Francis should prevent their King from obtaining the crown

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* The Roussillon was formerly a county belonging to the counts of Barcelona, kings of Aragon.

† "Et luy y en avoit trois, Ivoix, Satteney et une aultre."

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of Scotland, to which he aspires, and of which they say he has as good a chance as ever, according to the advice and counsel of the Scotch prisoners now in this city, whom he summoned to his presence on the 25th inst., receiving them most cordially and affectionately. On the very same day the ambassador of the duke of Clèves was also summoned to the Royal presence; he had been there, to Court, two or three times before within the last month, though it must be said that for more than one year before he had not seen the King, from all which I gather that some intrigue must be going on.

Your Majesty will be pleased to consider and weigh together the above facts, the truth of which I can warrant, and others of the same sort, which have also come to my knowledge through confidential friends at this Court, in order to decide what is to be done on the whole, taking it for granted that there is no likelihood for the present of these people proceeding to the conclusion of the treaty of closer alliance under the form and in the express words that the Emperor wants it, unless they know first what France will say to it; besides which, if the late events in Scotland be taken into consideration, there can be no doubt that they will stipulate for fresh and different conditions.

I forgot to say that in addition to the deceased king of the Scots leaving no son nor daughter * to succeed to his crown, there is no one left of his blood except a first cousin of his,† who is incapable of succeeding to the throne, inasmuch as he is half-witted (*a demy folz et insensé*). That is why it is strongly suspected that there will be soon divisions and parties among the Scotch nobility, which will, in time, help the pretensions of this king to the throne of that country.—London, 28 December 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

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1 Jan. **90.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—*Some time ago I begged the Princess to let me know if she heard anything at Court of the designs and practices of the French. She has sent me word that, from all she hears, they will not be able to improve their own case except, perhaps, by preventing us from gaining our object. Their ambassador ‡ will shortly leave for France, and, it is believed, will be replaced by the sieur de Morvillier,§ the same who went last year to Scotland.*

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* Chapuys forgets Mary, born on the 8th of December, and who succeeded under the tutorship of her mother. He probably thought that both she and her mother were dead. *See* p. 189, No. 87.

† Stuart, earl of Arran.

‡ Still Charles de Marillac.

§ Jean de Morvillier or Morveilliers, Francis' ambassador to Scotland, whose arrival in London is mentioned by Chapuys. *See* the preceding volume of this Calendar, pp. 412–3, 435, 471.

Four days ago the King granted to all the Scotch prisoners permission to return home, giving to each, and every one of them, gold chains according to their respective nobility and rank, besides good sums of money, and their own horses back again. True, all have promised on their faith and honor to return before Easter; some have even offered, as reported, to deliver hostages before they cross the Borders. However that may be, certain it is that all have been very well treated everywhere, and that on the two occasions when they went to Court they were quite free, bearing arms, and doing just as they pleased. Indeed, I hear that they were allowed to talk privately to the French ambassador, and it is generally believed that on their return to Scotland they will do good service to this king, for which they will have now an excellent opportunity, if it be true, as rumour goes, that king James' daughter, born much before the time, is still alive, as some people maintain. If so, under the pretence of having her married to the Prince (Edward), they (the Scotch) might easily put the kingdom in this king's hands, especially if the English succeed in bribing or gaining over to their party one of the four governors and tutors whom king James himself appointed for his daughter. Even if there is no bribery, it is thought that out of envy or jealousy some dissension or other will spring up among them, and that the minority will look for assistance from this country.*—London, 1 January 1542 (old style).

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered.† *pp.* 2.

3 Jan. **91.** Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 1317, f. 184.
B. M. *Add.* 28,393, f. 153.

Your Majesty's letters of the 8th and 30th of October and 4th November came duly to hand. I immediately communicated to the Signory that part of their contents which seemed to me most important. These Venetians continue to be well disposed towards Your Majesty, and seem inclined to cultivate Your friendship, which, by the way, as *I have written more than once, they cannot help doing under the circumstances.*

As to putting straight (enderesçar) *the truce with the Turk, these people say that Marino de San Magno* (sic) *writes that no*

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* "Lon croit quilz feront en leur pais quelque bon office pour le dit sieur roy, et en auront meillieur[e] commodite, si ainsi est que la fille, quest nee beaucoupt avant son legitime terme, vive encoirez, comme veuillent dire aucungs; car soubz le pretexte de la marier au prince dicy, ylz pourroient mettre ycelluy reaulme aux mains du dit sieur roy, mesme avec la pratique et subornement de quelqung dez quatre gouverneurs que lon dict le roy du dict Escosse avoir laisse à icelle fille, voire oirez quil ny ait (*sic*, aie) du subornement lon pense que pour envye ou jalousie y aura dissension entre les dicts gouverneurs et que une partie cherchera assistance de ce coustel."

† The letter, though entirely ciphered, is only a fragment of another of the 1st of January, which is not in the Imperial Archives at Vienna.

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answer has yet come from the Grand Turk or from Janus Vey.[*] *What the cause of that may be is not easy to say; he (Janus) may be ill and unable to write, or else the Grand Turk, finding that his affairs in Hungary are going on prosperously, has become more insolent than ever; besides which, Janus may think that it is not the fit moment to make overtures of this kind. My own impression is, that this last is the real motive of Janus' silence.*

As soon as we reach Trent I am thinking of personally taking the negociation in hand, by means of a friar, brother of Solyman Bashaw,[†] *the man now most in favor with the Grand Turk, and who has, as it were, the government of the country in his hands. The friar has promised to go to Constantinople and there serve Your Majesty, and I have engaged that should he do service he will be made bishop. I consider him a worthy man, though rather vain, and, therefore, will take my precautions when I open my plans to him.*

Some time ago I wrote to Your Majesty that the government of Turkey was almost entirely in the hands of slaves, who are naturally divided into factions, and that every one of them works for his own profit, though it may be to his master's injury, that being the reason why they all are venal, and can be easily corrupted. It would, therefore, be expedient, should Your Majesty agree to it, that whoever at Constantinople or elsewhere in Turkey should stir in our favor, and bring to a conclusion this affair of ours, should have a large sum of money promised to him, as much as, say, forty or sixty thousand ducats. But we must, above all, prevent the French, the Venetians, or even the Pope himself becoming aware of this, otherwise all three will join together to prevent the whole thing, and each will individually do all *he can to defeat our plans. Your Majesty will decide as to the expediency of what I propose, and communicate Your orders to me. I have already consulted Mgr. de Granvelle on the affair, and his answer to me I have enclosed to Marino de San Magno.*

With regard to the persons whom Your Majesty destines for Constantinople, I must say that on the 10th of November the brother-in-law of Morataga (Murad-Aga) had already left for that city, and since then, on the 10th of December, Donato de Salvi departed. From Trent I intend sending this friar, and, on his return to Venice, the captain (capitan-piloto) *will take his place. All three, especially the brother-in-law of Murad and Donato, are worthy and trusty men, and the pilot is Barbarroja's best friend. With the friar I shall become acquainted when I go to Trent.*

Another secret agent has been sent to Salonica and Lepanto; two more will go to La Velona and La Prevera, so that every thing required will be provided for.

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[*] Janus bey.

[†] The friar of Hungary (George).

I humbly kiss Your Majesty's hands for the favor of ordering my salary to be paid, for I was greatly in need of it.

Of the 25 men under my command I will make use according to circumstances and events, dismissing some of them if necessary, for in such times as these they may all be wanted or only part of them. As money now seems to be rather scarce in Milan, I shall probably have some difficulty in cashing the 800 crowns which Your Majesty granted me lately by way of help (*ayada de costa*). I have added them to the 5000 *which according to Your Majesty's orders are to be spent in this secret negociation, and have accordingly drawn upon the treasury of that duchy a bill for* 6,000, *the interest of the* 800 *being to my account, and that on the* 5000 *to Your Majesty's—the bill to be paid at the fair of Villalon, and the discount to be* 2%. *I humbly beseech Your Majesty to order that the bill be honored and paid, as otherwise we should lose our credit, and it would bring personal discredit upon me.*

I have already written to Your Majesty that whenever the Pope hears or suspects that You are coming to Italy or increasing Your army, he immediately falls in with the Venetians, and gets into closer and more intimate relations with them. I have always observed it, and that is what he is doing now. True is it that the Venetians do not trust him, because they know for certain that whenever it suits his convenience he is sure to leave them in the lurch. That is why they are exceedingly cautious in their political relations with him, nowadays more than ever. That is the plain truth, and Your Majesty may believe me when I say that the Pope will never cease trying to gain them over to his views, whatever considerations they may have for Your Majesty.[*]

The enclosed summary of news from the Levant will inform Your Majesty of the prospect of affairs in those parts. I say the same of the letter of advice from Cataro, which I also enclose.

I have also certain intelligence of the 19th of November last, from a person in Polino's[†] suite, reporting that Francis' ambassador was then making frequent visits to the Turkish Arsenal, soliciting the fitting out of the [Turkish] galleys, 28 of which, newly built, had already been taken out of dock; that the number of those to be armed will exceed 80, and that no less than 30 privateer vessels, in excellent condition and well manned, will join the Sultan's fleet.

They are, it is true, greatly in want of crews, and especially of commanders and officers, owing to the loss which they sustained when their 25 galleys went down with all hands on board.

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[*] "Y crea V. M. que el Papa no dexa ni dexará de requerirlos por respectos que tengan."

[†] Elsewhere Polin, Poulain and Paulin, which last was his real name. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 406, 464.

That there can be no doubt of the Grand Turk coming down upon Hungary in person next spring. So, at least, the Sultan himself, told Polino (Paulin), and if so, his fleet will not pass from cape Maleo. It is not yet known whether Barbarrosa will go with the fleet or not.

That if the Turk arms by land, the fleet is not to go to Tolon (Toulon); on the contrary, it will make sail for the coast of Barbary, specially towards Tripoli, of which there has been a talk lately.

That the ambassador of the dowager queen of Hungary (Mary) has taken lodgings in the same house which Polino inhabits [at Constantinople(?)], and that the latter is not well treated or liked.

Should any ciphered letter or despatches of this Polino fall into the hands of Your Majesty's ministers there [*in Spain*] *or anywhere else, let it be known that I have by me the means of deciphering them. I say the same concerning those of Langes* (*Langeais*) *to the ministers of king Francis in Italy. I have written to the marquis* [*de Aguilar*] *telling him so.*

In pursuance of Your Majesty's commands, and also that I might converse a while with Mgr. de Grandvelle, (*sic*) I came here to Mantua, will accompany him to Trent, and execute whatever orders come to me.

Bernardo Cappella was sentenced because it was found that he corresponded with the French, and not with Your Majesty. There is, therefore, no need for the present of making him a grant [in money]. *Of our friends not one has suffered,*[*] as I wrote some days ago to the marquis de Agúilar. —Mantua, 3 January 1543.

The Signory at my departure sent me all manner of complimentary addresses and commendations, besides good assurances of their friendship, good-will, and desire to please Your Majesty, especially in all matters relating to the personal security of Mr. de Grandvelle. They have promised to treat and honor him as a qualified minister of Your Majesty.[†] These precautions I have deemed it necessary to take for the sake of our reputation and credit with the French [here], as well as to be prepared against any movements (*andamientos*) on the part of La Mirandola, which are much more dangerous than our friends seem to think, since La Mirandola is a fortified place, and the dealings of its owner are rather secret and mysterious.

Signed: "Diego Hurtado de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To the S.C.C.M. (Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty) of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

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[*] "Y por esto no hay porque hacer [le] la merced por agora, y de nuestro amigos no ha peligrado ninguno."

[†] "La Señoria en mi venida ordeno todos los cumplimientos que se denian al servicio de S. M. y á la buena amistad, asi en lo que toca á la seguridad de Mr. de Grandvele como á honrallo como calificado ministro de V. M."

1543.

Jan. **92.** The Bishop of Aquila* to the Marquis de Aguilar.

S. E., L. 869, f. 20.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 171.

After kissing His Holiness' feet, wishing him a happy new year (*bona pasqua*), and conversing with him for a while on private affairs, I was asked whether I had received any letters from Mr. de Granvelle. Upon my answering him that I had none, His Holiness replied, "How is that? He being such a friend of yours, I wonder at his not having written to you." "The reason is, Holy Father (I replied), that most likely Mr. de Granvelle did not know that I was in Rome." Then His Holiness rose from his seat and began to pace the room up and down, all the time saying: "As We believe you to be an experienced man in political affairs, and principally in those of Germany, what do you think of Mr. de Granvelle's journey to Nürenberg, which, if I am not mistaken, will prove a hard and troublesome piece of work for him, one from which he will not easily extricate himself? The affection which We have always borne and bear him still, on account of his singular virtues, moves me to pity when I consider that he (Granvelle) will have to deal at the Diet with princes and people who have never shown much respect towards the Holy See." I agreed with His Holiness as to his opinion of Mr. de Granvelle's future work, adding that during my late residence in Germany I had plenty of opportunities for knowing how attached he (Mons. de Granvelle) was to his personal service and that of the Holy Apostolic See, and that had his ministers and legates trusted in him, as they ought to have done, perhaps we should not find ourselves now in the situation in which we are, as in Ratisbone (Regensburg), with the authority of Cardinal Contareni, an honorable agreement might have been entered into.

His Holiness went on to say that the above was really the general opinion, and that many had written to Rome expressing the same conviction. Yet other parties had written the reverse of that, asserting that the German Catholics unanimously (*uno consensu*) maintained that Mr. de Granvelle had rather favored the dissident party, and leaned to the side of His Imperial Majesty. "That is why (added His Holiness) I hold Mr. de Granvelle's undertaking to be a very difficult one, since such is the impression of the German Catholics. Indeed, both at Ratisbon (Regensburg) and at Worms the Emperor's ministers showed more favor to the dissidents (*Separatistas*) than to the Catholics, especially to the Landgraf and to the secretary of Saxony, to Melancton, Bucer, and others of the same stamp."†

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* Berardus Sanctius (Bernardo Sanchez?) according to Gams' *Series Episcoporum totius Orbis Cristiani. See also* Vol. VI., Part I., of this Calendar (p. 165).

† "Et maximamente allo Angravio? et alli secretari di Saxonia, et Melanthona, et Bucero, et altri simili."

Hearing this I replied: "Holy Father, if Your Holiness grants me permission, I will speak freely and say what passed there at the Diet, since I myself was present (*in his omnibus interfui et prefui*)". His Holiness having told me to speak freely, I continued: "Holy Father, the report of the Diet made to Your Holiness and to the Sacred College of Cardinals was undoubtedly the work of one who does not wish for Your Holiness' repose, the welfare of the Apostolic See, or the union of Germany. I am sure that neither the Most Reverend Cardinal Contarini, nor the Most Revd. Master of the Sacred Palace, could have been the author of such a report, inasmuch as both at Worms, as well as at Ratisbon, all that was said and done, either by His Imperial Majesty himself or by Mr. de Granvelle, was intended for Your Holiness' service and the benefit of the Apostolic See; and that no act, public or private, was passed therein without being first communicated to the Most Reverend Cardinal Contarini, and obtaining first his consent and that of the Master of the Sacred Palace; and lastly that the demonstrations said to have been made by Mr. de Granvelle to the Margraf (Angravio) and other dissidents were all made with great skill (*gran arte*), after most mature deliberation, previous to the advice of the Most Revd. Cardinal Contarini. That was done merely for the purpose of not leaving one single means untried of softening (*mollificare*) the obstinate rebellion of the Separatists. By these and other means matters had then come to such a pitch that Contarini himself told me more than once that he hoped, with the favor of God, not to leave Germany and return to Rome without a satisfactory agreement of some sort being arrived at. Had not the calumnious reports made to him been listened to at Rome, much good might then have been done. Those were the causes of that cardinal becoming troubled and restless; assailed by unfounded fears, he never after could do what was prudent and wise under the circumstances, so much so, that the reports I allude to became, after all, the cause of his death.* And I can deliberately tell Your Holiness, that unless other and different counsels are taken in German politics, whatever has hitherto been gained in matters appertaining to religion and government in Germany may be considered as lost. The last act of the tragedy (said I) will be played at the next diet of Nüremberg,† and unless Your Holiness' councillors change their opinion, and cause the Sacred College of Cardinals to amend their decisions in that respect, and work for the good of Christendom at large, instead of the particular and interested views of king Francis

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* He died at Bologna in October 1542.

† "Quod actum est de religione et de universa Germania, addeso (*sic*) che in questa dieta di Norimberga celebrabitur ultimum actum hujus tragedie."

—who, out of hatred for the Emperor, will never allow Germany to be quiet and at peace—the worst must be apprehended. Your Holiness knows full well what the plans of the French are, and, as they have the majority in the Cardinals' College, what the result of it all will be."*

Then His Holiness said: "Well and good; but what remedy would, in your opinion, be the best? Speak out frankly." "I am afraid, Holy Father, that there is only one, and that one is entirely in Your Holiness' hands. It is, however, extremely easy; the same which I have suggested to Your Holiness sometimes in writing from Germany, at others verbally—since my arrival in Rome—through Cardinals Farnese and others, namely, that Your Holiness make up your mind not to listen any longer to those who in past years did counsel so badly, chiefly on German affairs. In those Your Holiness ought to follow exclusively the Emperor's advice and trust in him entirely. And let Your Holiness believe me when I say that what His Imperial Majesty has already done, and what he is now thinking of doing in that country by the intermediary of Mr. de Granvelle, is entirely due to his (the Emperor's) innate kindness and virtues, and his zeal for the Christian religion exclusively, not from motives of private interest. Let Your Holiness trust in the Emperor, and place this undertaking and good cause into his hands, as the son and advocate of the Apostolic See that he is, and you will reap soon the fruit of your confidence; or else write to Mr. de Granvelle a letter telling him your mind and will, as well as the trust you place in him. Should Your Holiness help him and his acts with opportune means and ways, I would stake one thousand heads, if I had them, that Mr. de Granvelle will not depart from Nürenberg without finding out such a form of allaying the present dissensions as will please Your Holiness and ensure the increase of your authority and that of the Apostolic See. Matters thus mended, the Turk number two (Francis?), perceiving that Your Holiness trusts in His Imperial Majesty, will look out for new forms of peace among the Christian princes, so as to unite them against that great tyrant the Turk [at Constantinople],† and Your Holiness will then enjoy a quieter and much longer pontificate than any of your predecessors ever did."

Hearing this His Holiness gave me his hand to kiss,‡ and praised the advice I had just given him, promising to keep it in his memory, and write to Mr. de Granvelle accordingly.

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* "Et quod consilia solum sanctitatis suæ possunt esse salutaria, et si ripertara (*sic*) quelli del Colegio et qua pacta sint Gallorum che sunt quasi omnes, vel longe maior' pars, et semper impediunt unionem Germaniæ."

† "Et his compositis [Il] secondo Turco vedendo la confidentia di V. S^{ta} [cum?] sua C. M^{ta} trovara nove forme alla pace tra principi per unirli con la . . . contra tam gran tyranno."

‡ "His auditis sua S^{ta} mi bascio, et laudavit consilia mea, e dixit voler le mittere in sententia, et scrivere et mandar ad M^{or} de Granvela."

Signed : " B. Episcopus Aquilensis."

Indorsed : " A discourse sent by the bishop of Aguila (*sic*) to the marquis de Aguilar."

Italian mixed with Latin. Holograph. pp. 5.*

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14 Jan.
S. E., L. 871,
ff. 84–5.

93. The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR [D. JUAN MANRIQUE] to the EMPEROR.

On the 9th, and afterwards on the 13th inst., I wrote to Your Majesty the news of this place. Enclosed in the last of those despatches was the duplicate of those of the 3rd and 12th of November,† owing to the news received here, at Rome, that the caravel on board of which the Imperial messenger was had been captured at sea, and my letters sent to king Francis. I wonder why the person to whom I entrusted the packet of letters did not cast it into the sea!!

On the 22nd Chantonnay‡ arrived, sent by Mr. de Granvelle, and brought me Your Majesty's letters of the 8th of October (a duplicate of the one previously received), besides another of the 30th, and two more of the 4th and 19th of November.§ Chantonnay's mission is to kiss His Holiness' feet, and excuse Mr. de Granvelle, if the pressure of affairs prevents him from doing so himself, at the same time assuring him of his constant veneration and respect for His Holiness' person, as well as of his desire of being useful to the Holy Apostolic See. This was done by Chantonnay on the 24th, His Holiness giving him a gracious answer, and saying that he should have had much pleasure in seeing Mr. de Granvelle in Rome. He asked many questions, to which he (Chantonnay) returned fit answers *according to his instructions.* His Holiness then asked me [Aguilar] what news I had of Your Majesty, and of Mr. de Granvelle's coming to Rome. I told him that respecting political affairs I knew nothing at all, save what his Nuncio had written to him. His Holiness replied that he had letters from his Nuncio reporting that Your Majesty had fully approved of his motives for not declaring openly against the king of France. Then, without saying a word more concerning other parts of Your Majesty's conversation with the Nuncio, and the latter's offer to recommend the assistance against the Turk, His Holiness suddenly changed the conversation, and entered on the topic of Cardinal Viseu,* whom he blamed for having remained too long in the Peninsula after Your Majesty had given him permission to leave, and more still for his having returned, contrary to his orders, to the place where You held Your court, adding that Sadoletto, who had gone to France as legate, had already taken leave and returned to his bishopric, after writing home concerning the good treatment he had experienced at the hands of king Francis, whom he had found admirably well disposed to treat of peace. He (the Pope) added, that he had received an answer to his breve respecting the interview and conference (*abocamiento y colloquio*), but that there was no appearance at all of king Francis accepting it. The Admiral of France [Brion-Chabot] had, on account of bad health, left Court for his own estate in the country, and there was some suspicion of the High Constable (Anne de Montmorency) being restored to his office, and placed again at the head of affairs in France. The administration of the country was in the hands of Tornon (Cardinal Tournon), except some part of it that was in those of Cardinal Ferrara (Hippolito d'Este).

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* This letter, or *Discorso primo* as it is called on the dorse, has no date, but must have been written in the 1st week of January, for the Imperial ambassador, as will be seen, mentions it in his letter of the 5th.

† Neither of these despatches of the Marquis is at Simancas.

‡ Second son of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, the Emperor's Privy Seal.

§ Not one of the letters here mentioned is at Simancas.

Then, without giving me time to make any remarks on the above, the Pope turned towards Chantonnay, and asked him point blank whether his father (Mr. de Granvelle) would or would not go to Mantua, and how many days he purposed staying there, and what he himself knew about Your Majesty's journey to these parts. *To all these questions Chantonnay replied as he had been ordered, namely, that he had come to Rome for the express purpose of kissing His Holiness' feet, and excusing his father (Granvelle); that his mission did not extend beyond that, and that he knew nothing about political affairs.*

Then the Pope asked me (Aguilar) who the duke of Albuquerque † was, and what could be his business at Rome. I told him of the Duke's family and person, and what Your Majesty had written to me about him. After which, as it was Christmas Eve, and the cardinals were already in Chapel, the Pope left the room.

Some time after this first audience I heard that His Holiness had complained of his not knowing what Mr. de Granvelle is coming to Rome for, nor what is to be his business here, nor what are Your Majesty's intentions. He also complained of Mr. de Granvelle ‡ not writing to him. No doubt His Holiness' curiosity has been much increased in consequence of the mental speculations of these Italian politicians, who, fond as they are of discoursing and talking about events past or present, have already construed the

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* Miguel de Silva, a Portuguese, who had been made cardinal in 1542. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 427, 545–6, 551, and above, pp. 141–2.

† D. Beltran de la Cueva, II. duke of Albuquerque.

‡ "Quexandose tambien del Mossiur porque no le escribia."

1543.

Duke's journey to these parts, hitherto kept so secret, into some mysterious plan or other, they having in some measure aroused His Holiness' jealousy by affirming that when the Duke was [in Genoa] ready to embark [for Spain], Your Majesty had secretly sent for him in a great hurry, and retained him for two days in Your own private chamber without letting anyone see him, and that both the message sent by Your Majesty to the Papal Nuncio, and the letter to me in the Duke's favor, were only artificial excuses to cover the whole intrigue. It was no use my exhibiting before the Pope Your Majesty's original letter to me on the subject; these politicians still persist in their ideas, and the Pope's suspicions respecting the Duke will not be allayed until he finds out his own mistake.

The bishop of Aquila having next day called on the Pope to offer him New Year's congratulations (dar las Pascuas) *in Madame's name, had with him a conversation, the report of which Your Majesty will see by the enclosed letter in his own hand.**

Considering it fit, and even necessary, to throw some light on the above points, as well as on the Nuncio's report of his conversation with Your Majesty's privy councillors, respecting the help and assistance against the Turk, and what You Yourself thought of doing in the matter, I went up to His Holiness on Friday the 29th of December, and in order to show him what Your Majesty's councillors had deliberated and resolved on the subject, I caused a careful abstract of Your Majesty's letter to me on the subject to be made, and took it to him, saying: "Holy Father, the other day I had no opportunity to read to Your Holiness a paragraph of the Emperor's letter to me concerning Mr. de Granvelle's journey to these parts. As I had heard from Spain that Your Holiness' Nuncio had written home, I thought no more of it; but now that I know that Your Holiness has not heard, here is the deciphering of the paragraph relating to Mr. de Granvelle, in order that Your Holiness may peruse it at leisure." To these words of mine His Holiness, somewhat displeased, answered as follows: "My Nuncio tells me nothing about that; he only writes that the Emperor accepted the justification and excuses made in my name. I shall, therefore, be glad to hear what he writes to you on the subject." Upon which I read to him clearly and distinctly the paragraph of Your Majesty's letter to me, *omitting, however, that part of it alluding to Your Majesty's complaints of his (the Pope's) want of consideration and respect for Your Imperial person. His Holiness, however, made no special remark respecting the contents of the letter, save saying that persuaded, as he was, and is, that the only remedy for Christendom's present evils, and bringing about the firm establishment of peace, consists exclusively in inter-*

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* *See* above, No. 92, p. 197.

views and conferences, he persists in his idea of bringing them about. He had already signed and sent away the "breves" to that effect. As soon as an answer came to those "breves," he would (since God had placed him on St. Peter's chair, and given him sufficient strength to handle the spiritual weapons) act according to justice and the evangelical precepts, and be a judge and arbitrator in the contest. In the meantime he would remain neutral as long as he found it convenient and necessary. Nothing (he said) should be asked of him contrary to the above declaration, for certainly he would not yield to entreaties or prayers, save, perhaps, those that had relation to the Turk, against whom he is ready to help with all his power, as well as in other things, &c.

So said the Pope, speaking with great warmth, after which he again mentioned the help against the Turk, though he reminded me of what he himself said to me last summer, namely, that his offer had been to contribute in the same manner, and with the same amount of money, as in the time of the Venetian League, and that as the Signory had now swerved from it, and made a separate and particular peace with the Turk, he (the Pope) ought not to be taxed so high, since the league was now only of two, not of three, powers. My answer was: "Holy Father, Your Holiness knows very well that there was never a question of land forces, but merely of naval armaments, and, therefore, there is no similarity between this present league against the Turk and the former one. Your Holiness knows also that I myself rejected once that offer, as not being exactly what the Emperor, my master, desires. Besides which, nowadays the danger for Hungary, and even for Italy, is very great; all the forces of the Christian powers will be required, and it would be strange if, His Imperial Majesty marching against the Turk in person, Italy should remain defenceless and at the mercy and discretion, as it were, of the king of France. On such account (said I) Your Holiness, the chief and head of the Christian Church, to whom this undertaking against the Infidel Turk in Hungary properly appertains, ought to contribute largely, since You have the means of doing so."

Hearing this last sentence of mine, the Pope warmed up a little,* and said: "I have treated of this matter with the Emperor, who has owned to me that the undertaking against the Turk cannot be carried out save with the help and contribution of France. The Emperor, therefore, knowing that unless the Turk is repulsed Christendom is lost for ever, ought (since God has placed him in such high dignity) to look out for peace among Christians, so as to ensure the triumph over the Infidel, the enemy of our Holy Faith—a true glory for him—rather than for the revenge of injuries on this Earth, for such is the evangelical precept, and such the

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* "**Para responder á esto se rescaldó un poco y dixo.**"

1543.

spirit of the '*Pater noster,*' which the Emperor, as a Christian, says every day of his life: 'Forgive me, as I forgive my debtors.' These are things on which the Emperor ought to listen to the advice of those who love him well, of whom I am one, and, as I believe, the first. That is why, and owing also to the relationship now existing between us, I cannot refrain from speaking openly and without dissimulation, and can deliberately tell you that if peace is not made now, Christendom is lost for ever."

I then asked him: "Holy Father, who will be the cause of that loss and ruin, and of the wars and troubles that have afflicted Christendom?" "King Francis and the Emperor, and their passions," was His Holiness' answer. I replied: "Does not Your Holiness know that the Emperor did not commence war himself nor break the truce with France, but was at home in Spain, attending to the administration and government of his various kingdoms, and preparing himself for the expedition to Hungary, as he had promised to Your Holiness and to the electors of the German Empire, and that when quiet and at peace with every one except with the Infidel, he was assailed by king Francis on so many points at once?" To this argument of mine, His Holiness replied, as he had done at other times, that were he placed in a condition to carry out his good intentions, and convinced that by uniting his own forces to those of Your Majesty they would be a match for the Turk, as well as for the French King, he would at once take Your Majesty's part. But that (he said) did not seem to him possible, Germany being so divided in opinion, and king Francis asserting that it was Your Majesty and the king of the Romans, not he, who had brought the Turk into Europe, owing to both of you wanting more dominions and territories than you had under your sway, and last, not least, having attempted to deprive of their inheritance the widow and son of the last waywode of Transylvania (Zapoli) —which attempt (added the Pope) has again been repeated— and trying to prevent the Turk from protecting and assisting the widow queen and her son.* That conduct (continued the Pope) was the more reprehensible that it was entirely determined by ambition and lust of power. King Francis maintained that the truce had first been broken by Your Majesty's ministers with regard to Cesare Fragoso and Rincon, as well as by the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) in the person of a French agent slain in Dalmatia whilst he was going on a mission to the Turk. King Francis had expected that on Your Majesty's return to Spain from the Algerine expedition You would have redressed both injuries, and have the criminal parties punished, but as no reparation was offered, and

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* That is Isabella of Poland, the widow of Zapoli, waywod of Transylvania and her son John Sigismond Zapoli, then four years old.

Montepulciano himself had come back without any satisfactory answer on Your part respecting the peace proposed, he (Francis) was obliged to resent the affront and commence war.

My answer was: "Your Holiness knows as well as I do the truth of all that. When Montepulciano was going to the Emperor, king Francis himself was marching towards Spain at the head of his army; Flanders and the Luxenburg had already been invaded, so that it cannot be said that he (Francis) waited to take up arms until Your Holiness' Nuncio had returned from Spain with the answer. It would be but just that Your Holiness looked closely to that, and did not afford the French a plea or pretence to persuade You, by means of their falsehoods and inventions, that it was the Emperor, my master, who broke first the truce, thus colouring and disguising their wicked and pernicious doings. Your Holiness knows well that the judgment and decision of the alleged contraventions to the truce was put into Your hands at the requisition of king Francis himself, and that Mr. de Granvelle was ordered to remain in Italy for that express purpose, with full powers to act in the matter. Your Holiness must also be aware that the marquis del Gasto—the Emperor's principal minister in Italy—of whom king Francis complained most at the time as having been implicated in Rincon's case, offered also to submit to Your Holiness' judgment and decision. Besides that, the Emperor knowing that the affair was, as it were, in the hands of Justice, and that Your Holiness had willingly accepted the determination of the whole case, as well as the arbitration as to who had first contravened the truce, could not offer reparation or punish the guilty parties, as king Francis alleges, until Your Holiness had actually pronounced sentence; otherwise it would have been an attempt against Your Holiness' authority, of which my master, the Emperor, is incapable. On that account, and because one of the articles in the treaty bears expressly that no contravention whatever on the part of ministers to a truce signed by their respective masters is to be considered as invalidating the truce itself; but that the contracting parties respectively shall be bound to repair the damages done, there is no excuse for the war king Francis is now making without having formally declared it first. As to what Your Holiness says about Dalmatia, and one of king Francis' agents having been murdered there, I declare that this is the first time I hear of it, and since, after so many years, the French have not complained, it must be an invention of theirs. With regard to the kingdom of Hungary, I myself have requested king Ferdinand's agent here to come to Your Holiness, and exhibit the documents and papers attesting in full his master's unquestionable rights to that crown. I know that he has complied with my request, and, therefore, I can only say that I beg Your Holiness not to listen to the inventions and falsehoods of the French."

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The Pope added that, among other complaints of king Francis', one was that for the security of the peace in Italy, after giving Milan to him, other sureties and guarantees besides his word and promise should be considered necessary. That was an offence against his honor which he (the King) could in nowise tolerate. It was, in his opinion, quite sufficient that he (the Pope), the Holy Apostolic See, and the Venetians, took the solemn engagement of arming against him should he try to innovate.

"Holy Father (said I to the Pope), Your Holiness has heard from my lips what my master's intentions and will are with regard to the peace; as to Milan——" Here the Pope interrupted me in a passion, "Milan also? Is there no other way of satisfying king Francis? Could not the Emperor allow him to retain Savoy, which he has almost entirely conquered, and make over Milan to the Duke?" My answer was: "There are three obstacles to that. The first is, that to take away from the duke Carlo what by right belongs to him, and make it over to the very king who has unjustly despoiled him of his patrimony, is an unjustifiable act, one which the Emperor, my master, would never sanction. Indeed, were that to be made a '*sine qua non*' condition of the peace, I am sure that His Imperial Majesty would not hear of it. Secondly, that were such an arrangement to be made, the Emperor would decidedly be the loser, as Milan would ultimately pass into other hands. Thirdly, should the king of France hold Savoy, and the duke of Savoy become master of Milan, as Your Holiness suggests, who can deny that in the end king Francis, after getting hold of Savoy, would also get possession of Milan afterwards? How suitable such an arrangement would be for the security of Italy, and of Christendom at large, Your Holiness is a better judge than I am.

"With regard to king Francis' complaint that other securities besides his word and faith are demanded, I must own that a simple word from a King ought to be sufficient; but from a prince unaccustomed to keep his promise, however solemn, not even an oath ought to be accepted as security. Indeed, I dare say that neither Your Holiness personally, nor the Holy Apostolic See, nor the Venetians and others, could be substantial securities in this case, inasmuch as when Pope Clement and the Apostolic See, and the Venetians also, on Your Majesty investing Francesco Sforza with that duchy, bound themselves by treaty to attend to its defence, and faithfully to observe all its clauses, the above-named powers yet never kept their promises under oath. This much I say, not with reference to the peace proposed, nor to the conditions asked by the French, but in order to answer king Francis' complaints as to his own security not having been accepted and considered sufficient, and in order that Your Holiness may understand that what happened then might be taken now as a warning, namely, that neither Your

Holiness' word nor that of the Venetians could, under the circumstances, be a sufficient guarantee or security for king Francis' promises, however solemn."

I then spoke to him about the creation of the Cardinal, telling him how offended Your Majesty was at the delay, when it was just and reasonable that he should have attended sooner to Your Majesty's claims and to the promise he himself had made at Lucca. It was reasonable and fair (said I) that he should have created them before he left that town. The Pope's answer was that his Nuncio had written to him what Your Imperial Majesty had said to him on the subject, and that he was expecting the return of the courier who had gone to Spain with the brief proposing the conference (*colloquio*). As soon as the courier came back, he (the Pope) would take a resolution in the matter, although the General Council being then opened, a new creation of cardinals at such a time might appear inopportune. However, that as the last creation had already been effected for the satisfaction of various princes, he saw no great objection in declaring his intention at once. *He added that in the number of the Spaniards there must be some moderation, inasmuch as having to create two Hungarians at the intercession of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), besides the bishop of Trent,* Your Majesty's would then amount to five. By which words the Pope seemed to imply, though not openly, that there would be only two Spaniards, and that the king of France would probably ask for an equal number, or complain if he was not similarly treated, and that although his demand might seem unreasonable, yet, under the circumstances, and whilst a peace was being negociated, great care should be taken not to give him (Francis) cause to be offended ; in short, what could not be done in this creation would be done in the next.*

I replied to him : " Holy Father, I have often represented—and, indeed, letters and reports from the Emperor's ministers must have acquainted Your Holiness with the fact—that any comparison between His Imperial Majesty's person and that of the king of France, or of the actions of the one with the other, as equally meritorious with regard to Christendom and the Holy Apostolic See, is exceedingly unpleasant and offensive to the Emperor. For, in establishing such a comparison, Your Holiness seems to forget that the Emperor, my master, has frequently visited this country, and held conferences with You at Lucca and other places, not indeed on private business of his own, but for the sake of Christendom at large, and of his own duty towards the Apostolic See and Your Holiness' person, with whom he is now more connected than ever by the ties of relationship. As to Your Holiness saying that the two Hungarian cardinals are to be placed to the Emperor's account, as if the king of the Romans by his person, kingdoms,

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* Bernardo Clesi, the bishop of Trent, having died in September 1540, the one alluded to here must be Christoforo Madruzzi.

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and actions, was not rightly entitled to two or more cardinals' hats, just as much as the king of France, Your Holiness seems to forget the Christian faith, religion, and obedience, with which, in the kingdoms of Spain, the precepts of the Apostolic See have always been, and are still observed. That is a sort of offence which my master, the Emperor, will scarcely tolerate. This much I can tell Your Holiness, as the humble servant of the Holy Apostolic See that I profess to be." "The Emperor (said the Pope) may not be satisfied as to the number of cardinals to be created, and may possibly apply for more, yet you must own that the creation must and shall be made by me. To the archbishop of Santiago (Sarmiento de Mendoza), and perhaps to two or more ecclesiastics or courtiers of recognized virtue and learning, I have no objection, but the bishop of Pamplona, an ecclesiastic who has shown so little respect for the Apostolic See as to have actually brought a law suit against it on the point of being declared a cardinal, is not only undeserving of such honor and dignity, but his election might be a bad example for others."

My answer was: "Your Holiness knows well the circumstances of birth and learning of D. Pedro Pacheco, as well as the experience the Emperor has of his person and talents in various important offices entrusted to him, such as the law-suit of the Neapolitan Chancery and others. It was principally owing to his integrity, his love of justice, and real worth, that the Emperor appointed him to the See of Pamplona,* and has now recommended him for a cardinal's hat, believing him to be of that class of ecclesiastics whom Your Holiness ought to elect for such a dignity. As to his having instituted a law-suit against the Apostolic Chamber, I should think that by the Emperor entrusting to him the care of that church, and he himself having sworn to preserve its privileges and immunities, as well as its revenues and property, and not to allow the latter to be pilfered or alienated, and otherwise refusing to make payments contrary to his conscience as diocesan, he has acted as a good bishop and pastor, and deserves praise and thanks rather than reprehension and blame. As to Your Holiness saying that among those recommended are *courtiers*, not ecclesiastics, I do not deny it; but I beg to remind Your Holiness of the prayer the Emperor has often made to You, namely, not to make cardinals of vassals of his, (Spaniards, Italians, or Flemish), without letting him know first, that he himself may ask for the hats and name the parties, thus avoiding the many inconveniences that might arise therefrom. And as the Emperor in all his letters orders me to apply again for a list of those who are to be created, I humbly and reverently beg Your Holiness to declare to me at once what number of cardinals are to be made

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* He was bishop of that see from the 10th of September 1539 to [August?] 1545. In 1544 he was made cardinal.

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at this next creation on the Emperor's recommendation." To this prayer of mine the Pope only answered that he would do his best to please Your Majesty.

The next topic touched upon at this audience was that of the Colonna family. I reminded him of the consideration and respect with which Your Majesty had treated that affair, not without some shade of disrepute attaching to Your decision,* and what he himself had offered several times, namely, that should the authority of the Holy See be perfectly safeguarded, he would be glad to do Your Majesty's pleasure in the affair. Turning towards the Cardinal Farnese,† there present, he said: "The affair of the marriage I have put into the hands of your father and mother, and also into yours. I again repeat the statement; it is for you to decide. As to what concerns the Apostolic Chamber, that is my province; I will take a final resolution according to its interests in the matter." Then the Cardinal said that he and the duke [of Castro], his father, had had a talk on the affair, and agreed that it was convenient and suitable in many respects [to forgive Colonna]; they would meet again and give His Holiness an answer in writing.

This done, His Holiness got up, and as Chantonnay was about to take his leave to return to his father (Mr. de Granvelle) he kissed his foot, and took his blessing with many gracious offers and kind words on the part of the Pope. He left for Mantua on Tuesday the 2nd inst.

I shall not desist from asking the restitution of the Colonna property, not only through Madame [Margaret], who desires it extremely, knowing of what service that would be to Your Majesty, but likewise through the duke [of Castro] and Cardinal Farnese, both of whom seem also in favor, and keep giving me hope of it; though, on the other hand, I suspect that, since the restitution is not effected, they are all in concert with His Holiness.‡ I have already informed Your Majesty of the fact that Ascanio himself is doing all he can to oppose the investiture of his estate being given to his son (Fabricio), and that the delay in the execution of the sentence might partly be caused by that opposition of his; I have done so that Your Majesty may take measures accordingly. Fabricio, as Your Majesty knows, was living with Doña Juana, his mother, but according to her letters, which I have perused, some intermediary agents of Ascanio, his father, must have persuaded (*solevantado*) Fabricio to leave his mother's house and go to the Abruzzo. Thence it is believed Fabricio will go where his father is, and, if so, I doubt whether the affair can possibly have a good end. At this delay, at Fabricio's want of respect for her, as well as at the imminent ruin of her house and

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* "No sin alguna nota y guicio (perjuicio ?) de su reputacion."

† Cardinal Alessandro, the Pope's eldest son.

‡ "Ellos se deben de entender y estar de acuerdo con Sa Santidad."

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family, Doña Juana de Aragon is, I am told, exceedingly *displeased and annoyed.*

After this first audience, perceiving that I could get no satisfactory answer from His Holiness respecting the future creation of cardinals and other matters, and that, on the contrary, he had given me no hope whatever of being just and impartial towards Your Majesty, I again called on him, and repeated the very same arguments brought forward by me on the former occasion. He declared to me that he wished that all the cardinals he was to create should be dependent upon his grandson (Cardinal Farnese)—so had Pope Clement VII. done before him, who, from his having no less than sixteen cardinals entirely at his bidding, and ready to vote for him, had actually made himself Pope. That he liked all State business to pass through the hands of his grandson, and, therefore, would have no cardinals save those attached to his family.

This unsatisfactory answer was not sufficient for me. I determined to go to him again. In vain did I remonstrate with him as to the vague answer he had given me on the former occasion respecting Your Majesty's just claims, adding that I could not possibly transmit it to You such as it was; he made no reply, and seemed to be as firm as ever in his purpose.

Dropping that subject as an unprofitable one, I asked him in Your Majesty's name to declare how, and with what sum of money, he was willing to help in the undertaking of Hungary, and likewise how many cardinals he intended to allot to Your Majesty. The Pope made no answer, but Cardinal Farnese, who was present, answered that having heard from Conchano how dissatisfied I was at the result of the two audiences I had had from His Holiness, *he had talked the matter over with the Pope, who had answered that he would contribute towards the Hungarian war with the same sum of money which he had once given for the expences of the fleet.*[*] *I was to be informed of this.*

That respecting the cardinals' hats, he was determined for the present to grant only *two* to Spaniards, *two* to Hungarians, and one more to the bishop of Trent, if he should be alive and come to Rome, for on the 22nd of December last news had come from that city that he was dying. He had said to Conchano the day before that of the two Spaniards he would be glad that the bishop of Segorbe[†] should be the first proposed by Your Majesty, owing to his belonging to the Borja family, to which His Holiness was under certain obligations. I must observe that the Pope had said nothing to me about this bishop. I therefore told him (Conchano) to say to His Holiness that I could not do less than inform Your Majesty of the Pope's determination, whatever it might be, but that I was sure You would not accept it; that I myself should have gone

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[*] "Que en la empresa de Ungria ayudaria al misme respecto que en lo del armada, y que esto ofrescia Su Sant^{d}."

[†] Gaspar Lopez de Borja, from 1531 to 1551.

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and told him so, had I not known that he was still weak and suffering from cold on his chest (*catarro*), which has lasted upwards of one month, since which he has never regained his strength. Conchano was also to tell His Holiness, in my name, that few cardinals among those created by him were so qualified and deserving of that dignity as those proposed by Your Majesty. After saying this, I left the room and went away.

To day, the 4th of January, the Cardinal has sent me word not to write home until Conchano had been with him again, for he has something to communicate. Conchano went accordingly, and the Cardinal said to him : "I wish to correct a mistake which I made yesterday, when I spoke about the cardinals. His Holiness, considering how much the Emperor feels the juxtaposition with king Francis in this matter of the hats, tells me that in this affair he will gratify him ; he did not, however, say to me with how many hats, how many cardinals there will be, or when the creation is to take place."

The Papal courier who took the breves for the conference and interview (*abocamiento*) returned on Wednesday, the 3rd inst. The better to understand the breve and Your Majesty's answer to it, I had them both translated from the Latin, and I myself went this morning to His Holiness, and gave him Your Majesty's letter, which Cardinal Farnese read to him. His Holiness listened attentively, and said : "In those very terms does my Nuncio write to me. I am glad to hear that the latter approves of my constant efforts to secure peace, and that he thinks, as I do, that the sole remedy for afflicted Christendom in the present state of things is peace ; I myself will try to procure it. Though I trust implicitly in the Emperor's kindness, religious feeling, and wisdom, although I have read his answer to my legate on the subject, yet I cannot, and will not, cease in my endeavours to promote peace among Christians. I trust to divine providence that the Emperor will feel one of these days to what dangers Christendom is now exposed for want of peace, and how easy it will be for him, when that peace is secured, to march against the Turk—the sworn enemy of Our Faith—and crush him down so as to prevent his raising *his head again*."

The Pope went on to say that as Your Majesty had urged him to declare against the king of France, it seemed to him that the idea of the interview, which had originated in himself, was the best, perhaps, too, the sole, way to peace, since his intention had been to exhort them both, as their common father, to make peace, and if he could not accomplish his purpose, assume the office of judge, and pronounce final sentence according to God and justice. And that since the Emperor was so confident that justice was on his side, and wrong entirely on Francis', that being proved, his neutrality would be at an end the very moment that the last chance of peace between the two belligerents had disappeared.

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"As to the Emperor saying (His Holiness continued) that there is no trusting king Francis, and that no security he can offer can be relied upon, I must own that to judge from what he has done on preceding occasions there is some cause for the Emperor to complain; yet it seems to me that if the latter mistrusts the king of France, he can rely still less on the promises of the Turk and other heretics. As I said to you the other day, in that case there would not be wanting matrimonial alliances, promises from Pope and Church, as well as from the Venetians and others, to make up for that deficiency, and the security thus obtained might become so firm and binding as to help in the present calamitous times, and act as a remedy to afflicted Christendom and other evils."

After this declaration of his sentiments the Pope asked me whether Your Majesty had written to me on the subject. I read to him Your Majesty's letter, and said that king Francis having insolently rejected * at other times the most honorable and advantageous terms offered by Your Majesty, and having since behaved as His Holiness has seen, Your Majesty, I thought, would have nothing more to say to him.

Nevertheless it seemed to me that if honorable conditions and a convenient security for the good of Christendom were offered, Your Majesty would not reject the offer, but would, on the contrary, accept it, as You have always done, and that in my opinion such a declaration in Your name was quite sufficient for Your entire and complete justification with him and with all the World.

The Pope next asked me whether I had any letters from Mr. de Granvelle, and what was the object of the Diet convoked for Mantua. My answer was that I had received no letters from him since he left Genoa, and as to the Diet I knew nothing about it, nor what it was intended for. He replied: "I hear that Florence, Siena, Lucca, Ferrara, and other powers have sent ambassadors to that city." "My information is (I answered), that the duke of Florence (Gouraga) has sent a secretary of his, but I believe that he and others have gone thither merely for the purpose of visiting His Imperial Majesty on his arrival in that city."

The last topic touched upon was the General Council. His Holiness recounted the pains he himself had taken during the pontificate of his predecessor, Clement VII., and at all times since to promote it; how he had designated the city of Trent as the place of meeting merely to please Your Majesty, and that he fancied that, taking advantage of the galleys now coming from Spain, the greater part, if not all, the Spanish prelates might come, adding that he himself purposed going to Boloña (Bologna) with the Italian bishops, and thought the Catholic bishops of Germany would also go thither, and,

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* Refutado, says the original, for *refusado*, which after all is not Spanish, but French, from *refuser*.

with the help of God, attend its celebration. Of the French prelates he did not say one word.

Soon after he inquired from me: "What is the duke of Alburquerque coming here for?" My answer was that the Duke's mission was a secret one, as he (the Pope) could well see by Your Majesty's letter to me. This question of His Holiness', I must observe, was not without cause, for, as above said, there is much talk, here at Rome, about the Duke's coming; nobody thinks that he can come from conscientious motives of his own; many are the thoughts and conjectures of the people about it, and about Mr. Granvelle's journey to Mantua for the purpose of the Diet.

The bishop of Aquila spoke again to His Holiness on affairs touching Madame's service.[*] *What passed at the audience Your Majesty will see by the copy of his second memorandum* (discurso) *herein enclosed. With regard to Mr. Granvelle's person, His Holiness told him the same as Cardinal Fernesio (Farnese) had done, namely, that the [German] Catholics consider him rather attached to the dissident party* (los dissidentes), *and believe he will not be able to achieve anything. After some other talk His Holiness said to the Bishop: "Look here, I warn you not to behave at this Nüremberg diet as you did at that of Ratisbon (Regensberg), because, if you do, you will cause my ruin. Even now, were I not seated on St. Peter's chair, I cannot say what might not happen to any other Pope at the head of the Church; as it is, God knows the trouble and fatigue I have had."*

The law suit with the Genoese bankers respecting the exchange and interest [on the money borrowed], and the jewel and the silver plate pawned to them as security, is on the point of being settled. The opposite party pretend that Your Majesty's Lord High Steward (*mayordomo mayor*) and the duke of Sena having pawned the jewel as if it were their own, it cannot be positively claimed in Your Majesty's name, and that I myself have no powers from them to solicit its delivery. I have, therefore, written to Mos. de Ru † that he may send me his powers at once. It would also be expedient, for the better issue of this affair, that Your Majesty gave orders that similar powers should be obtained from the heirs-at-law of the duke of Sena and should be prepared and sent to me, because without them the law suit cannot possibly be decided in our favor, nor can I get the jewel valued and see what price merchants will give for it, as Your Majesty wrote to me some months ago. Nor can I recover the silver plate and wearing apparel then pawned along with it. I enclose the minute of the powers of attorney, such as they ought to come from thence.—Rome, 14 January 1542.

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[*] He must have been in June 1539 somewhat connected with it, for Lope Hurtado in one of his letters mentions him among others. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 165.

† "Visto esto he escrito à Mos. de Ru" (Rœulx?), from which it would appear that he was then the Emperor's Lord High Steward in Flanders. As to the duke of Sessa, D. Luis Fernandez de Cordoba, he had been ambassador at Rome from 1522 to Aug. 1526, when he died.

Signed: " El Marques de Aguilar."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 4.

15 Jan. **94.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Eng. Corresp., 11.

" Sire,"—I very much regret not having been able to write to Your Imperial Majesty as often as I should have wished, and the nature of the affairs required, since the departure of the Sieur de Holbeque, the chief cause being the difficulty of procuring trusty messengers for my despatches. I most humbly beg Your Imperial Majesty to pardon me and accept my excuses in this particular, the more so that Your Imperial Majesty must be aware of my care and diligence in writing almost daily to the Queen Regent in Flanders, and likewise very frequently to Monseigneur de Granvelle ever since the rumour of his arrival in Italy was afloat. For this reason, and presuming that duplicates of my letters, both to the Queen and to Your Imperial Majesty's Privy Seal, must have been forwarded, I shall only give here a summary account of the business transacted, without entering into further particulars.

After the departure of Mr. de Hollebecq,[*] *that is to say, on the 22nd and 23rd of November, this King's deputies came to me, and during those two days we conferred together and treated of our common affairs at greater length and more deeply* (à meilleur esçient) *than we had ever done before, particularly employing our time in examining and meditating* (ruminer), *over not only the points of difficulty offered by Your Imperial Majesty's ministers to the bishops of London and Westminster, but likewise in again reading word by word the very draft of the treaty which the latter bishop had placed in Your Imperial Majesty's hands, in which draft there were still sentences and words requiring amendment and correction.* After a long debate with the King's deputies there was every appearance of our coming shortly to a final agreement on the various disputed points, inasmuch as, towards the end of the conferences, the Royal deputies assented to the three principal points to which Your Imperial Majesty's ministers most objected, provided that in the article of the " common defence," instead of the words proposed to Mr. de Courrières and to me (Chapuys)—as in my despatch of the 2nd of November—those contained in

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[*] By referring back to Chapuys' correspondence in November, I can find no account of this Mons. de Holbecq or Hollebeque (for his name is written both ways), who must have been sent to England on some mission or other; perhaps to deliver into that ambassador's hands the powers to treat with the English deputies.

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the enclosed note * should be substituted, which after all are substantially the same, and, as I think, more to Your Imperial Majesty's advantage. For, in my opinion, since no formal and expressly worded declaration could be obtained against the two dukes of Clèves and Holstein, we could not possibly have hit upon a fitter article to have them and their subjects comprised in the "common defence against all enemies" than the amendment to which I allude. This notwithstanding, I must say that in order to obtain, if possible, better terms, or meet with less opposition in other matters, I at first made difficulties about the acceptance of the said article in what concerns the two dukes, at the same time requesting this King's deputies, according to instructions received from the Queen Regent, to procure that the King, their master, should wait until Your Imperial Majesty's approval came from Spain. And upon the deputies replying that they thought their master would readily grant my request, as his affairs were no longer in a state to require an immediate answer, or hasten immoderately the conclusion of the treaty of closer alliance, yet they (the Royal deputies) desiring (as they said) extremely the complete reconciliation and closer friendship with Your Imperial Majesty, declined speaking to the King of my request, and begged me to avoid any mention of it to him or to any one else, for fear that —according to the rumours afloat of French practices and intrigues—during the delay that would necessarily follow something should supervene likely to produce a rupture in the negociations. Hearing which I told the deputies that since they thought thus, I had no objection to pass the article, subject to Your Imperial Majesty's approval; but, perceiving that even that they disliked, I offered to let it pass unconditionally, provided they themselves yielded the rest of the points in dispute, and especially that concerning the two dukes of Clèves and Holstein and the assistance against the Turk.

The deputies' answer, after long debate and dispute, as is and always has been their habit, was that as to the first point, namely, the nominal mention of the two dukes in the article, that was a thing which the King, their master, would never grant. As to the second, namely, the assistance against the Turk, there was no need of a special stipulation, inasmuch as their master, they thought, would never fail in his engagements in that respect whenever the principal affair came to a conclusion. As to the rest of the points in dispute, they sincerely hoped that after talking to the King I should get a satisfactory answer from him.

Our conference at an end, the deputies left me, showing by their countenances that they were pleased and satisfied with

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* Not in the packet.

the result. Next morning, the deputies left for Anthoncourt, and after reporting to the King on what had passed at the conference, sent me word on the following day, the 25th of November, that two days after, on the 27th, they would call on me and let me know the King's will and resolution on the whole. I am, however, still waiting for them, and at the hour I am writing no answer has come. Indeed, I fear they have changed their opinion, inasmuch as within the two above mentioned days of our conferences the King has received letters from his ambassador in France, and likewise most pleasing news of a signal success and almost miraculous victory which his Royal arms have lately obtained [over the Scotch in the Borders], of which victory I will speak hereafter. Indeed, it has so raised the King's spirits that, forgetting altogether other enterprises, he is now thinking of nothing save prosecuting the war against Scotland. Were I to venture my opinion in the matter, and try to interpret the King's feelings on this occasion, I should say that he is so over proud and vainglorious about this victory of his, that he will easily believe he has no need of help from his neighbours, and that he himself is a match for all his enemies !* However that may be, I must own that up to the present he (the King) has made but little capital of his victory, attributing it solely to God, and not allowing public rejoicings to take place on that account.

Perceiving the deputies' dissimulation, and the delay in the King's answer, I have sent upwards of ten messages to them, asking what has been their master's final resolution. They have invariably excused themselves, either with the press of business in hand—having, as they said, to provide for the affairs of Scotland, of great importance to them—or with the King not staying just now at any particular spot or town, but going from place to place hunting, or occasionally visiting some of his various Royal manors ; at other times saying that they must wait for the return of the duke of Norpholc, or some other privy councillor, who are away in their estates in the country. Such and other similar excuses have these privy councillors alleged for not sending me the King's answer, from which I gather that they are temporizing, and that no persuasions of mine will induce them to move this year one step against the French, which after all, considering the great expense to which he (the King) has been put in consequence of the war with Scotland—which war the King intends prosecuting to the last at any risk—considering also the opportunity which he now has of obtaining the crown of that country, owing to the demise of the King, his nephew, (of which I will write hereafter); considering the force he has collected for the invasion of Scotland, and the intelligences he has there—are very plausible excuses for the deputies to delay as long as they can the conclusion of the treaty. Even if the aforesaid opportunity had not offered itself, this king (I take it) would not have been easily induced to commence war against France next summer. This I do not hesitate to say and assert for several reasons and conjectures of my own, such as my having heard the King's deputies say at our last conference that there was no necessity to fix a time for the preconcerted invasion of France, as that might afterwards be settled between Your Imperial Majesty and their master, whereas in former times, when the undertaking was first suggested and discussed, they (the deputies) insisted upon the joint invasion of French territory taking place precisely on the first of July next.

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* "Et me semble que changeront doppinion, pour aultant que en dedans les dits deux jours le dit s^{r} roy receut quelques lettres de France de son ambassadeur, et aussi, et principallement, quil eust nouvelles dune belle et inopinate (*sic*, inopinée), voire comme miraculeuse victoire que ses gens des frontieres avoient eu freshement contre les Escossais, comme cy apres entendra vre. ma^{te}. La quelle deust mectre le dit s^{r} roy en tel pensement pour suyvre sa fortune, et faire lemprinse pour la dit, Escosse, quil mect en oubly toutes aultres affaires, ou par adventure [et] qui loseroit ainsi temerairement interpreter, il en pourroit avoir prins tant de gloire quil luy sembleroit navoir gueres grand besoign de ses voisins."

Your Imperial Majesty must also bear in mind that besides the Scotch affair, which is partly the cause of their delay, there are other causes, like the practices and intrigues of the French, which now induce these people to temporize with us. Those practices commenced the very moment that the common enemy, perceiving the ill-success of his arms at Perpignan, began to lose courage. Now, seeing that his allies, the Scotch, have completely failed in their attempt, and that this king has gained a signal victory over them, those practices have been renewed more warmly than ever. In short, now that the king of Scotland (James) is dead, they will invent something to gain over this one, or at least make him shut his eyes to what is his interest. The King, meanwhile, will most likely listen to their proposals, and amuse them with fair words, for fear they should in any way disconcert or mar his plans about Scotland. Indeed, I have every reason to think that French practices in this country are now warmer and closer than ever, for the bishop of Westminster (Thirlby) owned the other day to my man that their doings were more strange and wonderful than they had ever before been; the said bishop stating that in his private opinion king Francis and his ministers were more cautious and subtle politicians than either Your Imperial Majesty or the king of England, his master, nay, more so than any of the subjects or ministers of both. The said bishop regretted that the treaty in question had not already been concluded and ratified to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, for (said he) "I would willingly part with everything I possess in this world (though I do not yet consider the game as lost) to see the end of it." The Bishop, however, promised to do his best, and I have no doubt that he will keep his word; for I do not hesitate to say that he is the personage at this court best inclined and most ready for Your Imperial Majesty's

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service, and the most frank, truthful and reliable minister—a man without feint or dissimulation of any kind. In fact, had any other of the privy councillors but he sent me such a message concerning the French practices as that to which I have alluded, I should have thought the whole to be an exaggerated report of theirs (the deputies) in order to gain time and accomplish their object.

The French ambassador went to Anton-court (Hampton Court) on Christmas Eve; but, as I hear, was not received by the King, and coldly enough by the privy councillors, at least in public, though it may be that privately and confidentially they treated him otherwise, for these people are apt to act rather mysteriously on certain occasions, for the purpose, no doubt, of not arousing the jealousy of other ambassadors,* and especially mine. Among other objects of the Frenchman's visit to Hampton Court, the ostensible one on that occasion was to exhibit a letter from the king Francis, dated Cognac, the 13th of December, countersigned by secretary Bayard, the heading and beginning of which the ambassador showed to one of his familiars (*ung sien familier*), who came and told me of it, which letter the King, his master, had written for the purpose of contradicting, as he said, the false reports circulated by Your Imperial Majesty's ministers and others of your party concerning last year's campaign. "For that purpose (king Francis says in his letter) I now take pen in hand to relate to you the plain truth of what happened last year." King Francis begins with the war of Perpignan, concerning which he relates many wonderful stories to his own advantage, mixed up with such gross exaggerations and lies (*bourdes et menteries*) that it is impossible to conceive anything more outrageous. He does the same with regard to Piedmont, Luxemburg, Saint Jean de Luz, Picardy, and other parts, asserting that the duke of Clèves has actually under his command 30,000 foot and 4,000 horse, and as to himself (king Francis), that he is now fresher and readier to continue the war next spring than he has ever been before; that he has now in his treasury one million and a half of francs more than he had last year when the war commenced. The ambassador's familiar,† to whom I allude, could not read the remainder of the King's letter to his ambassador; but it is to be supposed that a preface or introduction of the sort must conceal some secret and mysterious design with its corresponding *dénouement*. I cannot conceive what other affair may have taken the French ambassador to Hampton Court to negociate with the privy councillors, but if I may believe the report of one of the ushers of the Council, there was between the councillors and the ambassador great strife, and the latter got into a towering rage, and went suddenly away, and back to Hampton Court where he saw the King.

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* "Et peut estre que en secret et au prive ilz en ayent use aultrement, selon que ceulx-cy sont fondes en telz misteres enfin (à fin) de non engendre[r] jalousie."

† Was he Jean de Honz, so often alluded to in these pages, or another of Marillac's family servants or visitors at the Embassy (*familiers*)?

The Princess, whom I had earnestly requested to let me know what she had heard of the French ambassador's doings at Court and in the Privy Council, has sent me word that, as far as she herself can understand, the Frenchman's practices could scarcely do any harm to Your Imperial Majesty's affairs.* This very morning she has sent me another message to the effect that yesterday she overheard (*entreouyt*) her father, the King, say to one of his privy councillors: "You may go and tell the French ambassador (Marillac) that I do not intend doing any harm to the King, his master, but that if he purposes causing me any annoyance in Scotland, he will find me quite ready to meet him face to face."

I fancy that the French have again resumed negociations for the marriage of the duke of Orleans with the Princess, for the French ambassador was heard to say, a few days ago, that "they (the French) were not so particular and scrupulous as we ourselves were in Spain; they would be glad to receive his daughter [in France], bastard or legitimate."

The French ambassador expects his recall from day to day; he will be succeeded by Mr. de Morveillier (Morvilliers), the same who went to Scotland the year before last, as I informed Your Imperial Majesty in one of my despatches.† He came here driven by stress of weather at sea, as otherwise his passage through this country on such an errand as he was the bearer of would have been forbidden to him. I believe he was the bearer of the treaty of alliance and confederation which king Francis has made with the king of Sweden and his adherents,‡ and that his mission was to induce the late king (James) to commence war against England. Of all this I myself did at the time warn this king; it will be, as I believe, one of the reasons to diminish Mr. de Morvillier's credit at this court.

I am, however, to state my opinion (ma folle fantaisie) *in this matter, and it is that I doubt much of our success, for although this king may not treat with the French, he will, nevertheless, temporize with Your Imperial Majesty, and not come to a resolution until he sees this next summer how Your Imperial Majesty's affairs and those of Scotland will turn out. Should he perceive that the French are really thwarting his plans in Scotland, and carrying on intrigues for the purpose of preventing him from getting at the crown of that kingdom—which, by the way, it is to be expected the French will attempt, considering how advantageous it is for them to have, as hitherto, a friend sitting on the throne of that country, and how inconvenient it would be for them if*

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* *See* Vol. V., Part II., pp. 508–9.

† That of the 11th of December, 1541, No. 213, p. 412 in Vol. V., Part II.

‡ *See* No. 228, p. 464, in the same volume.

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this king gained the object he is aiming at—then, in that case, I have no doubt that this king and his ministers will decide in favor of the proposed alliance, and make no difficulties whatever. But it is to be feared, on the other hand, that by this king temporizing, as he is evidently doing, in order to gain time and see how our affairs with France will turn out, when the moment comes for ratifying the treaty, fresh conditions will be asked, and we shall again be obliged to resume the negociation. In this manner the time and opportunity of making war against France will pass away, and the whole affair will be unavoidably delayed. This, after all, would not be so bad if we could only be sure of this king's neutrality, which, considering the innumerable causes and reasons, which Your Imperial Majesty with Your incomparable wisdom and political experience can much better appreciate than any other living creature, would, in my opinion, suit You as well as the treaty with England. Indeed, it might be that this king would not consent to remain neutral unless king Francis paid him a good sum of money on account of the arrears of pension owing to him—which, after all, would be tantamount to plucking a chief feather from their wings, and thus incapacitating them from flying far off.[*]

I will, nevertheless, go on soliciting the conclusion of the treaty. To that effect I sent, two days ago, one of my men to Court. He has not yet returned, and I wonder what keeps him so long there, unless it be that the privy councillors wish to meet and deliberate on certain remonstrances of mine in writing, which I have sent by the said man. Should he come back, and bring an answer from the privy councillors, I will keep this despatch open until then.

As to news from Scotland, Your Imperial Majesty must already have learned how this king's large army, under the command of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, after wasting and robbing the enemy's country without resistance on the part of the Scotch, and meeting no armed men in the fields, was, owing to the winter season and most unusual fall of rain, which made the roads impracticable for the carriage of ammunition or provisions, obliged to retreat, the two above generals, however, leaving at Baruich (Berwick) under the command of Master Dodelet (Dudley), now called Milort Lyl, about 4,000 men to keep molesting and harrassing the Scotch on that frontier. Fourteen war-ships were also left on that coast to prevent succours from coming to the Scotch.[†]

Since then the king of Scotland (James), a young and brave (*jeusne et animeux*) prince, displeased and angry at his people not having had the courage to meet the English, who had penetrated far into Scotland in the field, assembled his nobles and called upon them to revenge the affront and make a raid on England, or, at least, retaliate for the damage received at the hands of the English soldiery. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Milort Massuel, admiral of the sea and captain-general of the Scotch Borders, who had under him two counts, certain lairds, and several gentlemen of the Royal household, and others the most experienced in military affairs that could be found in all Scotland, the whole force consisting of about 18,000 foot, with 20 or 25 pieces of camp artillery, and the requisite war ammunition.*

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[*] "Quoy estant il oseroit (oteroit) une bonne plume des dits françois, que par ce moyen seroient gardes de vouler gueres loing."

[†] "Delaissant à Baruick soubs la charge de m^e^ Dodelet, qui sappelle maintenant milort Lyl, environ quatre mille hommes pour grever et travailler continuellement les dits Escossois."

After wasting as usual the country on this side of the frontier, and on that opposite Berwick, and perceiving that there was no resistance, nay, that the English fled in all directions, the Scotch thought they would have their own way and pushed on. On the 23rd of November, with great temerity, and without taking the precaution of sending scouts forward, they came to a river which can only be forded at low tide, near which, and at a spot very advantageous for them, 4,000 Englishmen—hastily and tumultuously collected by means of beacons and fire signals, here used in times of war—lay in ambush. As there were among them seven or eight hundred men on horseback, they fell suddenly on the Scotch in the dangerous position in which they were—with an unfordable river in front, and an enemy at the back. Thus attacked, none of the Scotch, high or low, thought of anything save flying towards the river, which, being at the time swollen by the late rains and the ebbing tide, could not be crossed save with great difficulty. The chiefs then, perceiving that there was no security on that side, determined to stand and fight their way; but this gave the rest time to run away, whilst those who for fear of the water remained in the field were all taken prisoners, save a certain number who were slain. The Scotch lost all their artillery, besides a number of waggons laden with spears and other weapons, as well as a great number of their horses, for some of the men had no time to look for them, having left them behind to cross the river. The most wonderful thing about it was that the English had only two men killed.

On the 20th of December the above-mentioned admiral, the two counts, the lairds, and the rest of the gentlemen made prisoners [at Solway Moss], to the number of twenty-three, were brought to this city, and passed the first night at the Tower. Next day they were summoned before the Privy Council, and accompanied thither by various lords and gentlemen of the Court, and thence, after giving their word not to depart for Scotland without first obtaining the King's leave,

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* "Mennant environ xviii^{m} hommes de guerre, equippez de xx. ou xxv. piecez dartillerie de camp avec la munition necessaire."

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they were billeted on the lords and gentlemen of the city, there to be entertained and treated each according to his rank. Two days after that the news arrived from Scotland that king James had died of regret and grief at the aforesaid unfortunate event, as well as because, as it is said, some of his men who had escaped alive from the rout [at Solway Moss] had interpellated him rudely enough and asked for their pay, threatening that if he did not comply with their demands, they would find someone else to serve. Such is the report, and that he (King James) was at the time at the house of the cardinal of Scotland (Betoun), whither he had gone for the purpose of relieving his mind and overcoming his sorrow. It is also reported that the Queen, his wife,* had been delivered prematurely of a daughter, who died soon after, and that the Queen herself was in great danger of her life.

On the receipt of the above news this king began to deliberate on the expediency of sending back to Scotland the above-mentioned prisoners. This being resolved upon, all were summoned to appear at Court on Christmas-day, were splendidly entertained there, allowed to wear swords and dirks just as they pleased, go about quite freely and converse with whomsoever they liked, a sort of thing at which the French ambassador was delighted, for he wanted very much to have a conversation with some of them, which he did often and long enough. After showing the Scotch prisoners all the kindness and consideration possible, the King gave each of them a gold chain, more or less valuable according to his rank and quality, providing them besides with good horses (*monthurez*) and a good sum of money, and granting them permission to return to Scotland. Thus on the 29th ult. they all went back, promising to return to England before Easter, or else to send hostages, and in the meantime, whilst in Scotland, do all they could to win over their countrymen to this King's party, and ultimately try to promote his accession to the Crown. Three days before the departure of the Scotch, count Douglas † had left by post for Scotland, whither his brother (George), who was on this side of the Border, had gone the moment he heard of king James' death, and retaken possession of some estates belonging to the family close on the other side.

On the last day of the year the duke of Suffolk left Court for the Borders, accompanied by a good number of gentlemen. He took no troops with him, and, what is more, the King has written to Millort Lyl,‡ who happens to be now at Berwick, a frontier town with 8,000 men, not to attempt anything or make raids into Scotland without his express command, so that it is thought that by good management, without having recourse to arms, the King will ultimately become master and king of Scotland, for king James died without heirs—the two sons he had having died last year—whilst his first cousin is half an idiot, and quite unfit for the Crown.* As to his daughter, if still alive, as some people here will have it, she cannot be an obstacle in the way of the King obtaining the crown; on the contrary, by having her married to the prince (Edward) the thing might easily be done. I very much suspect that, in order to forward his interests in Scotland, and the better to lull king Francis asleep, this king may think of himself marrying the widowed queen, inasmuch as before she (Mary of Guise) was married to king James he, himself, had sued for her hand. In short, all here seem to think that without much trouble or exertion the King will one way or other gain his end, for every day his party in Scotland is growing stronger, and the intelligences of which he is in need for the accomplishment of his plans, are getting more sure and frequent. Again, two days ago a count from that country—and certainly not the least powerful of them—came here [to London]. He had two years ago been banished from Scotland, owing to his being suspected of lutheranism (*lutherie*), and during that time had resided in Italy and in France. He has been very well received, and I believe it will not be long before he joins in Scotland those who hold for this king.† Of whatever else happens in that country, or here in England, respecting this affair and others, Your Imperial Majesty shall be quickly apprized whenever there is an opportunity.

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* Mary of Guise.

† Archibald, earl of Angus.

‡ Sir John Dudley, lord Lisle. *See* above, p. 220.

I need scarcely remark that the above successful events have restored the King's usual good humour and high spirits; ‡ ever since his late queen's misconduct (*maulvais gouvernement*) he has been sad and dejected, showing no inclination for carousels and pageants, or paying his court to ladies (*festoyer ne hanter dames*). No sooner, however, did the news from Scotland arrive than he began to invite and entertain them at Court, which has come very fortunately for the Princess, as the King being still a widower, and there being no one more fit than herself to receive the ladies in her father's palace, she has been recalled to Court, accompanied in her triumphant journey thither by a number of ladies, having been received at the gate of Hampton Court by almost all the gentlemen who attend the Royal Court. The King himself went out to meet her at the entrance of the park, receiving her in the kindest possible way. He has since continued to treat her in the same manner, addressing her in the most endearing terms, and making her valuable gifts, having on this last New Year's day presented her with rings, silver plate, and other jewels, among which are two

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* The earl of Arran. "Pour la succession du quel le dit feu roy na laisse nul hoir (*sic*) heritier, car les deux filz quil avoit moururent lannee passee, et son cousin germain est à demy insense et incapable de la couronne."

† Patrick, earl of Bothwell. "Et crois quil ne tardera de suyvre les aultres, que ne sera sans estre plus plantureusement (?) presente que nul deulx."

‡ "A remys en nature et resjouissance le dit s^r roy."

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rubies of inestimable value. Many here think that in the midst of all this feasting and carousing the King may well take a fancy to some lady of the court and marry her, but I must say that at present I see no appearance of that.

I forgot to say that the ambassador or agent of Clèves—whose name I do not know, for he leads a very obscure life, and, although he entitles himself "l'ambassadeur du duc Guillaume," lodges over a tavern and keeps only one man servant—has for the last month gone twice or three times to Court, whereas for the last two years he had not been there once. The last time he went, on the third day after the Nativity (Noel), *he was especially summoned. Up to this moment I have been unable to learn what his errand there could be, but I fancy that he was sent by Dame Anne de Clèves, who is now residing at a place three or four miles away from Court, and yet I hear nothing in support of my conjecture, she herself not having been invited to nor having appeared at Court, as I am told.*

By my letter of the 2nd of November I informed Your Imperial Majesty of this King's answer when I applied for permission to export wheat (*bled*) from this country, according to orders and instructions received [from Spain]. Since then, having pressingly solicited a categorical answer to that effect, the privy councillors have granted to the merchant in charge of that negociation license to export one thousand quarters of wheat, saying to him that the King, their master, presuming that the scarcity of that cereal in Spain could not be so great as represented, and that most likely the order had come to me at the importunity of some speculative merchant or other, who wished to make money by it, could not grant license for more. Had he known the scarcity to be as great as represented he certainly would have allowed the exportation of a larger quantity. That was the privy councillors' answer, and although I have since done my best to persuade them that really and truly there was scarcity of corn in Spain, no more has been obtained from them. That is why, should Your Imperial Majesty judge that a larger quantity is required, I beg that by the next letter orders come for me to renew the application. I am exceedingly sorry not to have obtained permission to export the quantity originally applied for, and I regret still more that the merchant, who must be aware of the scarcity of corn in Spain, has yet taken no steps, notwithstanding my importunities, to have it shipped for Spain.

After four or five days' stay at Court, whilst the King and his privy councillors were debating on our affairs, my man came back, and on the same day the bishops of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner) and Westminster (Thomas Thirlby) called on me, and said that on their return to Court after our last conference they had faithfully reported to the King, their master, on all that passed at that meeting, and also the proposals made by me in the name of the queen regent *of Flanders, that is to say, to wait, if such was the King's pleasure, until an answer came from Your Imperial Majesty respecting the newly amended article proposed by them, and which I myself had accepted after a good deal of contention and debate. "That new article (said the councillors to me) had been inserted in the treaty, and you (Chapuys), out of zeal for the Imperial service and desire for the conclusion of the treaty, then and there offered to pass it without loss of time, provided the King himself should agree to other amendments which you considered just and reasonable, adding that you had no doubt that the Emperor in the end would not disapprove of the article passing as amended. After that the King asked us to put down in writing whatever your demands were on the other points, and what you considered was to be amended, taken out of, or added to the remaining articles of the treaty, that he himself might particularly examine your demands one by one, and, after mature deliberation, decide on the whole. This we (the councillors) did at once. Three days after the news of the defeat of the Scots [at Solway Moss] came, which event and others that have happened since have so preoccupied the King, our master, and taken up so much of his time that he had completely forgotten the paper we had put into his Royal hands containing the substance of your demands. Nor did we (the deputies and other members of his Privy Council) dare remind him of it, so that there was no opportunity to ask the King what his resolution was in the matter, until you yourself again applied to us for an answer. This we have at last obtained from the King, our master, who has declared to us that he considers it better and more expedient to wait for the Emperor's answer, but at the same time wonders that the answer has not yet come, which makes him suspect that his Majesty does not take much interest in the affair."*

To this speech of the deputies I (Chapuys) answered that they (the Royal deputies) knew well that in order not to lose time I consented to pass the article in question without waiting for the Emperor's answer, provided all the rest were reduced to just, reasonable, and honest terms, and that if the King, their master, would only consider and weigh the demands made by me in Your Majesty's name, and my own representations on the subject, he would find them reasonable enough, and therefore that there was no necessity, as they seemed to think, of waiting for Your Majesty's reply, but they ought to proceed at once to the conclusion of the treaty. Otherwise people might think that the premeditated delay was caused and brought about in order to gain time and see how the two wars of France and Scotland respectively would turn out. It might indeed be surmised (said I to them) that their late success in Scotland had made them forget other neighbours of theirs; but they ought to consider that nowadays, for that very reason, they would be in greater need than

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before of friends and allies. This I tried to inculcate by more than one reason which I alleged to them, and which I omit for brevity's sake, telling them, among other things, that it behoved them more than ever to declare against king Francis, and give him cause to think of and provide for his own affairs at home, rather than allow him leisure to direct his thoughts towards Scotland, for otherwise the French are sure to cause trouble without end in that kingdom, where, by means of the Danes and Swedes, already arming, they might, on the pretence of favoring His Holiness' interests in Scotland, send thither 1000 *Italian hackbutiers, or at least money to feed the discontent of the people against England. That, as Your Imperial Majesty had lately written to His Holiness, French practices and their simulated friendship were far more dangerous and more to be guarded against than their open hostility and forces. It was most probable, nay, almost certain, that the French would try by all possible means and specious words to lull their master to sleep in order to prevent him from allying himself and making a league with Your Imperial Majesty. Meanwhile they would try to gain friends in Scotland, and principally to get possession of the Low Countries, if they could, with the help of their confederates in the North, the kings of Denmark and Sweden. Supposing that king Francis was strong enough for that, it would be easy for him to turn the King, their master, out of Scotland if he had actually occupied the throne, and perhaps also out of this kingdom of his. "Indeed (said I to the Royal dedeputies), the French are now spreading in Scotland the rumour that after finishing with Your Imperial Majesty they will make your king restore whatever he may have usurped in Scotland.**

"For the above-mentioned reasons (said I to the deputies) the king of France desires now more than ever to be at peace with the Emperor, so much so that His Holiness is now trying all he can to bring it about. The Emperor, my master, will never listen to the latter's solicitations, hoping for the conclusion of this treaty between the King, your master, and him. Indeed, it would have been extremely convenient and important for my master, the Emperor, to know the King's final resolution as to the treaty, in order to provide in time for his own affairs. All this waiting for the Emperor's

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* "Et cependant ilz travailleroient de pourveoir aux affaires dEcosse, mais principallement de gaigner, silz pouvoient, à laide de ses (leurs) colleguez (*confederés*) les pays dembas (*d'en bas*) de vre. ma^{te}, bien presupposant que sil (le roy de France) en pouvoit venir à chief, il luy seroit treffacille (très facile) et aise de deschasser leur dit maistre du dit Escosse, sil lavoit occupe, [et] aussi de ce royaulme; et que les dits françois commençoient de publier de par de là que quoy quil coustast ilz gaigneroient le dit s^{r} roy leur maistre; mais que puis apres quilz auroient exploicte contre vre. ma^{te} ilz luy feroient bien faire restitution, et que pour tout cella si falloit-il quilz creussent que le dit roy de France ne desira oncques plus de paix avec vre. ma^{te}, et que sa S^{te} estoit apres à bride abatue pour la moyenner."

answer, without advancing one step towards the conclusion of the treaty, may after all be only an excuse for delaying it. If the ‘zabra’ *which took my letter to Spain has foundered at sea, eight months may pass before the Emperor's answer comes to hand. Besides which, had your master's intention been to stop at such trifles, he might have let me know of it immediately after my last conference with you, when I should have been unable to forward a duplicate of my despatch of the 2nd of November. Before the arrival of the Scotch news, that is to say, two days after the conference which my colleague (Courrières) and I held with you, when you had already made your report, there was no idea of waiting for my master's approving answer, which makes me suspect, nay, be certain, that your plan is to gain time, so as not to be obliged to undertake the invasion of France this next summer, owing to the expedition you were then meditating against Scotland. In fact, I am sure of this, for when the season and time of the projected invasion were discussed, you (the deputies) were the first to propose that those points should be left to the decision of the contracting parties. In short, I thought, speaking as one of the King's servants, that if such was his intention, that was no reason for delaying the conclusion of the treaty; for although it might be that Your Imperial Majesty might consent to the invasion taking place at any other time before the treaty was ratified and sworn to, the season for a campaign would have passed, and by that means the King would have gained his object, whilst he would have been sure of the other stipulations of the treaty—which he seems to have desired most ardently, and which, on many considerations, was so convenient and advantageous for him and his heirs—being fulfilled.*

As to doubting whether Your Imperial Majesty might not disavow me, and refuse to pass the article as it was amended, inasmuch as the Queen Regent had neither dared confirm it expressly nor authorized me to do so, but had, on the contrary, not sanctioned it, remitting me to Your Imperial Majesty's answer, I exhibited to them a letter from the said Queen Regent, in which she tells me to pass boldly the said article without waiting for Your Majesty's answer.

*These words of mine the deputies seemed glad to hear, for they destroyed in fact the King's principal argument as to the necessity of waiting for Your Majesty's answer.**

After some more conversation on this particular point, the deputies, who seem very much inclined to the conclusion of the treaty, offered to report to the King the substance of my conference with them, and do all they could besides to forward Your Majesty's views.

Having afterwards told them that I wished to have an

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* "Car par ce estoit encrue (encroué, encloué ?) tout le fondement que le dit s^{r} roy allegoit pour lattente de la dicte response, et certes ilz monstrent estre tres enclins au paracheuement du dict traicte."

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audience from the King, and speak to him on the subject, inasmuch as I fancied that the report they had made of our last conference was not faithful nor correct enough, the deputies offered no opposition, and engaged to solicit it for me, promising at the same time to forward the affair as much as they could.

I must not omit to say that talking with them about the affairs of Scotland, the deputies said to me that the King's daughter (Mary Stuart), whom they thought dead, was still alive, and that there was no one in the country who could oppose the King's views and cause him annoyance, except perhaps the Cardinal. That, therefore, was their reason (they said) for insisting so much on the words "prelates et personnes ecclesiastiques" *being introduced into the clause about the defence, and that it seemed to them a sort of inspiration from the Holy Ghost, for at the time that the treaty was negociated not one of them could have even suspected that such a thing might come to pass.*

The Cardinal is all powerful (est le tout) *in Scotland, and has hitherto used his power very prudently, for in order to keep secure in his hands the entire and free administration of government affairs, and to avoid arousing jealousy* (et estre à moings denvie), *he took care that king James, before his death, should appoint as governor and tutor of his daughter a first cousin* (cousin germain) *of his, the nearest heir to the crown of Scotland; but, as I said above, he is half an idiot, besides which, the English* (ceulx-cy) *consider him a bastard, and maintain that he is an illegitimate son. There is a report that the Cardinal, of whom I speak, has introduced more order in the administration, and made better provision in military affairs than there was during the life of the late king, so much so, that a few days ago the men on the Scotch border made a raid, slew a certain number of men, and did some other damage. That is only by land; for by sea they have captured some English ships, and, as I have just been told, the Cardinal, and the others who now have the reins of government in their hands, have decreed the arrest and imprisonment of the sons, brothers, and other near relatives of those who were taken prisoners [at Solway Moss], suspecting that either through disloyalty and treason the latter had allowed the English, though in much smaller number than themselves, to defeat them, or else that they (the governors of Scotland) have got wind of this king's relations with some of them, and that he may, one of these days, through their means create disturbances in Scotland to the Cardinal's injury. In addition to the Scotch prisoners [of Solway Moss] being deprived by that measure of the hostages they might have furnished for the sake of obtaining freedom and returning home, they have now been declared traitors, in consequence of which they all remain for the present at Berwick, not daring to set foot in Scotland. All are soon* *expected back here* [*in London*], *with the single exception of one, who has offered to go home, boasting that he has the power of arranging the affair so that all the others may go back freely and in security.*

This King has ordered the States of the Kingdom to assemble in eight days' time. Should I hear anything of what they intend to do, I shall not fail to let Your Imperial Majesty know.—London, 15 January 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England; of the xvth of January. Received at Madrit (*sic*) the xxvjth of February 1542 [old style]."

15 Jan. **95.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Your Majesty will see, by the duplicate of my letter to the Emperor * here enclosed, that I am anxiously expecting the answer of the bishops of Winchester and Westminster † to my last communication, as well as to my petition for an audience [from the King].‡ I have this very morning sent to them one of my men, whom I am expecting back to-morrow. Of the answer he may bring, as well as of any other news, Your Majesty will be promptly advised.—London, 1 January 1542 [old style].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

17 Jan. **96.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Four days ago the king arrived in town. Immediately after, as I was preparing to wait on him, I was seized by a fresh fit of gout, which took away all hope of my being able to call with the promptitude which the pressure and importance of the affair in hand requires. I was, therefore, compelled to send a message to the Royal deputies, praying them to supply my deficiency in that respect, and intercede with the King, their master, for a final answer and determination on the whole. To this prayer of mine I joined the necessity of my complying with the very urgent commands lately received both from the Emperor and from Your Majesty, as well as Mr. de Granvelle's commendations to procure the King's answer as soon as possible. The deputies, after talking to the King, and holding a consultation with the rest of the privy councillors, sent me word the day before yesterday that in three or four days, at the most, I should get a final answer. Yesterday morning, as I fully expected, the secretary of the Privy Council § called at this

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* The preceding, No. 94, p. 214.

† That is Stephen Gardiner and Thomas Thirlby.

‡ "Tant sur le contenu de noz dernierez devisez que sur lottroys (l'octroi) de laudience quilz me doibvent pourchasser."

§ Most probably John Mason, clerk of the Privy Council.

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embassy, and brought me a message from the King purporting that letters had been received from his ambassador at the court of France, which letters stated, among other news, that the French were boasting and bragging of having intercepted in Lorraine a packet of letters directed to Spain, from the contents of which they gathered that Your Majesty and the Low Countries were reduced to such an extremity that unless prompt provision was hastily made, and measures were taken for the defence thereof, all must be considered as lost. That owing to the above intelligence, which had accidentally fallen into their hands, the French boasted that they would not lose the opportunity this time, but would resume with greater force their undertaking against the Low Countries. "Though the King, my master (said the Secretary), knows well what French stratagems are, and fancies the whole of that news to have been fabricated on purpose, yet he has charged me to come and inform you of these things, that you may write to the Emperor, and to his sister, the Regent in the Low Countries, and at the same time ascertain whether matters there are as desperate as the French represent them to be."

This last, in my opinion, was the principal object of the King's message brought by his Secretary. I duly thanked him for the information, and replied that I did not consider the affairs of the Low Countries to be in so desperate a state as the French represented; on the contrary, I believed them to be in a very fair condition, inasmuch as His Imperial Majesty's subjects were fully determined to risk their lives for the defence of their country. That if Your Majesty had really written what the French said, you had certainly acted wisely and prudently; for military affairs of such importance are not generally handled by ladies; the Emperor had perhaps delayed a little too much, owing chiefly to the great distance and the difficulty of the communications, the help and assistance he had intended to send from the first. Your Majesty, said I, could not do less, under the circumstances, than exaggerate the danger (not a small one, as I think) in which the countries under Your government are of a fresh invasion by the French on so many sides and with so considerable a force. If, however, the King would now declare openly against the French, he would find that Your Majesty has lost none of Your former vigor and force, or of the resolution You always had of bringing to reason the constant disturber of the peace of Christendom (*le turbateur de la tranquillite chrestienne*).

On other points connected with present affairs the Secretary said nothing to me, yet I failed not to remind him of the promise which the deputies had made of a speedy answer from the King. This he offered to solicit for me when he next went to Court; notwithstanding which, I intend sending one of my clerks to him to-day, for, after all, it might happen that affairs turned out much better than I expected a few days ago, inasmuch as there seems to be a chance just now of this king obtaining, without much cost or array of forces, the conditions he has asked from the Scotch, which conditions are far more moderate than those he imposed at first. Indeed, besides the large party (*les intelligences tres grandes*) this king has in Scotland, he is likely to be most efficiently helped by the enmity now existing between the count of Haren (earl of Arran), first cousin of the deceased king and tutor of his daughter, and the Cardinal (Betoun), of which emnity the chief cause is that the Cardinal affirms that the King, before he died, appointed him with three other noblemen to be governors of the kingdom, which affirmation the Count considers to be false, owing to no other living person but the Cardinal himself having spoken about it. Besides which, the Cardinal's assertion had been so flatly contradicted and questioned that the Count, on hearing of it, got into a passion, put his hand on the hilt of his sword [and threatened violence]. The Count has no doubt that the Cardinal, a thorough Frenchman, will try to revenge the insult, and bring over to Scotland Mr. de Guise, or some other nobleman of his family, to take the government of the country into his hands, as well as the guardianship of the Princess, which will afford the Count occasion and excuse for demanding aid and assistance from England. And I do really believe that if he (count Haren) obtains this King's support to enable him to continue in the government of Scotland at all events during the minority of the Princess or her absence from Scotland—should she come to England to be married to prince Edward —he will agree to any conditions imposed upon him, even that of renouncing French alliance. On the other hand, most probably for fear of the duke of Guise or some other personage from France coming to Scotland to take the guardianship of the Princess, and of the government of the country falling thereby into his hands, several of the principal Scotch lairds and gentlemen in the country will espouse the Earl's party, and even favour also those who were prisoners here in London, all of whom returned the other day to Scotland, with the exception of a few who could not furnish the hostages required in their room.*

I lately forgot to say, when I wrote about the taking of La Rochelle, that in the act or manifesto drawn up by king Francis, he declared that he would not treat prisoners so cruelly and inexorably as those of Ghent had been treated [by the Emperor].

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* "Et croy que luy vouldra octroyer la maniance (*sic*) du dict gouvernement en tous cas advenant, à sçavoir durant la pupillarite de la fille, ou absence du royaulme, et en cas quelle vinse à estre mariée avec ce prince, il condescendra à toutes conditions, mesmes la principale, quest de renuncer lamitie des françois.

"Et semble que pour craincte quil ne vienne illeq du dit France pour gouverneur, pluseurs des principaulx du dit royaulme tiendront le party du dit conte, et mesmes les prisoniers quont içi estez, les quelz sont presque tres tous [re]tourne au dit Escosse, saufz (*sic*) aulcungs que encoires nont peu avoir les hostages quilz debvoient delivrer en leur lieu."

The French ambassador will not quit this country as soon as he intended, owing to the one who was to replace him having fallen ill. He has twice in this week called on the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) at his lodgings, and has met there the bishop of Westminster (Thirlby), but I know nothing yet on the subject of their conference.

Having yesterday asked the Secretary (Wriothesley) what he knew of the military preparations now being made in France, he answered that he knew nothing except that a courier of this king, going [to Paris], had met on the road several German captains, and that Martin Van Rousse * had left France in disgust and very discontented with king Francis, the King being even still more so with him, and that one of his comrades named Rauche had been arrested.

After the above was written the Secretary returned to me, sent by the King for the express purpose of inquiring how I was getting on after my last attack, most cordially offering to send me his own physician, medicines, and everything else I might want, begging me to make use of them without scruple of any sort, as if I were a principal officer of his Royal household. He (the Secretary) further brought me the following message from him, *i.e.*, that hoping that I should have been able to stir out of doors and have some conversation with him, he had delayed sending for me, but since that was not the case he would delay no longer, and had ordered his deputies to call on me next day.† Indeed, I have no doubt that the King has been very much pleased with what I said to his Secretary when he came to see me; that is one of the reasons why I pressed so hard for the King's resolution in this affair; and the other, my being so oppressed and fatigued by illness, that I began to fear I should not be in a condition to sign the treaty unless it was hastily concluded. I should regret immensely to die before its conclusion, for fear of another ambassador being sent in my room not so well informed of English affairs as I am, and therefore likely to spoil the whole affair.

The French ambassador has this very day sent to ask an audience from the King. What may be his object, and which day is fixed for the audience, I have not yet been able to learn. As soon as I can get reliable information on this

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* Van Rossen.

† "En cest instant apres escript ce que dessus est icy retourne le dit Secretaire, envoye de la part du roy pour entre aultres choses se condouloir de ma maladie et indisposition, et me offrir tres cordiallement medecins et medecines et tout ce que aurai-je de besoing, me priant en user sans scrupule, et comme le principal domestique de sa court. Et au surplus pour me dire que pensant deviser avec moy, comme il eust bien desire, il ne mavoit plustot envoye ses deputez, les quelz sans nulle faulte seront demain içy avec moy."

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point I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty, as well as of the result of the deputies' visit, which I expect every day. —London, 17 January 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 3.

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter of the Imperial ambassador in England to the Queen, in Flanders, xvij^e of January 1543."

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21 Jan. **97.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"*Sire,*"—*Yesterday morning, early, I received,** *within the packet of letters from Spain, which Mr. de Granvelle addressed to me immediately after his landing at Gennes (Genoa), Your Imperial Majesty's of the* 3rd *of November, in answer to which I cannot write at present more than I have already written in my preceding despatches, unless it be that this king's deputies sent me word by my man that their master had taken in very good part all I had said to them, and was intending, from day to day, to come here* [*to London*] *when he would have a conversation with me, after which they (the deputies) hoped everything would be settled to our complete satisfaction. So that if the King, as his deputies assert, shows such a good will and inclination, I have no doubt that it will materially increase, owing to the indignation* (desdaing) *he must have felt at hearing of the French and Scotch together having lately captured on the coast of Britanny certain English ships* (navieres) *coming from Bordeaux laden with wine for his table and that of other private persons. At any rate, Your Imperial Majesty may be sure that, on my part, no diligent solicitation shall be spared, and all means of persuasion employed to make the King take a resolution in the affair.* Of whatever may happen I shall not fail to inform Your Imperial Majesty whenever there is an opportunity, and will continue also to do the same with regard to Mr. de Granvelle.

The French ambassador has not gone to Court since the day mentioned in my last despatch. True is it that during that time he has sent two or three couriers; perhaps also he himself is thinking of returning thither soon, for he received yesterday two letters from home.

The above paragraph was scarcely ended when I received a message from a certain personage who had just been dining with the French ambassador. He tells me that one of the two

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* "Je receu à prim hier," says the original deciphering, but I should say that the true reading ought to be "Jai reçeu à prime heure hier."

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couriers, alluded to above as having come to the latter from France, brought a letter from the governor of Boulogne [sur Mer] announcing that Martin van Rossen had arrived safely at Juliers with his small army, and had there made his junction with the duke of Clèves. But mixed up with these facts, which I have no doubt are substantially true, the governor's letter, which the ambassador showed to the Duke's agent here, also one of his guests, contained the most strange and impudent lies, such as asserting that the said Martin van Rossen had defeated a division of Your Majesty's army, which attempted to bar his passage through Brabant, where he had done considerable damage to the country people in retaliation for that caused in the duchy of Juliers by Your Majesty's troops. The letter further said that Mr. de Longueval was in the Luxemburg, waiting for a large sum of money to come to him from France, which piece of news I take to be as false and lying as the former.

The other courier brought to the French ambassador a letter from his master, the King, dated from La Rochelle, on the 10*th, which letter, as I am informed, contained the following:—" After quieting the riots of La Rochelle (where two of his Royal commissioners and one treasurer had been murdered bg the inhabitants, who resisted being deprived of their privileges) king Francis made his entry into the town, and on New Year's day, as he was sitting on his throne, surrounded by his two sons, Cardinal Tournon, and other grave personages, the people of the town came in, made their excuses, and renounced all their privileges; after which they delivered into his hands the keys of the town, and made the declaration of obedience used on such occasions, having at the same time presented the King with* 60,000 *fr. in cash; and that, considering the poverty of the inhabitants, and the reasons and excuses alleged by them, the King had refused to receive the money, and had pardoned the misdemeanour of the Rochellese, throwing all the blame on the governor of the town, who had (he said), through his official report, been the cause of the heavy tax imposed upon them, and who was actually punished with deprivation of his office.*

Letters from France announce that Count Guillaume de Fousenberg (Furstenberg) and his lieutenant had quitted the court of Francis in disgust, owing to most of their band having refused to follow them. From what the personage above alluded to, who was one of the guests of the French ambassador said, the latter had no particular mandate at present from the King, his master, nor any business to transact at Court; nay, I am told by my informant that the last time he went thither, during the Christmas festivities, he treated chiefly of the restitution of the ship in which *the Cardinal of Scotland had returned to Scotland, which ship the English had captured at sea. On this subject, and whilst the contention was going on, the French ambassador got into such a passion that he made use of many indiscreet and threatening expressions against the members of this king's Privy Council.* I should very much wish that the ambassador continued to treat the privy councillors in this way; there would then be a chance for the King—who has besides so many just reasons and causes for indignation—declaring at once against the French. Matters in this state, it would perhaps be an easy task to persuade him to abandon for a time the Scottish enterprize, and to represent to him that this is the best opportunity for taking up arms and obliging king Francis—the sole cause and source of the evils that afflict Christendom at large—to return to his duty. Indeed, this king ought to be told—and I myself intend telling him so at the first audience—that after having openly declared against France, he may without much fatigue or expence realize his plans for the possession of Scotland, as otherwise the French will be able at very small cost to mar all his projects in those parts. At any rate he ought, in my humble opinion, to suspend for some time his operations in Scotland, for in the meanwhile it is most probable that some dissension or other may shortly spring up between the four governors appointed by the late king (James), specially by means and through the practices of count Douglas,† who has two of his nephews in the Regency. It appears that some time before his death the late king of Scotland ordered the said count Douglas to be reinstated in all the property,—of which he had been deprived by a most iniquitous and unjust sentence—and likewise that a nephew of his, who had been long kept in prison, should be released. Owing to the above facts, and to the dissension among the parties, which must naturally spring up soon, this king has, in my opinion, a very good chance of obtaining his aim through the intelligences he has in that kingdom of Scotland, and, therefore, will lose nothing by waiting for eventualities, which cannot but be in his favor. Should he, on the contrary, persist now in his undertaking, he may perchance unite all parties against him, and compel the Scotch to look out for help and assistance elsewhere. To these admonitory warnings, which I intend to lay before the Royal deputies at our next conference, I may add several more, of which I purpose making use*

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* "Et en que ma rappourté le dit personaige, le dit ambassadeur navoit charge ne matiere daller en court, et m'affirme que quant il y fust ces festes, il ne parla principalement que de la restitucion de la naviere quavoit rappourte le cardinal dExcosse, la quelle ceulx-cy ont prinse pieça et sur cestuy affaire le dit ambassadeur estoit entré en si grande colere quil usa de beaucop de parolles haultaynes et indiscretes contre les principaulx du Conseil."

† "Le conte d'Ouglas," says the original, but Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, is no doubt meant.

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according to the disposition of affairs.—London, 21 January 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, 21st Jan. 1543. Received at Madril (*sic*) the 26th of February."

French. Original. pp. 5.

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23 Jan.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

98. The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—Your letters of the 2nd and 22nd of November,[*] informing Us of the result of the conferences which you and Mr de Courrières have held with the king of England and his ministers respecting the treaty of closer friendship and alliance, have duly come to hand. We clearly see the point at which the King and his ministers finally stop, without choosing to go any further, notwithstanding the many representations and persuasions which you have made them, and the very just and reasonable causes We have for not granting their demands, especially those concerning two of the articles in the treaty, namely, that of the "common defence," and that of the "residence (*hantise*) and communication of each others' subjects." Were those two articles to pass as they are worded in the draft of the treaty, or according to the amendments proposed in the schedule appended to your letter, a most serious injury would be done to Our honor and reputation. That is why We have again sent the two said articles to Our Council, there to be re-examined and discussed. After Our councillors' long and mature deliberation on the matter, We do not see how We can conscientiously pass the said two articles, unless they be couched in exactly the same words as those in Our letter and Instructions to Mr. de Courrières, the articles themselves being so closely connected with Our faith and ancient religion.[†] It is therefore incumbent upon you—unless, however, you have already proceeded to the discussion of other articles (as you seem to have had express orders to do from Our sister, the Regent)—to forbear giving cause for the negociations to be entirely broken off through it, and yet to insist upon the two said articles being couched in the very same terms and words of Our Instructions to Mr. de Courrières. As since the receipt of your joint letter[‡] there has been no danger of a rupture on the part of the king of England, who, as far as you can guess, will try to temporize as long as he can without declaring for one or the other of the parties; as We also presume and hope that—no such danger existing at present—you have not allowed the two said articles to pass as amended in your note, We order you to prosecute the negociation to the end, and insist upon the Royal deputies accepting the terms and words proposed by Us.* This you will try to accomplish by all manner of persuasions and arguments, giving the King's ministers to understand that England will gain much by the treaty of closer friendship and alliance now being negociated, and that unless the said two articles are inserted as We want them to be, the treaty itself cannot be concluded and ratified as We and the king of England should like it to be, though We must say that owing to the close friendship now uniting us both, and to the singular affection We profess for him, there would be no objection on Our part to the rest of the articles passing exactly as they are couched in the draft of the treaty.

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[*] No. 74 (p. 159) and 81 (p. 182).

[†] "Et apres avoir meurement (maturement?) advise et delibere sur iceulx, ne voyons que avec bonne conscience puissions passer les dits deux articles autrement quilz sont declairez en lettres et charge du dit s^{r} de Courrières pour estre deppendans de nostre foy et ancienne religion."

[‡] That is of Chapuys and Courrières on the 2nd of November, though only signed by the former (No. 74, pp. 159–75).

In case, however, of your being unable to persuade the Royal deputies, and should the latter persist in their determination respecting the two articles in question, you will, without actually coming to a rupture, try to temporize, and from time to time inform the dowager queen of Hungary, Madame, Our sister, as well as Mr. de Granvelle, now in Germany, of the progress of the negociation. We now write to them both, telling them, in case matters should come to the worst, to devise together as to the best means of carrying out Our intentions in this matter, either by proceeding with the treaty to its final conclusion, or by looking out for fresh expedients, such as they may deem fit and most convenient for Our service and the state of Our affairs in that country, and let you and your colleague know how you are to conduct yourselves in the negociation.

We must not omit to say, whilst on this topic, that although the English ambassador residing at this Our court has, since your first letter of the 2nd November, heard from the King, his master, and from the privy-councillors, and seems to be perfectly well informed of the conferences which you and your colleague have had on the subject, he has not yet taken any notice or in anywise alluded to the subject, but is now three or four leagues from this place,† hunting and

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* "Et fauldra que si desja navez passe oultre au dit traicte, comme nous escripvez avoir charge de nostre dite seur, si veissiez apparence de rompture (*sic*) du coustel d'Angleterre, ce que nous ne pensons que aurez faict,—pour dois le reception de vostre dite lettre n'estre les choses si mal succedees que le dit roy d'Angleterre eust eu occasion de rompture—le quel à ce que pouvons comprendre, serchera de tousiours temporiser sans soy declairer dung coustel ou d'autre, que encoires y persistiez jusques au bout."

† That is from Madrid, where the Emperor was since the 1st of January. Two months after, on the 1st of March, he left for Alcalá de Henares. *See* Gachard, and Bradford's *Itinerary of Charles V.*, p. 535.

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making good cheer, without thinking in the least of his master's affairs. We have sent a messenger to acquaint him with the contents of your joint despatch, that he may, if he chooses, send to Our Privy Council a copy of the one he himself has received. Up to this hour no answer has come from him, and We cannot imagine what excuses he may make to his master, for since the receipt of his despatch he has neither spoken nor written to Us about it. That is why We inform you of the fact, in order that you may answer the king and his ministers should they interpellate you on the subject.

Having heard of the military preparations which king Francis is making on all sides, and especially on that of Navarre and Fontarrabia, where he has massed a considerable number of Germans—no doubt with a view of again invading Our kingdoms and dominions this next spring (*à la prime vere*)—We have determined, the better to resist his attacks, and provide for the defence and security of Our threatened kingdoms, (after making here, in Castille, such provision as may be necessary) to start on St. Mathias' day,* and direct Our course upon Barcelona, so as to be nearer to the frontier of Navarre and Fontarrabia, and also to Perpignan, if the enemy should attempt the Roussillon. We have also written to prince Doria to come over to Barcelona with his galleys before the end of March, that he may in case of need succour the towns on the sea shore, and be otherwise prepared to sail with his fleet to whichever quarter his maritime services may be required. Should king Francis effect a diversion with part of his forces, either against Italy or against the Low Countries, prince Doria is to convey Us personally to that country where the danger may be the greatest, so as to resist the enemy with all Our power. We cannot at this time tell you to which of those points We shall personally go, not knowing for certain what the enemy's designs may be; but this We can assure you, that We are quite prepared to meet king Francis wherever he may show himself.—Madrit (*sic*), 23 January 1543.

Signed: "To el Rey."

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

28 Jan. **99.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—After writing my letter of the 17th the King's secretary came to this embassy, and exhibited those he had received from the English ambassador † at the court of king Francis, relating, among other news more or less fabricated by the French, that His Imperial Majesty is virtually in treaty with the Turk. I copy the paragraph in the ambassador's letter, which stands thus :—" The French are now spreading the rumour that the Emperor has lately sent two ambassadors to the Grand Turk to ask for a two years' truce, but that the Sultan would not hear of it, and had on the contrary ordered one of the ambassadors to be beheaded, and was determined to send next spring a fleet of eighty galleys to Provence to the assistance of the French."*

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* The Emperor may have intended, as he announces, to depart from Madrid on the 24th of February, St. Mathias' Day, the anniversary of the battle of Pavia, but according to Vandenesse's *Itinerary*, translated by Bradford (p. 535), his departure took place on the 1st of March.

† *See* above, No. 96.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

12 Feb. **100.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

" Madame,"—On Monday, the 5th inst., the King's deputies came to dine with me at this embassy, when, after a long conversation, we at last arrived at a conclusion on the subject of closer friendship and alliance, which, however, was on the point of again being suspended, if not entirely broken off, owing to their insisting upon the King, their master, being called in the preamble to the treaty, " Sovereign Chief of the Anglican Church." The Royal deputies again came to me on Wednesday, the 7th, at 6 o'clock in the afternoon, when I have no words to describe to Your Majesty how I was pressed to accede to their request in that particular, they (the deputies) having repeatedly declared to me that unless I consented to their master being explicitly called in the preamble to the treaty, " King of England and Sovereign Chief of the Anglican Church," they considered the whole as lost; the King's indignation would be roused, and much harm might ensue; for (said they) " the very moment that our master, the King, is apprized of that difficulty, he will altogether refuse to hear more about the treaty with the Emperor." This the deputies affirmed on their honor and conscience, adding that on that very day letters had been received from France offering *monts et merveilles* to their master, who, angry and irritated as he would naturally be at my refusal, might perhaps be induced to listen to their proposals.

Hearing this I addressed to them such representations as I deemed necessary to excuse my non-conformity with their views on that particular point. After a good deal of discussion, it was at last decided that in the treaty which I myself was

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[*] " Les dits franchois font courir le bruyt par içy que sa ma^{te} avoit envoyé deux ambassadeurs devers le Turcq pour obtenir tresves dune annee, et que le dit Turc ny avoit voulust (voulu) entendre, ains avoit faict trancher la teste à ung deulx, et estoit desliberé denvoyer à ce printemps huyttante galleres en Provence au service deulx."

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to sign and seal, only the titles of "King of England, France, and Ireland" should be inserted, and in spite of all their prayers that those of "Defender of the Faith," and so forth should be added, I never consented to that. With regard to the one, which the royal deputies themselves have already signed and sealed, and which is to remain in their hands, I could not help their giving the King all the titles he has assumed, the deputies alleging that the substance and validity of the treaty are in no wise affected or impaired by the honorable titles given to their master—titles and denominations (they said) which did no harm to any one, whilst they increased considerably the King's honor and reputation. I must observe that having during the discussion told the deputies, by way of argument, that the additional titles given to their master, the King, would come to nothing, inasmuch as I might with the greatest ease, whenever the document in their power came to me to sign, cancel or erase the titles I objected to, they answered that I might do what I liked with the treaty, as they were perfectly satisfied with having executed their master's orders in that particular.

As to the inclusion (*comprehension*) of the two dukes of Clèves and Holstein in the treaty, which is another point at variance, the Royal deputies assured me over and over again that they held it as clear and certain that both of them were comprised under the general clause relating to the "common enemies," so that it was unnecessary to introduce a more express and separate declaration in the treaty.

I have tried all I could to have an additional clause inserted to this effect,—that should one of the contracting parties enter particularly into a war with France at the head of an army as powerful and numerous as the one fixed for the common defence, then, in that case, the Prince about to invade France on his own account will not be obliged to join in the contribution for the defence. Whatever efforts I made, I could not obtain this from them. True is it that the thing is not, in my opinion, very important, for even if the affairs of Scotland were in a different condition—and in my opinion there is no danger of an invasion of England on that side—there would be no probability, whilst this King was occupied in a war with France, of the Scotch invading England or the French attacking Calais, Guisnes, and other English possessions in France, as the latter would have their hands full elsewhere.

With regard to the interpretation of the treaty, I have been unable to make any more changes, and in my opinion—and let this be said under due correction — the short clause (*clausule*) introduced in it does not impede the interpretation already established and now existing.

That is why I have insisted (though in vain) upon the article stipulating the number of ships, chariots, ammunition, ordnance, provisions, and so forth, required for the English army of invasion being supplemented by the words *"selon que bonnement et commodement faire se pourroit."* This, however, the Royal deputies refused to grant, alleging that the addition proposed by me was superfluous—the article was intelligible enough without those words; it was the same as that of the treaty of Windsor, and, besides, neither the Emperor nor his ministers in Spain had raised the least objection upon it.

Considering, therefore, that for some time back the Emperor's and Your Majesty's letters to me have earnestly recommended the prompt conclusion and signature of the treaty; considering also the situation of public affairs, and particularly those of Your Majesty; fearing, moreover, a sudden rupture of the negociations, and also that this king's anger and indignation might induce him to listen to French intrigues, now warmer than ever, I have been literally compelled to sign the treaty in the form that Your Majesty will see by the enclosed copy* of the original. I should very much have wished to have consulted upon a few points before appending my signature to it, but the Royal deputies would never hear of that, saying that there was no time for it. I really believe that well-considered We have not made a bad bargain, and that when the Emperor and Your Majesty have examined it with attention, it will be found satisfactory enough under the circumstances, nay, that mutual confidence once established between His Imperial Majesty and this king, both Your Majesty and the Emperor, Your brother, will get out of the former anything You may ask. To obtain this from him it will be necessary to show great confidence and trust in him, and supply him with things congenial to his nature and inclinations. Indeed, his deputies assure me that in return for the favorable conclusion of the treaty the King, their master, is now inclined to contribute to the war against the Turk.

This King wishes that the treaty may remain a secret for some time to come, if possible until its final ratification, in order that his subjects may in the meantime dispose of the goods and property they may have in France. He is, nevertheless, extremely desirous that the ratification shall take place as soon as possible, and intends shortly to send to Spain for the purpose two messengers, one by this sea, and another by way of Germany and Italy, and has besides requested me to do the same and write direct to Spain; suggesting that for greater security the man I myself am about to send [to Spain] should not get a passage in the same vessel as his, but sail in a different one.

Three days ago the King sent me word that his ambassador resident in France had written to say that king Francis was still plotting (*machinoit*), and that his chief hope consisted in trying to take by surprise some town in the Low Countries, and, therefore, that it was necessary to be on the alert. King Francis did not intend doing anything else this summer than attack that country with all his disposable forces.

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* Not in the packet.

For the last seven days the king has had news from Scotland that the cardinal [of St. Andrews] had been confined to prison by the command of count Harran (the earl of Arran) and his party, at which the Queen (Marie de Guise) had been much astonished, uttering cries and lamentations.* The count Dhouglas (Archibald, earl of Angus) had been deputed to go to the Queen and console her. His speech had been short and laconic; he only said to her that she ought not to be frightened at, or care for, the imprisonment of so low a man (*de si basse sorte*) as the Cardinal was, and that his detention was merely for the purpose of examining him respecting certain affairs. It is rumoured that the cause for the Cardinal's apprehension can be no other than his too great intelligence with the French, and his having tried to make Mons. de Guise or some other French personage come to Scotland and get the government of the country into his hands, a sort of thing which the Scotch will not in any way allow. The said count Dhouglas and his brother George, for a long while exiles in this country, but who are now in Scotland enjoying credit and favor with the governor, are evidently on the King's side, and there seems to be some hope of the English affairs in that country going on favorably, or at least of the Scotch being ultimately detached from the French alliance.

The great haste in which I am prevents my sending to Your Majesty a fair copy of the treaty, nor have I been at leisure to have it transcribed for Mr. de Granvelle. I therefore beg and entreat Your Majesty, after inspecting the draft herein enclosed, to be pleased to have it transcribed for the Privy Seal's use, and sent to him wherever he may be.

Whilst writing the above, two privy councillors have sent me word that the English ambassador at Venice† writes to this king that the Pope is now in treaty with king Francis to obtain the duchy of Milan, by conquest or otherwise, for one of his nephews,‡ and that it behoved His Imperial Majesty to have firm foot and quick eye on the occasion to discountenance and obviate such projects. They have also come to announce to me that most probably to-morrow a truce with the Scotch will be proclaimed by public crier in the streets of this city; that on the same day two ambassadors from that country (Scotland) are expected here; and last, not least, that there is some appearance of discord and dissension among the nobles of that country in consequence of the Archbishop's detention. The count of Mourel,* bastard brother of the late king, and the other two noblemen named (according to the cardinal's statement) in the King's will, hold still for that prelate, as well as one count Bondicel,† who came lately from Flanders and has also joined them; but the other party is stronger and more numerous, having at their head the count Dhouglas‡ and all the prisoners [of Solway Moss] lately in London. If there be a question of coming to blows, this king will not fail to help the latter with money, that he may make levies and get all necessaries for war.—London, 12 February 1542-3.

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* "Dont la royne d'Escosse s'estoit trouvee bien estonnee en donnant crys et plainctes."

† Most likely Harvel, who seems to have resided there from 1526 to 1547.

‡ The ambassador must mean grandsons, for Paul had no nephews. It was most likely for Ottavio, son of Pier Luigi, who had not yet been created duke of Parma, that Pope Paul was then trying to get the investiture of Milan. *See* above, Aguilar's letter of the 14th Jan., No. 93, pp. 206–7, and especially that of the 28th of February (No. 108) hereafter.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 5.

17 Feb. **101.** The Same to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—God has been pleased that after many delays, much work and annoyance (against the opinion and the hopes of many), the treaty of closer friendship and alliance between Your Imperial Majesty and this king has been at last concluded and signed, as nearly in accordance with Your Imperial Majesty's will and intentions as has been possible. I hope that Your Imperial Majesty will be pleased with it, and satisfied with the work done. Indeed, I do not hesitate to say that were Your Imperial Majesty to know one fourth of what has passed here during the discussion of the articles of the treaty, You would comparatively value my services on this occasion much beyond my expectations. I will, however, abstain from entering here into details, having already done so in my despatch to the queen dowager of Hungary, of which a copy is here enclosed. Should Your Majesty have the wish and the leisure to peruse the despatch to which I allude, the ups and downs of a negociation—of the good issue of which I many a time despaired—will appear in their full light. *The only fact connected with the conclusion of the treaty, which I did not mention in my despatch to the dowager queen of Hungary, is my having heard from good sources that the aim of this king, in his negociations with the Scotch, had hitherto been to make sure of the nobles attached to the French party, and get the little girl, daughter of the deceased King, into his hands.*§ *This has been his fixed idea for some time past; and it seems that he now has some slight chance of gaining his purpose, provided he*

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* James Stuart, earl of Murray, natural son of James IV.

† Bondisel, Boutivel; no doubt Bothwell.

‡ Archibald Angus, earl of Douglas, generally called by Chapuys De Houglas, d'Ouglas, &c.

§ "Que ce que ce roy jusquez icy traictoit avecq les Escossois estoit davoir pour son assheurance et sequestrer les dits Escossais de la partialite et devotion de France et avoir la petite fille du feu roy entre ses mains."

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previously engages not to have her married to his son (prince Edward), but give her for husband some personage or other who may reside in Scotland, or, at least, that the children born of that marriage may do so; in the meanwhile, the administration of public affairs shall remain in the hands of the nobleman who is now at the head of the government. This, I take it, is the purpose for which the Scotch ambassadors have lately come to England, and, certainly, if an arrangement of the sort can be made, it will be as injurious to the French and as profitable to Your Imperial Majesty as if this king were to take entire possession of the Scottish kingdom; besides which, the danger now threatening, of the Scotch following the example of England, and refusing obedience to the Holy Apostolic See, would cease.*

Having omitted to mention in my despatch to the queen dowager of Hungary the subject of the king of the Romans and his inclusion in the treaty, I must declare to Your Imperial Majesty that though I attempted it two or three times during the discussion, I did not insist much upon it; for, in the first place, the instructions from Spain did not make king Ferdinand's inclusion an urgent case, and, in the second, because had the Royal deputies agreed to it, as most likely they would have done, they would have looked upon it as an act of gratuitous condescension, and one likely to encourage them to make some other demand in compensation, or else have rendered them more difficult on other debatable points. I thought, besides, that it was wiser for me to omit his name altogether, inasmuch as the recovery of Maran, which belongs to him, being stipulated in the treaty, there was no necessity of mentioning expressly "the king of the Romans." There was a still more potent reason for my doing so. Had I insisted upon his being named and included in the treaty, it would seem, according to the right interpretation of Civil Law, that Your Imperial Majesty had excluded all other sovereigns or powers, and His Holiness might have resented the omission of his own name as a secular prince; whereas by the king of the Romans not being mentioned, the Pope would not have cause to complain, since Your Imperial Majesty's only brother was not comprised therein; and last, not least, because should Your Majesty consider that his inclusion is convenient, that could easily be done before the ratification of the treaty.

Nor can I omit to say that although Your Imperial Majesty has not yet approved or ratified the treaty, or in any way consented to the titles this king assumes in the preamble, the matter is so arranged that it may be interpreted

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* The passage stands thus: "Et semble quil y a quelque peu d'apparence de y parvenir pourveu que le dict s^r roy promecte non la marier au prince son filz ayns à quelque aultre sortable personnaige qui puist resider au dit Escosse, ou du moins les enfans qui sortiroient du dit marriage."

1543.

*and understood in a very different manner from that which the Royal deputies assume, and that there is no reason whatever for Your Imperial Majesty being henceforward slandered or criticized about it, since for greater security, and to remove any cause for future reproach, I have caused the words at the end of the instrument and just before the date, namely, "according to the computation and rite of the Anglican Church," to be cancelled and effaced.**—London, 17 February 1542 [1543].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 3.

17 Feb. **102.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—Just at this moment, after sealing the packet of letters of which the present despatch will form part, and whilst my man, the bearer, was getting ready to depart, Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 23rd ult. has come to hand. I regret extremely not having received it a week sooner, before I had signed the treaty of closer friendship and alliance, for the hasty conclusion and termination (*parachevement*) of which I had been hard pressed by the queen dowager of Hungary, so much so, that after mature deliberation and close examination of the article which I caused to be inserted, as my despatch of the 2nd of November will show, I decided at once to bring to an end the negociation. I must observe that having previously consulted on the affair with the members of the Privy Council in Flanders, the article, as it was couched, seemed to them quite reasonable and not open to objection, since neither His Holiness the Pope nor the Ecclesiastical State is mentioned in it. With regard to the other article concerning the frequent resort of Your Majesty's subjects to this country (*hantise*), which at first was open to doubt, it has since been modified, altered, and reformed, according to Your Imperial Majesty's wishes. The same may be said respecting that of the "rebels." Perhaps when Your Imperial Majesty has seen and revised the whole, it will be found—and I say this under due correction—that Your Majesty's conscience will in nowise be aggrieved. I am greatly disappointed, nay, regret immensely not having received sooner Your Imperial Majesty's orders on this particular, and yet I will make no use whatever of the intimation conveyed in the last letter until I receive another from Spain, in answer to these two which the present bearer is to take. *Had I not been afraid of these people—generally over suspicious in matters of this sort—taking my refusal in bad part, I should certainly have declined the offer which*

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* Et pour en oster une aultre occasion jay faict canceller et changer ce que les dits deputez avoient mis à la fin de l'instrument près la date, à sçavoir ces parolles *selon la computation et rite de leglise anglicane.*

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they once made me of dispatching a messenger to Your Imperial Majesty, independently of the two they themselves are sending by two different routes; but I have considered it best for all parties to let these people have their way, rather than furnish this king and his deputies with an opportunity to get angry and undo what has been obtained with so much patience and labour; I have also considered that in the meanwhile time is being gained, and that before the ratification of the treaty by Your Imperial Majesty events may happen calculated to facilitate the remodelling of the article in question according to Your Majesty's wishes. Even if no such opportunity occurs, I confidently hope that when once this king has placed his trust in Your Majesty, there will be nothing that he does not do to please you.—London, 17 February 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 3.

17 Feb. **103.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Just at this moment, after closing my despatch to the Emperor, and whilst urging my man to take his departure, Your Majesty's letter of the 23rd ult. has come to hand. I cannot describe the annoyance and regret I have felt at that letter not having reached me a week ago, and before the conclusion and signature of the treaty, which, in pursuance of Your Majesty's orders, I had been pressing and hastening as much as possible. For certainly, to say the plain truth, after long and mature examination of the article as couched in my despatch of the 2nd of November—to which article, by the way, the councillors of Flanders have made no objection whatever, seeing that neither the Emperor nor the Ecclesiastical State is therein mentioned expressly; after remodelling the one relating to the "*hantise*" of His Imperial Majesty's subjects, which, if left as it was, might have offered matter for scruple; and reforming also, according to the Emperor's views, that concerning the rebels, I naturally thought that the best had been done to secure a good treaty of defensive and offensive alliance with England. Yet I trust (under correction) that when His Imperial Majesty inspects again and compares the whole, it will be found that His conscience is in nowise hurt by it. This notwithstanding, I must own that I am exceedingly sorry at my not having known sooner His Imperial Majesty's will and intention, of which, however, I have made and shall make a point not to speak to this king or his ministers until I again hear from home. *Indeed, had not the fear of raising this people's suspicions, and of their taking it in bad part, prevented me, I would not have dispatched the messenger bearer of this letter; only I thought that after all it was better to let him go*

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alone on board a separate vessel, and thus give these people no cause for suspicion and anger, as in the meanwhile, and before the ratification of the treaty by the Emperor, time might be gained, and events might also occur to facilitate any further amendments or changes which His Imperial Majesty might be pleased to introduce. Even if that opportunity or chance did not offer itself, I hope, nay, believe that if this king comes to place trust and reliance on Your Imperial Majesty, he will be pleased to gratify you on every point, and especially on that particular article which is still a matter for scruple.

Writing always under protest and subject to correction, and duly submitting my own opinion to His Imperial Majesty's incomparable wisdom and judgment, it seems to me that the article of the "defence," where the scruple lies, is upon the whole far more moderate than the one in the Cambray treaty; for besides the fact that no mention is therein made of the Ecclesiastical State, the terms in which the article is couched are by no means so comprehensive and general as those of the Cambray article; even if they were so, they would never comprise the Emperor, since, according to lawyers' opinion, without a specific mention of Your Majesty's name in the article no inclusion can be meant.*

Respecting the bishop of London, several of the privy councillors do own that he was guilty of indiscretion at Your Majesty's court. All here desire his recall, and will do all they can to accomplish it.—London, 17 February 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, 17 February. Received at Molins de Rey, the 30th of March 1543, after Easter."

French. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 2.

18 Feb. **104.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Not to delay the present courier (who, I am sorry to say, has been in England eight days) I shall be brief. As it is I have no particular news to report or observations to make on present affairs, save those contained in my letter to the Emperor, of which a duplicate is enclosed. This last and the copy of the treaty lately concluded with this king I humbly beg Your Majesty to have forwarded to Mr. de Granvelle.

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* This last passage is rather obscure in the deciphering; it stands thus: "Yl semble que larticle de la defension, ou seulement reste le scrupule, soit plus modere que cellui du traicte de Cambray, car oultre quil ne parle de lestat ecclesiasticque il nest aussi forme par termes si comprehensifz et generaulx, combien que oyres quil le fust, si ne comprehenderoit-il touteffois sa ma^{te} pour la quelle comprehendre comme dient (*sic*) les docteurs fault faire speciffique mencion."

1543.

His Imperial Majesty's commands respecting the personage You know have been fulfilled. In addition to the sums I have paid to him in advance of his annual pension, he has to receive 200 crs. more. I have, therefore, written to my man, now in that country, that whenever he himself receives that sum from the Treasury (*Messieurs des Finances*) he is to go to the personage in question,* and hand it over to him. I most humbly beg Your Majesty to be pleased to remit to me the funds required to cover my disbursements on that account, as well as to defray the personal expences of the man I am now sending to Spain with despatches. Some money in advance of my personal salary would also be acceptable, for fear I should be obliged to make fresh disbursements, and have further to importune Your Majesty for money.—London, 18 February 1542 [1543].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

22 Feb. **105.** The Same to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—Three days ago I wrote to Your Imperial Majesty by way of Italy and Germany, as well as directly by express from this city, of the latest English news, and of the conclusion of the treaty of closer friendship and alliance between You and this king. Supposing, therefore, that one or the other of my despatches has reached its destination, I will not repeat here their contents. Since then the King has sent a message to inform me that letters had been received from the bishop of London (Edmund Boner), in which nothing is said about Your Imperial Majesty's projected journey to Germany and Flanders, of which there had been a rumour at the court of Spain, and that if You intended sailing thither by this sea, he would at once fit out a number of his war-ships and other vessels to accompany and escort You. He has likewise sent me word that his agent in Venice (Harvel ?) wrote to say that there seems to be some secret intelligence between the Pope and king Francis, and again question of a marriage between the Pope's nephew and a French lady; lastly, that the French were evidently, with the favor and help of His Holiness, planning some undertaking or other against Florence. I was not to imagine, said the messenger in the King's name, that what he had reported concerning His Holiness' doings was dictated by his master's hatred of him, for although up to the present he had done everything in his power to harm him, and speak disparagingly of his person and doings, as of one who was manifestly his enemy, yet, after the conclusion of the peace with Your Imperial Majesty, he had resolved to abstain in future from saying or doing anything against him. Such were the words of the message, but as to reparation for the past, or any wish for reconciliation with His Holiness, not a word was said, from which I gather that this does not suit his book just now.*

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* Of course the individual here named, and to whom 200 crs. were paid by Chapuys, is no other than Jean de Honz, the secretary of the French ambassador, although it is very singular that he should call him a "personage," a qualification that he himself very rarely, if ever, gave except to bishops, ambassadors, ministers, or titled noblemen. In a former letter to the queen dowager, regent in the Low Countries, dated the 21st of January (No. 97, pp. 233–4), allusion is twice made to a nameless "personage" dining at the ambassador's table, and who happened to be one of Chapuys' informers; but though Marillac was still in England, the word "personage," thus applied to the French ambassador's guest, seems to refer to one of Henry's courtiers rather than to Jean de Honz.

Your Imperial Majesty can scarcely conceive the great affection which this king entertains for Your Imperial person; indeed, he seems dissatisfied just now at his being unable to give better proofs of it. He never ceases asking me whether I have any news of Your Imperial Majesty, and forwarding to me any he himself receives from all parts, even from France, whence his ambassador has lately written that, to judge from the boastings and braggings of the French, one should think that they are about to conquer (*conquister*) the whole World, and yet (added the King) they had not one farthing in their treasury. It was a pitiful sight (the English ambassador wrote) to see a number of foreign captains, the very same who had last year served under king Francis—even those who commanded the Gheldrese when the invasion of the Luxemburg took place—wandering through the streets of Paris without being able to get a single *tornoys* of what is due to them.

I have no doubt that this king's affection will increase daily, provided Your Imperial Majesty shows a corresponding sentiment; if so, I am sure there will be no difficulty at all in amending or reforming the treaty in any way You may desire. *At any rate, should things come to an extremity, there is the remedy which I have pointed out many a time before.*

Yesterday the King sent to me the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) to say that the French had amassed nearly 15,000 foot and 500 men-at-arms close to Montreuil, and that I should do well in letting the queen regent of the Low Countries know of this, and at the same time beg Mr. de Rœulx to enter into communication with his own governor of Guisnes,† and assist him in case of need, whilst the reinforcements which he himself is now sending across the Channel have time to land. That is, supposing the French direct their

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* "Que oerez que par cy devant yl se soit estudie à nuyre et parler au desavantaige de sa Saintete, comme de personne manifestement son ennemye, toutes fois depuis la paix conclute (*sic*) avec vostre maieste yl sest resolu de soy desporter de faire desormais quelque demonstrance par parolles ou actes dinimitie avec sa dicte Sainctacté (*sic*); mais de reparation du passé et de retourner à la reconciliation yl ne men a riens faict toucher, aussi crois je bien que cella est hors de son compte."

† Sir John Wallop.

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attacks against a small fortress which this king is now erecting between Calais and Guisnes, for as to the other places he possesses in Picardy, they are in no danger at all.

The bishop (Gardiner) also told me that the King wishes me to write to the Queen Regent—as I intend to do—that it is advisable under present circumstances to keep him or his ministers daily informed of events in the Low Countries, as well as of Your Imperial Majesty's movements, promising to do the same on his side, for (added the Bishop), "the Emperor's and the Queen's affairs interest my master, the King, as much as if they were his own."

The Bishop also told me that affairs in Scotland could not be going on better, and that Mr. de Guise's concerted expedition to Scotland had been for the present abandoned. He also said that since the conclusion of the treaty the King has shown so much affection and kindness (*humanité*) towards his daughter, the Princess (Mary), that no more could be expected or desired from him, and that no day passes without his visiting her two or three times in her own apartments, addressing her in the most affectionate and loving words that could possibly be imagined, from which I infer that all this is done merely for the sake of Your Imperial Majesty's honor and reputation. In short, this King's affection for You will be unbounded provided he meets with corresponding trust and fidelity on Your part. *Indeed, I believe, from what the bishop of Winchester tells me, that the King does extremely wish to hold an interview with Your Imperial Majesty in case of your coming to Flanders by sea, and, if not, that Mr. de Granvelle himself should come to England.*

The day before yesterday the King again sent me a message to say that he might, with full reason and perfect right, have retained the ship (*naviere*) belonging to Mr. de Bevres which the King's cruizers captured about a month ago, on account of her being armed and provisioned by certain Scotch, of whom a number were on board at the time forming part of her crew, but that for my sake (*à ma contemplation*) he would have her released and her crew set at liberty.

Owing to the great haste in which I was when I last wrote to Your Imperial Majesty, I had no time to answer the inquiry contained in the letter of the 23rd inst. relating to public affairs in this country. By stating, as I did then, that matters in England were not going on so badly for Your Imperial Majesty, as might otherwise have been feared, and so as to justify too great a haste in the negociation of the treaty, what I meant is this: that I doubted then whether the French, perceiving that the odds were going against them, would not after all try to gain over this king and his ministers, and do as they had done after Pavia. Indeed, to judge from their wily practices with this king's ministers, I had many reasons to fear a similar result. Such was my impression at the time, and certainly I should not have advanced such a proposition, had not the queen of Hungary written to say that I should do well in temporizing with the Royal deputies, and gaining time for an answer to come from Your Imperial Majesty in Spain, that is to say, if I thought there was no danger in the delay, or no fear of the negociation being spoilt through it owing to French intrigues. Yet, considering the state of affairs, public as well as private, in the Low Countries, the Queen did afterwards change her mind, and recommended me to proceed at once to the conclusion of the treaty without further delay, or waiting for letters or orders from Spain.—London, 22nd February 1542 (1543).*

Signed : " Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed : " From the ambassador in England," 22nd February 1543. Received at Barcelona on the 1st of May.

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 4.

22 Feb. **106.** The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

" Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—It has been a source of pleasure to Us to hear by your letters of the 12th inst. that the treaty of closer alliance between the Emperor, Our brother, and the king of that country has at last been concluded by the Royal deputies and yourself. I have ordered a copy of the same to be made and forwarded to Mons. de Grantvelle (*sic*), who is now at Nüremberg, that he may, by the first opportunity, apprize the Emperor, Our brother, of it. You will, therefore, do well in hastening the departure of the messenger whom you, yourself, intend dispatching to Italy. Together with this letter you will receive another of credence for that king, the contents of which, as you will see by the enclosed copy, are these:—You are to signify to the King in Our name the great satisfaction and pleasure We have received at hearing of the conclusion of the treaty of closer friendship and alliance. Naturally inclined, as We have always been and are, to peace, and desiring the establishment of a perfect understanding between the two majesties, Imperial and Royal; hoping, moreover, that by means of such friendship and alliance both princes together will be able to obviate the troubles of Christendom, and instil fear into the hearts of the ill-disposed—the sole and real cause of the evils by which it is now afflicted—and prevent their miserable intrigues and abominable practices, equally offensive to God and to the whole of the Christian Common-

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* This is one of the few instances in which Chapuys does evidently date his despatches according to the old style. As a proof that the date is 1543, and not 1542, as appears from the subscription, I may observe that the Emperor was at Madrid from the 1st of January to the 1st of March, when he undertook his journey to Barcelona. That on the 30th of April he was still in that town, where, on the 1st of May, he embarked for Savona and Genoa, landing towards the end of that month at the latter port. *See* Bradford's *Itinerary of Charles V.*, p. 536.

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wealth, from prevailing, as they have done hitherto, We can assure you that Our joy has been immense at seeing Our most ardent wishes realised. You will apprize the King of these Our sentiments, and use all other persuasive arguments that may come to your mind, at the same time requesting him that, since the friendship between the two majesties, Imperial and Royal, is now fairly established, he (the king of England) be pleased to let you know what means his great wisdom and experience of affairs suggest to him under the present circumstances as the best and most convenient for the welfare of the subjects of both crowns, and kindly allow and permit Us from time to time to consult him with regard to public affairs in these countries under Our government, and generally address him as the prince in whose skill and discretion We most rely.

As the king of England wishes that the treaty just made be kept secret until its full ratification takes place—which, by the way, We wish had already been accomplished, in order that the whole should be divulged and made public, as, by doing that, public affairs might have taken another turn and changed for the better—We will take care that the King be completely satisfied on that point. *Although the position of affairs in these parts would, as above stated, rather require the publication of the treaty,* especially at this time, when Our deputies and those of the prince electors on the Rhine and Landgraf of Hesse are sitting together at Maëstrich, trying to persuade Us to make a truce with the duke of Clèves, the whole affair shall be kept secret as far as We Ourselves are concerned. After protracting their deliberations for upwards of one month, Our deputies at Maëstricht have received orders to return home. We hear, however, that the whole assembly is inclined to propose a four months' truce with the Duke, to which, they say, he himself has agreed. That proposal We are not at all disposed to accept, inasmuch as We have already asked for certain conditions rather unpalatable to the Duke, and without which We will not hear of such a compromise. One of them is that the Duke will engage not to help, favor, or assist the king of France directly or indirectly, or allow his subjects to take service in that country; and that those who last year, disregarding the injunctions of the Diet, did, after its recess, serve in the French army, shall be severely punished. *Though, in Our opinion, there is very little chance of Our coming to reasonable terms with the Duke, yet We have not allowed the negociations to be broken off or to drop entirely, and have consented to their going on in order to gain time, and see what resolution the States of the Empire will take in the matter, and how far they intend assisting the Emperor in the Clèves affair.* We have instructed Our deputies at the Diet to represent therein the great damage and injury which the said duke of Clèves has done, and is doing, to these countries under Our government—causing them to be invaded, in king Francis'

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name, by Martin van Rossen and other captains in his service, without any previous challenge, and in complete disregard of all rules established in such cases between Christian princes; the said Martin van Rossen having attempted by treacherous means and practices to take possession of Anvers (Antwerp), as well as of Gand (Ghent). Our said deputies at the Diet have also been instructed to represent therein that all the harm caused by the said Martin van Rossen in Brabant has been with the Duke's consent and by his order, as you (Chapuys) will easily see by the enclosed draft of Our proposition to the Diet, which is substantially the same as the one which Our deputies were ordered to bring forward therein. We hear from Mons. de Grantvelle (*sic*) that the proposition has been well received by the representatives of the States of the Empire, the generality of whom have condemned the Duke's action, and blamed him for it, adducing manifest proofs of his ill-behaviour; so much so, that even those who openly followed his party and were inclined to favor his views, are now discontented and scandalized at his doings, not knowing what to say when the reprobation of his acts is in everybody's mouth. We have entered into these details that you may, when interrogated by the King or by his privy councillors on the subject, confidently reply to all their questions; assuring you, at the same time, that whenever an event of importance may occur in these countries under Our government We shall not fail to inform you, that you may acquaint that king with it, as the perfect friendship and alliance between England and the Empire demands.

Such is the state of the Clèves affair; but as We do not entirely trust to the official communication made to Us by the Maestricht deputies, and, moreover, as We would much dislike to be taken by surprise and unprepared, as We were last year, orders have now been issued for the raising of a good force of cavalry and infantry, and We hope that by the 1st of March 5,000 good horse and 9,000 lanskennets from High Germany, besides a good number from Low Germany, will be levied, *with whom We hope to be able to give the Duke a good thrashing unless he consents to listen to reason.* Nevertheless, Our other frontiers shall not be left defenceless against an attack of the French, and at all events a sufficient force will be in readiness to be directed to any part of the country where the common enemy may happen to be stronger in numbers.

The said duke of Clèves last winter kept a number of captains and men under his pay, hoping to be able during the frosts to make raids into Holland and Brabant, and by plundering the inhabitants of those countries, collect a sufficient sum of money to pay his own men with; but he has been completely frustrated in his plans—firstly, on account of the snow, which fell in abundance; and secondly, by Our frontier garrisons, which We have managed to keep

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partly at the Duke's expense, by causing them to make daily raids into his territory, the consequence of it all being that most of his men are now deserting him for want of pay, and especially of provisions, of which there seems to be great scarcity in his own dominions. As to the men whom Martin van Rossen* himself brought back from France, they are discontented and mutinous, and actually deserting his banners. Indeed, We hear that their captain has been obliged to fly, and go to a place of safety, as otherwise his own soldiers would certainly have murdered him. As to the Duke, he has purposely spread the rumour that if Van Rossen's men did desert their captain, it was entirely owing to his (the Duke) having refused to take them into his service, unwilling, as he was at the time, to countenance Van Rossen's predatory incursion. But whatever the Duke's statements may be, the contrary is to be inferred, from the fact that he himself is known to have made the greatest efforts to retain the men in his service, only the men themselves expressly refused.

Owing to the great expenses We have had to sustain last year, and which in all probability will be increased in this, We are now obliged to raise money by any means in Our power, however irregular or extraordinary. On this present occasion particularly We have, by the consent of the States, imposed a duty of 1°/₀ "ad valorem" *on all goods and merchandize exported from these countries—the duty to last only one year. And whereas the merchants of England, subjects of that king, might perhaps pretend to be free from that tax by the letter of the commercial treaties made in old times, We have deemed it convenient and necessary that you (Chapuys) proceed to inform the King thereof as soon as possible, and represent to him that the measure in question is not at all a contravention to those treaties, but a temporary one to last only for one year, for the express purpose of defraying part of the war expenses. You will, therefore, try and ascertain, with your usual ability how the measure is likely to be received in England.*—Brussels, 22 February 1543.

Addressed: "To the ambassador in England," on the 22nd February XV^C^XLII. (1543).

French. Original draft. pp. 3.

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23 Feb. **106.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—Since writing the above, I am in receipt of a packet of letters from His Imperial Majesty of the 29th of January, in one of which he tells me that he desires the treaty of closer alliance to be forwarded as much as possible, and all difficult points referred to me. As I have no doubt that you have by this time received from him similar instructions, I hope, and am indeed confident, that he will be contented with what has been obtained with regard to that treaty, and will order the usual letters of ratification to be drawn out without any further scruple on the subject. As His Imperial Majesty writes to me that in case of our not arriving at the conclusion of the treaty, we ought at least to procure that the king of England, pending its ratification by the Emperor, make some movement or other against France, and does not let the opportunity pass of molesting the enemy on the frontiers of his dominions so as to divert his forces, I beg you to represent to the King that since the treaty of closer friendship between him and the Emperor, my brother, has already been concluded—and wants only the usual ratification from the parties—he might do well in the meantime to think of the best means of doing harm to our common enemy, checking his audacious designs, and compelling him to listen to reason. And that since His Imperial Majesty is determined to cut out work for king Francis on all his frontiers, he (the king of England) can never find so good an opportunity as the present for an invasion of France. It is for you to ascertain by all possible means how far the king of England may be induced to take up arms against France, and when you have acquired sufficient information on the subject, use the same as you may deem proper for the Emperor's best service, according as you may see the King inclined, or not, to go to war with France.

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* *See* above, p. 234.

In addition to that, as We are daily receiving reports from the captains of war-ships of this country, complaining that the English vessels being larger, stronger, and better manned than Ours, their commanders will oblige Ours to do their will—which superiority of command might hereafter lead to inconveniences—it would be advisable that you yourself went to the King's ministers, and requested them to take such measures with regard to naval discipline that the commanders and captains of both fleets may not quarrel together, but work efficiently for the good of the cause. This, of course, to be said and represented to the King, or his ministers, without acrimony of any sort, and in the mildest possible terms, so as not to offend or rouse the susceptibility of Our allies. Of whatever may be the Royal deputies' answer on this particular, let me be informed as soon as possible, that I may at once send you instructions, and suggest the means of obviating the inconveniences likely to arise.—23 February [1543].

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

23 Feb. **107.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—The object of this letter is to advise that since my last, of which a duplicate is here appended, a gentleman usher (*huissier*) of king Francis' Chamber, named Reigne, sieur de Reine, has made his appearance at this frontier, alleging to the captains there that he was sent by the king of France on a mission to me, and wished for a passport and safe-conduct. He has since been conducted to my presence by two gentlemen in my service, and presented me, in his master's name, with 12 widgeons,* which, as stated in the credentials in favor of his usher, he (the King) owed me as an annual contribution. After praising king Francis' handsome present, and thanking the bearer for it, I told him that I was both sorry and disappointed at his master not giving me leisure to enjoy the pleasure of the chase, which would be far more agreeable to me than to be constantly engaged in warlike matters. I despatched the man the very instant so that he might return to France, without stopping on the road, or going anywhere else than the two gentlemen who accompanied him here would permit. The man went away without speaking a word to me of political affairs, except of those relating to fowling (*volerie*), in which he seemed to be a great adept. I give you these details that you may acquaint the King whenever you consider it fit and opportune, for being entirely ignorant as I am both of the object of the man's visit and of king Francis' singular present, I doubt whether his usher was, or was not, sent for some other secret purpose, which he perhaps did not bring forward owing to his not having found an opportunity of doing so.

Indorsed: "To the [Imperial] ambassador in England."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

28 Feb. **108.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 871, ff. 91–2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 176.

By my letters of the xv and xxi [of January] Your Majesty must have been informed of the occurrences in this city up to that time, more especially of the arrival of Syne,† and of his embassy, as well as of His Holiness' departure from Rome, &c. *What has happened since I will presently relate; but let not Your Imperial Majesty wonder at so much change and variety having taken place in His Holiness' sentiments and doings, for, certainly, Monsr. de Granvelle's sudden appearance in Trent, the account of what was done there, as well as the fear of a National Council being started and assembled in Germany, or some sort of league being made against Rome, all these things put together have so bewildered and perplexed the Pope and his cardinals, that they do not know at present what to do, nor which way to turn.*

His Holiness still continues to hold conferences with the bishop ‡ of Aguila (Aquila in Naples), the result of which has been a sort of declaration from his own lips, that, setting aside

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* The French word is *sarcelles*, in Spanish *cerceta*.

† This is the first time that Aguilar mentions the arrival of the French ambassador. True is it that neither of his despatches of the 5th and 21st, here mentioned, are in Bergenroth's Collection, Vol. XXII.

‡ Berardus Sanctius; according to Gams, Bernardo Sancho or Sanchez (?). *See* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 165. His two letters to the Marquis and to Cobos are respectively under Nos. 92 and 112.

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his declaring now against the king of France—which he (the Pope) reserves and retains as a precious treasure to be used in due time—in all other matters he wishes to be on good terms with Your Imperial Majesty, and run the same risks as Yourself. That with regard to the General Council and Christian religion, he places himseif entirely in Your Imperial Majesty's hands, for You to conduct matters in favor of Christendom; so much so, that he intends sending soon for me, that I may hear that same declaration from his own lips, and at the same time that he may ask me what Your Imperial Majesty wants of him.

All this had been arranged and, as it were, settled previous to Siney's arrival, as I wrote by my last despatch. In similar terms had he (the Pope) expressed himself to Madame [Margaret], and to the duke of Castro,† and frequently also to the bishop of Aquila himself, adding that he wished by all means to be present as a witness and partner in so meritorious a work, and would accordingly fix a day to give me audience. So said the Pope then, but the fact is, that the audience was put off from day to day, and that on Siney's arrival, though His Holiness went on making the same declarations, with perhaps greater warmth than before —showing in public his ill humour at the arrival of the French ambassador—yet there was no sign of an audience. At last it was fixed for Thursday, the 22nd, then for the ensuing Friday, and ultimately for Saturday, not without a thousand excuses conveyed to me by the duke of Castro himself, who gave me to understand that His Holiness had been detained by business, but would see me in the Quirinal at the 19 hours. Two hours after the Duke's departure from my house another message came from the Pope, to say that one half hour later would be more convenient for him, and so I called on him at half-past seven in the evening. I afterwards learned from the Portuguese doctor that the putting off of the audience was due to certain astrological combinations, which His Holiness wished to avoid.‡* Once in His Holiness' presence, I found that the duke of Castro and cardinal Santa Cruz § were already in the room; the latter went out, and the Duke remained.

[Gives an account of the audience, and then adds] Then His Holiness said that one of the means best calculated to bring about a peace between Your Imperial Majesty and king Francis was the marriage of prince Philip with that king's daughter.‖ He, himself, had many a time proposed it, but it

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* No doubt one of the missing, for in that of the 14th of January, which is the last, Siney's arrival in Rome is not mentioned.

† Pier Luigi Farnese.

‡ "Que la dilacion habia sido por causa de astrologia."

§ Marcello Cervini, archbishop of Reggio, and cardinal Santa Croce. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 534, 536.

‖ That is, Margaret, ultimately married to Emmanuele Philiberto of Savoy, duke of Savoy, on the 9th of July 1559. She died in 1574.

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had never been accepted, thus making him despair of ever being able to lead to and promote that peace. He then asked me about Your Imperial Majesty's projected journey, and whether You intended coming to Italy, or not. Spoke about Scotland and England, and the diet of Nuremberg, as well as about the duke of Alburquerque, asking whether this latter would follow Your court or remain at Rome. After one hour's conversation His Holiness again resumed the subject of king Francis and his ambassador Syne, saying that the latter's mission was limited to offering his master's excuses for having been unable to attend the conferences and visit him, owing to his being at present much engaged in attending to the defence of his frontiers threatened by Your Imperial Majesty. That with regard to the Council, he was glad to hear that it was about to be convoked. He (the King) would do his utmost to support it, sending thither cardinals and prelates of his kingdom; but he had little or no confidence of its success, owing to the insecurity of the roads, and the place where the Council was to be celebrated.

Milan—the Turk, &c.

I had so often spoken to His Holiness on the Colonna business, though without success, that I refrained from mentioning the affair again in his presence. At last, the duke of Castro having requested me to speak in favor of the relationship (*el parentado*) between Vittoria and Fabricio Colonna, saying that the Pope wished for it, I went to him and said: "Holy Father, I have lately abstained from speaking on the parentage of Casa Colonna, because I have done so many a time, and Your Holiness has answered me in such a way that, had you approved of it, the thing would have been effected"; to which the duke of Castro added: "The Marquis [of Aguilar] thinks that, owing to what was done at Paliano (Pagliano), Your Holiness no longer wishes for it." "The Pagliano affair (His Holiness replied) has in nowise changed my views of the affair; there is, however, need of ascertaining first what state that property is in, because Ardea, which is the most productive estate, has been assigned to Cesarino and Caffarello, and besides that there are four or five estates in Campania with which Ascanio has nothing to do, owing to their being annexed to the county of Fondy (Fundi). It would also be convenient to consider Ascanio's differences (*passiones*) with his son." At last His Holiness said to the Duke: "Since Fernando Rota, the Duchess' agent, is here in Rome, do interrogate him as to the real state of the property, and how much it is worth, and whether Fabricio is or is not in possession; then, according to the information received, you will come to a settlement." The Duke then observed: "Then, if that be done, the Church ought to ensure to the second son a revenue of 3,000 or 4,000 ducats, and make over to the eldest his share in the estate." "That may be done as you propose," replied the Pope.

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He then spoke about his own departure from Rome, adding that if the weather was fine he would go to Bologna to distribute the Palms (*á dar las palmas*). Saying so, he got up and went into his private apartments after an audience of four long hours.

Perceiving that all the Pope's arguments were directed towards excusing king Francis in all matters in which no excuse for his acts is admissible, as well as towards showing that it is Your Imperial Majesty who ought to make the first advances for the peace ;* that on the subject of the General Council he did not utter one single word, and that even in the affair of the Colonna Family, no promise could be got out of him, except vaguely, and in very general terms; that, on the contrary, his own personal and private pretensions are every day waxing greater and greater, I began to suspect that this sudden departure for Bologna—of which no one talked before, since it had notoriously been given up—and this arrival in Rome of Syne have quite a different object from the one which has been published, and that the real motive of the latter's mission is either to have the meeting of the future Council changed to another place, or else to do away with it altogether by means of pretences and excuses (*achaques*) that can easily be found for the occasion, or perhaps also to arrange an interview somewhere with king Francis. Indeed, I am told that very shortly a noble personage chosen among that king's courtiers will come to Rome, and that two more are to go to Trent for the purpose of protesting in his name against the Council being held in that town. In fact, there is no one here who does not believe all this flour to come from the same mill.†

His Holiness really took his departure on Monday, the 26th inst. If the bad weather is to interfere with his journey, he may still come back, and not make the journey, for, certainly, ever since he took his departure from Rome it has not ceased raining.

On the day of the Papal audience to which I have alluded, the duke of Castro (Pier Luigi) passed the night in the Pope's ante-room—a thing which he has never done before. Day and night he has had long conferences with the French resident ambassador and with Sine, the latter of whom, I am told, dwells at the Quirinal, and has even some sort of authority over the castle [of Sant Angelo]—an unprecedented act in the annals of modern Rome—and yet the report must be true, for he has his own money and valuables at the castle, and has not yet taken them out.‡ It must be said that until now Sant Angelo has not been garrisoned; I do not know what they will do in future.

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* "Prestar el lado, y alargar la mano en lo de la paz."

† "Que todo esto es harina del mismo molino."

‡ "Queda Sine en el Palacio, y me diçen con auctoridad en el castillo, y esto haze creer que no ha sacado el dinero de él."

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After finishing this despatch I myself intend following His Holiness on his journey, and starting for Bologna.

Two days ago I spoke to cardinal Fernes (Alessandro Farnese), who shows in conversation that His Holiness is still dissatisfied at Your Imperial Majesty not having sent him notice of what Mr. de Granvelle was going to Trent for, and what he purposes doing in the affairs of the Diet and religious matters. Still more does he fear that Granvelle may again do there what he once did, adding that he may possibly do worse where he is now.* Having asked him what sort of embassy Sine's was, he answered me that the Frenchman's mission had for its object to prevent altogether the meeting (*abocamiento*) of the General Council, and that he (the king of France) had asked his help and assistance for the war [he intends to make] against the king of England. Farnese did not tell me what answer the Pope has made to those overtures, but I will try to procure it as soon as possible, and forward it to Mr. de Granvelle. I am now having a copy made of the paragraphs of this letter in which he is alluded to, and will do the same in future with all those relating to His Holiness' uneasiness respecting him.

Cardinal Viseu † arrived here in Rome six days ago. He has not been received in public Consistory, as it is the custom to do with legates, who pass the Alps. He (the Cardinal) delivered, as usual, his oration before the Pope; but said nothing to me about it, save the generalities above alluded to. I called on him on the same day he had audience from His Holiness, but as he was then suffering from a fit of the gout I did not stay long, and, therefore, heard no particulars about his mission.

Among Frenchmen in this city there is a rumour of Sine ‡ having said that this summer there will be war in Italy in two different parts. If he is right in his prophecy, I have no doubt that the ambassador means Tuscany, and especially the Sienese republic, which are evidently the two weakest points. I myself am thinking of making a journey to Siena and Florence in order to warn the Sienese and Florentines of the danger, and exhort them to make the utmost provision they can against the eventuality of a war. To meet this and similar undertakings of king Francis in Italy, it strikes me that count Pitigliano might be very useful, and ought to be gained over to Your Imperial Majesty's party. For if the Count takes service with France, his estates in Tuscany will afford an easy passage to a French army intending to penetrate into Sienese territory. He, himself, is anxiously expecting Your Majesty's resolution in these

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* "Y mucho más de lo que él hizo, y con recelo[de] que lo haró peor donde [ahora] está."

† Miguel da Silva, who died in 1566.

‡ Here and above (p. 259) written Sine instead of Sincy.

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troubled times. He is evidently attached to Your Imperial Majesty; if war once breaks out in Italy, he may probably not refuse the offer the French are making him, unless he be certain that Your Imperial Majesty will accept his services. At any rate, since political matters here begin to assume rather an ugly aspect, all Your Imperial Majesty's servants in this city are of opinion that the Count's services ought to be secured beforehand. They also think that Alessandro Vitello ought to be removed from the Papal service, which might easily be accomplished by Your Majesty giving him some military charge in the army destined for Hungary, or else by His Holiness appointing him commander-in-chief of the force, which he has promised to send against the Turk.

Don Diego de Mendoza's letter must have informed Your Majesty of the negociations now being carried on between His Holiness and the Signory of Venice; the former insisting upon their making an alliance with him, and promising, if they do, to give them Ravenna and Cervia in perpetuity. Don Diego writes to me to try and ascertain what truth there is in that report; but I must own that, although I have made all possible inquiries about it, I have as yet been unable to ascertain the truth. As the negociation was carried on here at Rome only between His Holiness and the Venetian ambassador, who expects soon to become a cardinal, it is natural for the latter to keep it secret, and help towards it as powerfully as he can. This notwithstanding, I must say that in the course of my enquiries, I have met with many people here, Italians chiefly, and even cardinals, who consider the report as most probable; whether their information comes from abroad or from some intelligence here at Rome, that I cannot say.

After the above was written, the duke of Castro (Pier Luigi) said to a person of my acquaintance, who came and told me, that Sine's [*] mission is for the purpose of offering to His Holiness a great marriage for his grandson, Horatio,[†] but that the Duke has not found the proposed alliance good enough for him (*no le ha parecido bien*); and I also hear that cardinal Carpi[‡] has told His Holiness that the offer is not suitable.—Rome, on the last day of February 1543.

Signed: "Marques de Aguilar."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

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[*] *See* above, p. 260.

[†] Horazio Farnese was the fourth son of Pier Luigi, duke of Castro. He married in 1553 Diane, natural daughter of Henri de Valois, afterwards Henri III., king of France, Diane de Poitiers.

[‡] Pio da Carpi.

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5 March. **109.** Mr. de Granvelle to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsr. l'ambassadeur,"—*Your letter of the* 12*th ult., and the copy, which the queen dowager of Hungary has addressed to me, of the treaty passed between the King's commissioners and you, have both come to hand. God be praised for the good work you have been able to accomplish at last, and of which I am certain the Emperor will be glad to hear, at the same time that he cannot fail to acknowledge the great service you have rendered him on this occasion.*

Both your letter and the duplicate of the treaty came so opportunely, that almost immediately after their reception an express from the said queen of Hungary arrived by the coast of Biscay with a third copy of it, and of the letters addressed by you to His Imperial Majesty. Of those which you sent by the other sea there is no news yet.

Among other things which the Emperor tells me in his letter, one is that most certainly his departure from Madril (sic) *was fixed for the day after St. Mathias last, to go to Barcelona and embark for Italy, where he did not intend making any stay, but proceeding at once to these parts with a view of making war on the king of France. And that if, as His Imperial Majesty hopes and thinks, the treaty with England is ratified, I myself, with your valuable assistance, was to try to induce that King to declare war against France within this present year.*

Immediately after the receipt of which orders I dispatched another courier to Gennes (Genoa) for the galleys to sail at once [for Barcelona]. I have also written to His Imperial Majesty announcing the conclusion of the treaty, and saying that, in my opinion, it ought to be ratified at once, and, if required, sworn to, commissioning you to obtain from that king the reciprocal ratification and oath, without, however, forgetting at the same time to acknowledge the good offices and true services rendered by you on this occasion. *I have likewise promised him, in pursuance of his supreme commands, to advise you as to the best manner of persuading the King to commence war against France this very year.*

To do that, I have drawn out a short but concise memorandum of the arguments to be employed by you for the attainment of that object. I now forward it to the Queen Regent, that she may read it in union with Mr. de Praët, and make such corrections, additions, or suppressions as she may please, and then send it on to you. I trust entirely to your usual prudence, discretion, and dexterity to make such a use of the said memorandum of mine as to carry out the intention and wishes of His Imperial Majesty in the most efficient manner. *It is for you* (*Chapuys*), *who know so well the character, and the ins and outs of the King and his* *ministers to make use of such persuasions and in such fashion as will best suit the temper and wishes of the King and of his privy councillors.*[*]

I am sorry to hear that you are troubled with gout. You must fight against it as well as you can during this summer, and since the Emperor's affairs in that country have been placed by your efforts in so right a path that complete success may confidently be expected to your honor and credit, as well as profit—for you cannot fail to be amply rewarded by His Imperial Majesty—do, I pray, persevere in your work, and wait patiently for the remuneration of your long and valuable services. As to your quitting England before next winter, I see no chance whatever; your presence in that court is now more necessary than ever for His Imperial Majesty's service. I myself, as a friend of yours, could not under the circumstances propose or recommend your leaving that embassy.

Enclosed you will find another letter to this very purpose, that you may, if required, show it to the King or to the two bishops,[†] as well as to the Lord Privy Seal.[‡]

Nothing new has occurred since my last worthy of particular mention, nor have I leisure to write a longer letter.—Nüremberg, 5 March [1543].

P.S.—After the above was written I received from the Emperor, in Italy, the enclosed letter for you. It was sent to me opened, that I might take note of its contents. You will see how much His Imperial Majesty desired then the conclusion of the treaty, and the pleasure he will receive when he hears that everything has turned out according to his expectations and wishes. For God's sake do your best to complete the good work commenced, that we may this year, with the king of England's assistance and help, inflict some good blow on him who so richly deserves being hated by God and the World in general.

French. Original draft. pp. 3.[§]

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[*] "Et en user selon lentencion et desir de lempereur, et comme verrez quil importe et cognoissez *intus et in ente* le dit roy et les persuasions et grimaces quil faut tenir et user envers luy et les siens."

[†] By the two bishops, those of London (Edmund Boner) and Westminster (Thirlby) are meant. Both had been Henry's ambassadors in Spain for the express purpose of negociating the treaty of closer friendship and alliance. *See* Vol. VI., Part I. pp. 483, 490–1.

[‡] Sir William Fitz-William, already earl of Southampton, about whom *see* above, pp. 9, 39*n*, 139.

[§] There are in the Vienna Archives two copies of this letter, one partly ciphered, which is the one here abstracted; the other plainly written. Neither the one nor the other are signed by Granvelle, but the former is endorsed thus: "Coppie des lettres de Mr. de Grantvelle (*sic*) à lambassadeur Chappuys (*sic*) du v^{e} de Mars 1543."

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5 March. **110.** The Same to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—I infinitely praise God and return him thanks for having granted us that which we have so earnestly and so long desired, as I gather from your letter of the 12th ult., and the documents and papers annexed. Surely the Emperor, our master, fully expected it, persuaded as he was, and is, that the king of England—animated as he is by noble and generous sentiments and singular prudence—could never forget the old and congenitous friendship existing between them both and their predecessors on the throne. Indeed, His Imperial Majesty had no doubt that the more we went on, the better would the king of England perceive the deceptions, ingratitude, extreme unreasonableness, and unbearable malignity of the French, and their irreconcilable enmity against him and his kingdom. It is on that account, and moved by such considerations that His Imperial Majesty has now decided to quit [Spain] and come to these parts in the month of May next without fail,* as I hear by his letters to me. He has already started [from Madrid], and this is the occasion to compel the common enemy to listen to reason, and reduce him to such a condition that whether he accepts or not the terms imposed by the allies, he may be so utterly disabled as not to have in future the means of opposing them, and promoting war everywhere, as he has done hitherto. And on my faith and honor I do really believe that there never was an opportunity so favorable as this one, nor can we expect a better one in future, considering the present state of affairs in France, and the many notable reasons and motives there are, as I have frequently written to you, for attacking the enemy in his own kingdom. Indeed, it is waxing every day more and more patent, as every one asserts, that if king Francis has been reduced to the condition in which he is, and his present state of senselessness and stupor, it is merely by the judgment of God, that he may the sooner be punished for all his misdeeds. Indeed, no sooner did I cast my eye over the treaty than I said to myself, *quod a Domino factum est istud* (this is indeed the work of God).

Since matters are so far advanced, it is incumbent upon you (Chapuys) to try and ascertain as closely as ever you can what are that King's plans, and what he wishes us to do, in order that I may apprize the Emperor of it as quickly as possible. You may assure the King that there will be no difficulty at all on the part of His Imperial Majesty; ready as he is to stake his own treasure, his life, and his kingdoms for it, as the true and indissoluble friendship and alliance which unites him to the king of England—and will be everlasting between their heirs, successors, and subjects—demands. Pray do not rest until you have attained that object; lose no time for getting at the King's plans, lest this opportunity should pass away for the common honor and profit of the two princes engaged in it. Let us hear continually, nay, daily—without sparing trouble *or money—news of that country,* and, should the opportunity offer itself, let my most affectionate commendations be presented to the most reverend the bishops of Winchester and Westminster, as well as to the Lord Privy Seal.—From Nüremberg, the 5th of March [1543].

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* "Et pour ce sa dite Ma^{te} Imperiale se fiant laudacion (l'intencion ?) et effect du traicte a emprins sa venue par deça, ou elle sera sans failly (*sic*) au prouchain mois de May."

*French. Original draft.**

5 March. S. E., L. 871, ff. 98–9.

111. The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the EMPEROR'S LORD PRIVY SEAL.

In my despatch to the Emperor, dated Rome, the last day of February, I gave an account of the long audience I had had from His Holiness about the General Council, and other important affairs connected with the sudden arrival here at Rome of a certain Mr. Siney, who came with a message from king Francis. As in the course of the audience His Holiness inquired most particularly about Your Lordship, the diet of Nüremberg and the duke of Alburquerque (*sic*), and whether this latter intended to follow the Imperial Court or remain at Rome, I have considered it my duty to send Your Lordship a copy of some of the paragraphs of that letter.†

"Sire,"—After some conversation on various topics, His Holiness returned to the subject of Monsr. Siney's mission. He told me that king Francis had purposely sent him to present his excuses for his not coming to the conference and interview (*colloquio y abocamiento*) of Bologna, as His Holiness had proposed. He was so much engaged in attending to the defence of his kingdom and its frontiers, threatened as they were by Your Imperial Majesty, that he could not possibly quit France then and come to Italy. The celebration of the General Council he applauded and praised above all things; he would try to send thither French cardinals and prelates, although the roads to [Trent] were anything but secure, and the place itself was open to suspicion. King Francis (continued His Holiness) had received the Papal Legate with the greatest honors; he had kindly listened to his oration, to which the King had replied that, as far as he himself was concerned, he was quite ready to intrust the negociations for peace to His Holiness, and place it entirely in his hands, but that, having perceived what Your Majesty had done with the Legate sent to him, and what your answer had been to His Holiness' overtures, he had changed his mind and would rather not hear of it. It is, therefore, quite clear (said His Holiness to me) that peace is entirely in the Emperor's hands. To this His Holiness added his usual admonitions and recommendations concerning peace, the dangers in which Christendom was from the Turk and his powerful armies, not omitting to repeat on the occasion what he himself has so often declared, namely, that it was for His Imperial Majesty, as the wisest of crowned princes, and one on whom God had bestowed the highest secular dignity—the advocate of the Church, and protector of Christendom—to present the cheek and pardon the offence;* that the investiture of Milan might be given to a third, &c. In this way without fixing on any particular plan, or letting me understand exactly what he is now aiming at, His Holiness went on speaking at some length about Milan. To which proposal, so often made, I feigned at first not to pay attention, with a view to allow him to open his heart and make further confidences on the subject,† until perceiving that he was not inclined that way, I said to him: "Holy Father, I need not repeat here what has so often been said at Rome and elsewhere, namely, how very little Christendom and Your Holiness would have been indebted to king Francis had he listened to and accepted the proposed interview about peace, and placed in Your Holiness' hands the making of it, at a time, too, when his army was retreating from Luxemburg and Flanders, and that the one at Perpignan had to do the same, or else be beaten and destroyed. Indeed, Your Holiness could not have sent a Legate to him at a better time and opportunity. It would perhaps have been meritorious and praiseworthy of him had he accepted the proposed interview when Montepulchano went to him, and when his armies were marching to invade the aforesaid countries; but now, when all the mischief has been done, and he sees that his plans have not succeeded, Your Holiness will perhaps be more fortunate and not be refused.

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* Two copies, one of which is indorsed: "Coppie des lettres du sieur de Grantvelle (*sic*) à l'ambassadeur Chappuys" (*sic*); written on purpose to show to the privy councillors, v. March 1543. I need scarcely observe that it is the same to which the Emperor's Privy Seal alludes above. *See* the preceding No. 109, p. 263.

† *See* above, No. 108, p. 256; but most likely it was one of the missing or intercepted.

To this last argument of mine His Holiness replied that a good action was always praiseworthy; that it was yet time, and that better late than never. That thinking, as he did, that there was no other remedy for afflicted Christendom, he had proposed the interview, and would still try to procure it if he possibly could. With that view he intended to depart for Bologna, because, if the interview did not take place, if

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* "El prestar el lado y remitir la ofensa."

† "A lo qual assi por ser dicho y repetido muchas vezes, como por no estorbarle el abrir su corazon como habia hecho, no le quise replicar hasta que viendo no llevaba camino le respondi."

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discord and war continued between Your Majesty and king Francis, and if both princes were to spend their treasure and waste their energies and power against each other, he foresaw that Christendom would be in manifest danger of perdition, and that the Turk might easily become master of it.

At this point of His Holiness' argument, I (Aguilar), perceiving that he was rather deviating from the proposal which the Bishop* had made to Your Majesty in his name, considered it my duty to recall him to the chief subject of our conference, and provoke him, as it were, to declare himself more openly. "Holy Father (said I to him), that the Turk is coming down upon Christendom by sea and land, as Your Holiness says and owns, cannot be doubted. That the Emperor intends to employ all his power and his person against the Infidel conjointly with Your Holiness and the Empire, is equally certain. That Italy may in the meantime be secure, and not remain at the mercy of king Francis, it is needful—as the Emperor said at Lucca and Monsr. de Granvelle and myself have since repeated here, in his name—that Your Holiness and the rest of the Italian powers make a league with the Emperor for the defence of this country. And since Your Holiness is so interested in the safety of Italy, and knows well the bad intentions and grasping ambition of king Francis, and is aware of the intrigues and plots he has been carrying on here at Rome, and in other parts of Italy, I cannot do less than remind Your Holiness that such a league is indispensably necessary for the preservation, security and tranquillity of Italy, as likewise for the success of the expedition against the Turk."

The Pope's reply to my argument was that such a league as the one proposed was directly against the neutrality which he himself had declared, and likely to drive king Francis to despair, and afford him an excuse to declare himself openly. "That is not the way (added His Holiness); we must try first and see whether king Francis cannot be reduced by mild terms." I replied: "Holy Father, that has already been tried without the least success. How many times has Your Holiness admonished him to cease his practices (*platicas*) with the Turk, and threatened, unless he did so, to come down upon him with the censures of the Church? Your Holiness has seen what little care he has taken of your sacred admonitions, every day doing worse and worse in that and other particulars, owing no doubt to your patient tolerance and trusting in your forgiveness."

Hearing this, the Pope began again to excuse king Francis still more passionately than before, saying that the Church was not a judge of hidden matters, and that although it was reported that king Francis had an ambassador at the court of the Grand Turk (Solyman), and was soliciting the help of

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* He of Viseu?

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his fleet, on the other hand, His Imperial Majesty, the king of the Romans, his brother, and he of Poland (Sigismond), had also theirs at Constantinople. As to king Francis having had last year, as reported, the ports of Toulon and Antibes prepared to receive in them the Turkish fleet, that was altogether false. King Francis had stated publicly that the cause for his declaration of war last year on so many places and at the same time was the imputation, which his own subjects had cast on him, of his having sent for the Turk's aid and prepared his ports to receive his fleet, for he wished to show to the World that he had sufficient forces without the aid of the Turk to cope with the Emperor in Italy, in Flanders, and in Spain!!

In short, His Holiness went on excusing king Francis as much as he could. I do not enter into more details, because Your Lordship knows very well what His Holiness' intentions are in this particular of the peace. I shall only observe that His Holiness' language to me on this occasion differs much from what the bishop is said to have held before the Emperor [at Lucca]. His Holiness ended his peroration *by again exhorting me to write to the Emperor, and try to induce him to come to Italy again, repeating by way of argument that it was the sole remedy for Christendom.* My own impression is that the reason of His Holiness insisting so much on the Emperor coming to Italy is that he really believes that he is coming here, and that most likely he has written to his Nuncio in Spain to make a similar request in his name.

As Your Lordship will see in my despatch to the Emperor, both the bishop of Aquila and myself were cross-questioned by His Holiness as to what Your Lordship was doing or likely to propose at the Nüremberg diet, whether you were coming to Rome, and so forth.

After a long audience, which lasted upwards of three hours, perceiving that no arguments of mine would be powerful enough to convince His Holiness, or allow me to penetrate into his secret thoughts, I took leave of him, not without having spoken on the breve for the high commandery (*encomienda mayor*) of Calatrava.* After hearing my reasons and the justifications offered, and saying that the Emperor wished it to be done, and would consider it as a personal favor, he promised to have the breve issued that very night. I have since sent him reminders through Cardinal Farnese, and through the Datary, but the breve in question has not yet made its appearance.—Rome, 5 March 1543.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To Monsr. de Granvelle, the Emperor's lord Privy Seal."

Spanish. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 3.

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* At this time the *encomienda mayor*, or chief commandery in the Military Order of Calatrava, was vacant by the death of Don Garcia de Padilla in September 1542.

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10 March. **112.** The BISHOP OF AQUILA to HIGH COMMANDER COBOS.

S. E., L. 871, f. 130.

Has received His Lordship's letter of the 23rd January concerning Madame's indisposition, who, thank God, has now recovered. He (the Bishop) can assure His most Illustrious Lordship that Madame has so gained the hearts and the good will of His Holiness, and of these lords and ladies of the Farnese family, that nothing more could be desired. Indeed, the Holy Father is so pleased with all her doings, and with the great wisdom and talent (*prudente discorso del suo ingegno*) which she displays on all occasions, that very few affairs supervene or important events take place here that His Holiness does not at once communicate to Her Excellency, frequently asking her advice and so forth. Whatever he (the bishop) has solicited from His Holiness or obtained, all is due to her own powerful influence over him. Writes this to His most Illustrious Lordship, knowing, as he does, how pleased he will be to hear such praises of Her Excellency's superior intellect and wisdom, because he knows that he has always cherished and loved her since her childhood. His Lordship will see by what he (the Bishop) is now writing to the Emperor about her how deserving Madame is of his paternal affection, and, therefore, he will not repeat the same here. Hopes that His Imperial Majesty will not find this picture of Mme. at all exaggerated, and that the portrait which the duke of Castro* has this very day given him will convey a still better idea of her than his own description in writing can. The Duke has assured him that he has several matters of great importance to communicate to His Imperial Majesty in the Pope's name, and that immediately after his landing at Genoa he hopes to be admitted to his presence.—Rome, 10 March 1543.

Signed: "B. Episcopus Aquilensis."

Addressed: "Ill^{mo} et Ex^{mo} Sig^{re} Il Sig^{re} Commendador Maior de Leon, in corte di S. C. M^{ta}."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2.

10 March. **113.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Some days ago, in pursuance of Your Majesty's orders and commendations, I made excuses to various personages of this country if I did not write home concerning the export of armour (*harnoix*) from the countries under Your government. Nowadays things have materially changed, and as these people must needs provide themselves with arms, if they prepare, as it appears, to attack the common enemy, I hope that Your Majesty will take in good part my recommending the petition of certain personages and knights of this

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* Pier Luigi Farnese.

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country to export from those countries under Your Majesty's government certain pieces of armour and implements of war. Among the people who have applied to me for a licence, and certainly he deserves it, is Monsr. de Saint Jean (Lord St. John), an honorable and wise gentlemen, a member of this King's Privy Council, who would wish for permission to draw out of that country one hundred sets of armour for infantry men, besides one hundred lances (*picques*). I most humbly beg Your Majesty to grant him the said permission, which I have no doubt would be immediately granted were Your Majesty to know the qualities, virtues, and good inclinations of the said knight.—London, 10 March 1542 (1542–3).

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

10 March. **114.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl.

" Madame,"—Among the ministers and privy councillors whom this king occasionally sends to this embassy to visit me, there came on the 2nd instant the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner), he of Westminster (Thomas Thirlby), and secretary Wristley (Wriothesley) to call on me, as they said in their master's name, and to announce that certain Portuguese, who had been arrested on the charge of Judaism, had been actually released from prison, and their confiscated property restored to them, merely on my recommendation and for my sake (*à ma seulle contemplation*). These are the same in favor of whom Your Majesty, as well as the king and queen of Portugal, wrote to me twice some months ago.

After delivering their master's message on that particular point, the three above-named personages proceeded to say that they wondered why I had no news of Your Majesty, nay, nothing to communicate relating to the affairs of Flanders and the Low Countries. And after my assuring them that it was not Your Majesty's fault, but that You were so engaged just now that You scarcely had time to eat, drink, or sleep, much less to write, I proposed, as being desirable for their master's complete satisfaction on that score, and for other purposes and effects, that the King, their master, should have a resident ambassador at Your Majesty's court—a discreet, amiable, and tractable person, with whom You might communicate frequently. This proposal of mine was gladly accepted by my three visitors, who promised to inform their master of it.

After this the King's deputies entered into conversation with me, and, passing from one thing to another, let out some expressions which made me suspect that although they had assured me that the bishop of London (Boner) had no commission or mandate whatever to treat about the time, mode, or form of the common invasion of France, and that all they wanted him to do at the Imperial Court was to solicit from

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the Emperor to send his powers to me to treat of that affair and others here in London, as I say, I have reason to suspect that something more must have been entrusted to their bishop ambassador. I, therefore, told them that it seemed to me as if they had entirely forgotten to include in the Bishop's instructions that point which, as I had told them at the time, was the most important of the whole negociation at the present juncture. The King, their master, had nowadays about thirty war-ships (*navieres*), well equipped and manned, and since he had to support such an expense, it would be a most advantageous and profitable moment for him to think of the projected invasion of French territory, for in that case he (the King) would be assisted by the Emperor's fleet, by means of which they might together become the masters of the Northern Seas, so that neither the French nor the Danes would dare go to Scotland, and relieve it when attacked by his land forces. There was, in my opinion, no other means but that of ensuring the King's affairs in Scotland; for, as I had once told them, they ought to bear in mind that the intrigues of the French were a good deal more dangerous and formidable than their arms, and that if not engaged in war, nor occupied in defending themselves at home, they would have now at hand two causes and opportunities for the employment of their cunning devices: first of all, time and leisure to imagine and deliver strange discourses, or invent every day new and incredible stories; and, secondly, the facility of drawing money from the pockets of the poor peasants. Whereas France being invaded, those two causes in their favor would soon disappear, and the French would no longer have recourse to their marvellous propensity and aptitude for intrigue, and for mixing themselves up with other people's affairs. King Francis would no longer dare oppress his subjects with taxes and imports of all kinds for fear of rebellion, especially after the troubles and riots of Britanny and La Rochelle last year, as otherwise he could not defray the expenses of a war. This, said I to the King's deputies, is the proper time and opportunity for falling on him, now that after his expenses of last year his treasury must be nearly empty; besides which, for reasons which I need not specify, having already done so many a time, that King's detestable and abominable acts and practices are notorious to the whole of Christendom, nay, to all the honest and worthy people in his own kingdom. Neither was there much probability of his having again recourse to foreign captains or soldiers worth anything, considering his treatment of the men of Clèves and Ghelders, whom he had last year under his pay and the count Guilliaume de Furstemberg, who have been sent away without their money, Francis' treasurers and ministers saying to them that they must have patience, and let the King breathe until next year.

Lastly, I said to the King's deputies that it would have been far better to delay the conclusion of the treaty between

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us until next year; for it will be next to impossible that the king of France be not informed of it in the meantime, which will perhaps afford him occasion and opportunity to look to his own affairs, or at least to take courage, and imagine that if we did not attack him, it was owing to our being afraid of them.

These remonstrances of mine had a very good effect on my visitors, who not only approved of them entirely, but promised to report to the King, their master, thereupon, and let me know his answer and intention on the whole.

On the following day, the 3rd inst., Your Majesty's letters of the 24th and 25th ult. came to hand, together with that addressed to this king, as well as the speech (*oraison*) made in Your Majesty's name at the diet of Nüremberg. After the careful perusal of which address, as well as of all the other letters and papers in the packet, I—though still unwell in consequence of the changeable weather of this season—sent to Secretary Wristley the letter addressed to the King, begging him to take it to him, and let me have an answer as soon as possible by means of a trusty person with whom I might communicate, at the same time begging to be excused if, owing to my indisposition, I could not leave the house.

On the 5th, in the morning, the bishop of Westminster [Thomas Thirlby] and Mr. de Cheney, the King's treasurer and knight of the Garter, came to hear what news I had of the Nüremberg diet, telling me beforehand that the King, their master, had been much pleased, and thanked me very much for the advice conveyed through his ministers. That as to his sending an ambassador to Your Majesty, there was no difficulty at all; he should be sent at once, and that with regard to other matters, he would consult first (*ruminer*) with his privy councillors, and then let me know his determination.

Upon which, having explained to the deputies what my mission was, they showed much joy at hearing of Your Majesty's affectionate regard for this king, and of your complete trust in him. They were equally pleased at hearing the good news from that country, as well as the prudence, activity, and cleverness displayed by Your Majesty in providing for Government affairs, and ended by asking my permission to take for the King's perusal the address (*oraison*) delivered in Your name at the Diet of Nüremberg, which permission I willingly granted.

Respecting the duty of 1 °/₀ for one year * on all goods exported from the Low Countries, after arguing at length with the deputies that should English merchants be exempted from payment, many other nations would no doubt claim the same privilege, or make difficulties about the payment of the said duty, and, moreover, that under cover and in the name of English merchants, foreigners might fraudulently, and without paying that duty, export any goods they pleased from Flanders and the Low Countries, and if so, the collection of the tax would become exceedingly difficult, if not altogether impossible. I said to the deputies, "You ought besides to consider that the money is to be employed against the Turk number two [that is, Francis], and in a war, too, which cannot be exactly called a Flemish war in particular, but an English one, in which war the merchants of this country are also concerned, many of whom have their fortune in the Low Countries, and no other mart for their goods than the countries subject to the Empire or to Spain." Told them besides that according to doctors at law (*docteurs legistes*), a treaty of intercourse of trade between two nations had nothing whatever to do with questions of this kind, though on the other hand Your Majesty would on no consideration allege the opinion of such doctors in your favor, inasmuch as all your desire is to amplify and extend, rather than curtail by subtle arguments, the commercial treaties and stipulations existing between the Emperor's and this king's subjects.

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* "Et quant à lempostz du centiesme denier pour ung an sur les marchandizes tireez hors des pais de par de la."

Hearing this, the deputies dared not contradict me, but owned that I was right. In fact they made no objection whatever on this point, and proceeded at once to discuss the time and season at which the invasion of France was to be accomplished, I and some of the privy councillors being of opinion that it ought to be undertaken at once, whereas others, and among them the King's treasurer, contended that it must be postponed. Indeed, the said treasurer was the only one who maintained the expediency of delaying the preconcerted invasion, alleging that the season was too far advanced to achieve anything important. There was no time (he asserted) to procure the material required for such an expedition, much less the carriage, &c. I proved to him that his objection was untenable, upon which he made another, which—had I not known him to be a good and faithful servant of this king—would have made me suspect that he was rather inclined to France, owing to his having been once a pensioner, and having passed his early youth in that country,* besides his holding that his ancestors came from Burgundy. The objection he started was, that the frontier towns of France were so strongly fortified, that it would take at least one whole year to reduce one of them, even the least important, by force of arms. My reply was, that I had no doubt the King, his master, knew long ago the strength of those towns, and that had he considered them

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* "Et luy ostant ceste objection yl entra en une aultre qui meust faict suspeconner (sy ne leusse cogneu bon serviteur du dit sieur roy son m^{e} (maitre) quil y avoit de la passion, et mesmes pour avoir este nourry en France et depuys pensionaire joinct quil tient ses predecesseurs estre partys de la duche de Bourgogne."

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impregnable, he would certainly not have thought of such an invasion, and made arrangements for it. He (the King's treasurer) knew as well as myself, that there was no fortress that could not be defended, as well as taken; none was absolutely impregnable at every point, and that if king Francis happened to invade Flanders this year, as he boasted he would do, it might come to pass that his men through bad weather, and the horses for want of fodder, would suffer so much as to make it easy for us to inflict a good blow upon them (*bastonnade*), one likely to astonish and discourage the garrisons of those very towns, and that it would not be inexpedient, in order to deprive them of all hope of help and succour, to make the Imperial and English army combined march into France, and leave those frontier towns behind, and that if they (the French) in winter time, and with a handful of men, dared some time back march as far as Mont Didier, what could they not do in summer, when food for man and horse abounds, and, if necessary, may be conveyed by carriage from long distances? Besides which, the confederated army would be six times stronger, whilst that of the French would be divided from its having to attend to so many different points. Should the English army march by way of Normandy, it would be amply furnished with victuals and all necessaries from the Imperial fleets, stronger and more numerous than those of France, by means of which some sudden revolution (*garboille*) might be planned and executed in Britanny, or on the side of Bordeaux, over which town the king of England has a right, and where the Emperor's reputation stands very high. "In short (said I to the King's deputies), it is to be supposed, that were France to be invaded now, the King, your master, and my Emperor, would not long have to carry on the war single handed, since most of the Christian powers would (voluntarily or at our request) join in the end against France; besides which, it is to be expected that on this occasion God, who has always rendered the Emperor's arms victorious, will be chief and captain of his army to revenge king Francis' misdeeds, and will inspire the governors of those towns and fortresses you speak of, to put them into the hands of more Christian and virtuous princes."

To the above and similar representations on my part, the above-mentioned bishop and treasurer made no reply, saying that they would report the whole to the King, and let me know his answer.

Of the duke of Clèves' affairs they said nothing to me, but about a week ago the King sent me a message through the secretary of his Privy Council to the effect that he had been told that there was some chance of the said duke making his peace with the Emperor; that nothing could be better than that in order to withdraw him altogether from the friendship and alliance of king Francis, and bring him back to the Emperor's obedience and devotion, but that his advice would be (if that could not otherwise be accomplished to the Emperor's honor, and with sufficient guarantee) that the duchy of Ghelders should remain in the hands of the duke of Clèves, and after his death go freely to the Emperor or to his successors, protesting, before he tendered such advice, that it was only the Emperor's interest and convenience which prompted him to suggest such an arrangement of the question between the two, and presuming that the thing could be done to His Imperial Majesty's honor and reputation. That in moving and counselling such a solution, he was not influenced by any friendship, affection, or inclination he might have for the said duke, for whom, or for his other allies, he did not entertain more regard than for the Emperor's gloves; it was to the virtue and judgment of the Emperor that he submitted the whole case.

This very morning the King has sent me another message, namely, that he has perfectly well understood, and taken in good part all I had said to his ministers, and that since the Emperor knew what his intention was respecting the enterprise against France, and that his authority in such military matters, and especially in those concerning the countries under his sway, was generally recognized, he had resolved, following his advice, to send in five or six days two ambassadors to Your Majesty to consult and decide what had better be done, and how and on what side the invasion of France is to be carried out. I have reason to believe that one of them will be Master Thomas Semal (Seymour), the brother of the queen Johanne (Jane) that was, and the other Dr. Carne, whom Your Majesty knows already, neither of whom, I fancy, will fail to do good offices in the matter, and conduct themselves more dexterously and honestly than the one who resided at your court some years ago, and who might, had I not remonstrated against it in time, again have been named.

It has been an immense satisfaction to me to hear that Your Majesty has been pleased with the conclusion of the treaty; though this king desires it to be kept secret for some time to come, Your Majesty, in my opinion, might without great risk communicate the substance of it to your ministers and clerks, which would be a help to yourself and enable them to make their profit in standing negociations, and especially in what relates to the dukes of Clèves and Holstein, and other German princes. There would, as I say, be no harm in that; besides which the chief cause for this king wishing the secret to be kept, is no other in my opinion than to have time to provide for the defence of the territory and fortresses he has on that side of the Channel, for fear of the French making, according to their usual mode of warfare, some sudden attack upon them, but that fear has now completely disappeared; all his English fortresses and towns in Picardy being now abundantly provided with stores of ammunition and food, and their garrisons placed in perfect order.

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The King, moreover, wished to provide for the security of his subjects in France as to their persons and property, or at least to indemnify them for their losses. This he had obtained by the capture of the six ships (*navieres*) of which I wrote some time ago to Your Majesty, as well as by the sequestration of all property belonging to Frenchmen in England. In fact, the diligence and industry displayed by the King's ministers, since the conclusion of the treaty, to find out and discover French property in this country, even that retained under false names, is almost incredible. Indeed, the measure could not, even after the declaration of war, be carried out more rigorously than it has been, or is likely to be, and I am sure that king Francis will greatly resent it. *I firmly believe that from one thing to another, matters between them will grow so hot, and that within a few days' time such a fire will be kindled between them that these English will be compelled to enter into a war against the common enemy much sooner than they would wish, especially if the fleets happen to meet somewhere in the Channel.*

On the other hand, it seems as if the French were looking out for some pretence or excuse for either openly molesting the English in some way or other, or for sending their fleet with a landing force to Scotland, for the French ambassador, twelve days ago, went to Court and complained bitterly in his master's name, that during the late troubles at La Rochelle, several Englishmen residing in that town had purposely fanned the fire of discord and rebellion there, and induced the inhabitants to hold out, and resist the King's commands. The French ambassador further complained of this king having sent secret agents to Normandy to procure intelligences, and ascertain the means of occupying some fortresses there. True is it, that if I am to believe what the bishop of Westminster (Thirlby) and this king's treasurer told me the other day, the new French ambassador, who came a week ago, and whose name is Prothonotary de Ortez,* of the house of Grammont, and a nephew of the archbishop of Bordeaux, has not spoken in any manner so as to offend or irritate this king; on the contrary, according to my informer, he has made use of very moderate, gracious, and friendly language, with plenty of fine words and promises. The old one (Marillac) would willingly have taken his departure and gone home, but that he could not do until this king's ambassador in France, who, on his return, was arrested at Boulogne, should arrive here. Indeed, I am told that the King is so obstinate about it, that rather than let the two French ambassadors depart from England, he will let his own die in prison at Boulogne.

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* There is a place so called (Orthez?), in the dep. of the Low Pyrenees, of which the ambassador here named may have been prothonotary or head registrar, but what was his name it is difficult to say. The Grammont family were originally from Gascony, and one of them (Charles) was archbishop of Bordeaux.

1543.

Four days ago the King sent me word that some time after the demise of the late king of Scotland, hearing that the French were boasting that the duke of Holstein would soon send a powerful fleet to Scotland, he (the King) had sent [to Denmark] one of his secretaries named Vulham Watszon (William Watson), well versed in the navigation of the Northern Seas, with letters for the Duke, and also for the people of Lubeck and Ambourg (Hamburg) to know what the Duke's real intentions were, and watch the naval preparations, if any, that were being made, and that having through excessive caution, and by taking cross roads, unfrequented by travellers, aroused suspicions, he had been arrested as a spy, and imprisoned in the castle of Utrecht. The King's message further said that I was to pray Your Majesty to intercede and have his man released, and set at liberty, which favor I beg to recommend, since it was evidently for the Emperor's and Your Majesty's service that the man was travelling when arrested.

The King had great desire to hold an interview with Your Majesty, but his privy councillors have dissuaded him from undertaking the voyage on the plea that the season is inopportune, especially when Your Majesty is engaged in affairs of such importance and gravity. The King, however, still thinks that instead of that, Mr. de Granvelle might come over and spend a few days in England; that he would desire above all things; and certainly, if the mission on which the Emperor's Lord Privy Seal is now engaged could allow it, I dare say his presence here would be very advantageous for the Imperial service.—London, 10 March 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 5.

16 March. **115.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—Some time ago I informed Your Imperial Majesty through Mr. de Granvelle of the contents of my despatch, of which a duplicate is now enclosed. Since then, nothing has occurred worth mentioning, save that on Tuesday last the two French ambassadors, here resident,* were summoned to Court, and on their return home, were accompanied by Master Charles Habart (Howard), the brother of the last queen, and by another gentleman, who have charge of staying at the French embassy, and preventing the departure of the said ambassadors until this king's own,† detained at Boulogne, returns.‡

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* That is, Marillac and Morvilliers, unless, instead of the latter, the prothonotary of Orthez be meant.

† Sir William Paget.

‡ "Au retour de la quelle furent accompagnez de m^{e} (maistre) Charles Habart, frere de la derniere royne, et dung aultre gentilz homme, qui sont commys et deputez pour demourer au logis des ditz ambassadeurs et garder quilz ne delougent dicy ne lung ne laultre jusques à tant que soit revenu lambassadeur de ce roy arreste à Boulogne."

1543.

Dame Anne de Clèves has been three days running to Court; whether summoned thither, or out of her own free will, I cannot say, but my information is that she was not made much of. Military and naval preparations are going on briskly; every day ships (*navieres*) are being armed, and the most diligent inquiries made to ascertain what property the French have here. These latter, on the other hand, are not asleep, and are doing their best to strengthen themselves at sea, for it is reported that they have lately captured some English merchant ships, and it seems, as if the game once commenced they will both go to war without waiting for a challenge, though these people consider it a point of honor not to commence hostilities without having first declared war.—London, 16 March 1543.

Signed : " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

17 March. **116.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

" Madame,"—The King has just now sent me a message to the effect that he has decided to send as ambassador to Your Majesty, the gentleman of whom I spoke in my last despatch,* accompanied either by Dr. Hutton,† or by Dr. Leton,‡ formerly appointed to France. The King, however, will delay their departure for Flanders until he hears my opinion on the subject, and knows whether they are or are not fit and proper persons to accredit to Your Majesty. My answer has been, that the appointment of the gentlemen could not be better, and as to the other two, were I to choose, I would decide in favor of Dr. Hutton, of whom I know something, and who seems to me fitter than the other. I do not think that the ambassadors will depart before Easter; but, in the meantime, I will solicit and take care that they are sufficiently empowered and instructed so as to treat, without any further delay, of the preconcerted undertaking against France.

Four days, ago two gentlemen of the Royal Chamber were appointed to go and reside at the French embassy, and keep good watch, so that the two ambassadors should not leave without speaking to their host.§ Indeed, there is every reason to believe, as I have written in one of my recent despatches, that from one thing to another, matters will go on growing more and more bitter between this king and the French in such a way that little by little these English will join the dance without waiting for the ceremony of a challenge or defiance from the French—a sort of thing which the English fully expect, since they themselves consider it a point of honor not to go to war without it.*

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* *See* above, No. 114, p. 275.

† There was at Brussels an ambassador named John Hutton, but he died in September 1538 (Vol. V., Part II., p. 42); undoubtedly Dr. Nicolas *Wotton* is here meant. *See* above, p. 275.

‡ " Et avec luy le Dr. Hutton ou le Dr. Leton," *i.e.* Dr. Richard Layton.

§ " Et avoir bonne garde sur eulx quilz ne deslogent sans parler à lhoste."

The King has lately granted permission to Dame Anne of Clèves to come to Court and see the Princess. She has been three days in town without the King having seen her more than once.

The ambassadors from Scotland who were expected here have not yet come, nor will they, as reported, until the States now assembled in that country are over. These sittings neither the earl of More (Murray), bastard brother of the late king, nor those of Hogny, Alguer, and Boduel,† would attend. The above-named noblemen were the friends, or had received pensions from the Cardinal [of St. Andrews], who is now kept under closer confinement than before, on the charge, as I have written in one of my despatches, of having forged a certain will under the name of the King, who died *ab intestato,* of having suggested to him to put to death upwards of one hundred and fifty gentlemen of the kingdom of Scotland suspected of Lutheranism ; and last, not least, of having ill-used and misappropriated the money left by the late king, and even the pensions received from France. The Scotch, however, are on their guard to prevent the French party from taking the upper hand in the kingdom, as they are afraid of Mr. de Guise going thither, or else Mr. de Leman (Lennox), who belongs to the Stuart family, has resided most of his life in France, and is the man for whom the Cardinal tried to procure the crown of Scotland. A fear is entertained of dissension breaking out in the said States, now assembled, and that attempts will be made to withdraw the kingdom from the obedience to the Holy Apostolic See, a step which in my opinion will be the greatest inconvenience likely to occur in all that affair.‡

I am told that the two French ambassadors in this country, after much reflection and thought, have come to the conclusion that this king has no wish to make war upon France, and that all the military preparations he has made, and is now making, are merely intended to render their master jealous, and keep him in suspense, and thus prevent his invasion of Flanders; but, notwithstanding that, they (the ambassadors) assert that within a few days' time there will be at Ardres, and its immediate neighbourhood, a very considerable force of king Francis.*—London, 17 March 1543.

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* " Les affaires sen aigriront (*sic*) entre le dict Sieur roy et le roy de France, de sorte que de peu à peu ylz entreront en la dance sans attendre la serimonie de sommation ne deffiance, sur la quelle ceulx-cy sont aulcunement fondez, tenant à poinct dhonneur de non entrer en guerre sans la dicte deffiance."

† Hogny, Alguer, and Boduel are the titles given here to the three Scotch noblemen here said to have followed the Cardinal's party. Hogney is meant for Huntley, *Alguer* for Argyl, and Boduel for Bothwell.

‡ " Les dits Excossais sont fort sur leur garde mesmez que [les] françoys ne abordent ilec doubtant de la venue de Monsr. de Guise, et non moings de celle du sieur de Leman, quest de la mayson Stuarde, et a presque toute sa vie hante [habité?] en France, et est celluy que le dict Cardinal procurait de promovoir à la couronne. Il est à craindre que aus dicts estatz ny ait de la dissension, et aussy quelque commencement de substraire le dit royaulme de la hobeissance (*sic*) du siege Apostolique, quest le plus grand inconvenient que je voye en tout ce affaire."

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the dowager queen of Hungary, Regent in Flanders and the Low Countries."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

18 March. **117.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—We send you along with this three more letters, one from the Emperor, My lord and brother, and two more from Mons. de Granvelle, besides a note by the same, which was expressly left open, that We might supplement and add any observations of Our own if We considered it necessary. The note itself, however, is so full, correct, and well expressed, that We have none to make, *save to recommend you most urgently to guide yourself entirely by it, and use your well-known ability and discretion to ascertain what the King's real intentions are respecting the affair in question, without, however, pressing him harder than you deem it convenient or necessary, respecting the assistance in money, in case he should be unwilling to carry on war against France. This you must avoid as much as possible, from fear of disgusting the King, and making him suspect that We want to throw on him all the expense of the war. On Our part, should the King send his ambassadors to Us, We will take care to speak to them in the terms of Mons. de Granvelle's note to you.*

Count du Rœulx† *has held an interview with the captain of Guisnes (Wallop) at Bourgbourg; both have communicated together, as you will see by the inclosed copy of the Count's letter to Us.*

The prince-electors on the Rhine, and the landgraf of Hesse, after making due efforts to bring about a truce between the countries under Our government and the duke of Clèves, perceiving that they could not gain their object, have separated and gone home for the purpose of informing their respective masters of the ill success of their negociations. The Duke, on the other hand, as We hear, is trying to justify his refusal to abide by the truce on the plea that he is willing to submit his case to the arbitration and judgment of the

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* "Mais que ce non obstant avant peu de jours yl y auroit au coustel de Ardrez et icelle ligiere (lisière ?) tres grosse armée."

† That is Adrien de Croy, whose correspondence with Wallop may be seen at p. 82.

1543.

prince-electors themselves and to the States of the Empire, thinking that by that means he will continue in possession of Ghelders. He has sent to Nürenberg seven ambassadors of his own with the double object of replying to the proposition laid by Our commissioners before the Diet, and at the same time complaining of the invasion of his patrimonial dominions. But We shall not fail to molest and worry him as long as it is in Our power to do so, so as to oblige him to come to reasonable terms with the Emperor. To that end We have sent orders to the Field Marshal duke of Aarshot, now at Maëstricht, with count de Lalaing, the two brothers Hoochstrate de Ligny, and Oostfrize, with 200 cavalry and 1,000 foot—4,000 of whom are from Upper Germany, well trained to war—and a good quantity of siege artillery, to get ready and invade the Duke's territory.* This force, which is to leave for its destination in a couple of days, will soon penetrate into the Duke's territory, and if the latter will offer them battle, as he is said to be determined to do, We hope to carry the day against him. We have, moreover, ordered a levy of 3,000 infantry from Limburg—all excellent soldiers—to reinforce Our army, and We shall soon see what countenance the Duke will put on. If he gives Us battle he risks the whole of his dominions; and if he does not, his subjects will sustain incredible loss and damage.

Some levies have also been ordered on the side of Munster with which to invade the Duke's possessions in Ravensburg and La Marque, and We are also in hopes that on the side of Utrecht and Brabant, the garrisons of those towns, which are numerous enough, will not be idle, but will have their share of the spoil, and whilst the Duke is elsewhere massing his troops to fight a battle, will give him work in other parts.

However this may be, We have been pleased to hear by your dispatch of the 10th inst. the news of that country, and have immediately ordered the release of the prisoner, in whose favor you wrote to Us, who was journeying from the district of Utrecht to Ghelders.

P.S.—After writing the above, We heard from an authentic quarter that the people of La Rochelle have again risen in rebellion higher than ever, and that king Francis is much displeased on that account. Also that the treasonable plot to surprise and take Thionville has been discovered.

Addressed: "To the ambassador in England."

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

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* "Et à ceste fin avons envoye vers Maistricht (*sic*) le duc d'Arschot, le quel avecq les contes de Lalaing, de Hoochstrate, freres de Ligny, et de Oostfrize, accompaignez de ii^{m}v^{c} chevaulx et x^{m} pietons, dont les iiii^{m} sont haultz allemands, gens de lice, et bonne quantite dartillerie pour faire batterie doibvent dedans deux jours entrer au pays du dit duc."

1543.

18 March. **118.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—To fulfil on this side of the Channel the conditions of the treaty of closer friendship and alliance respecting the sea forces to be furnished by each of the contracting parties, We find that the Emperor, Our lord and brother is to furnish two thousand men to man the ships from these Low Countries; but as We do not know what sort of vessels will be required for the projected undertaking, We cannot decide as to the number of men to be put on board of each. Considering, however, in the first place, that English ships are generally large and heavy, and have powerful artillery, and that the king of that country would naturally wish Ours to be of equal size and force; and on the other hand, that the sort of service they are expected to do—which is merely to defend and protect the coasts of both the allies—can more easily be performed by lighter vessels, We are of opinion that, as ships of a middle size and faster sailing are less subject to storms and hurricanes in the high seas, and have greater facility for running into ports and straits in case of need, as well as sailing out of them at will;* as in all probability neither the French nor the Scotch can, nor will, avail themselves of ships of large tonnage, it has been decided that smaller and lighter vessels be employed in that service. For these reasons, and others which We might adduce, people experienced in these matters, now residing at this Our Court, are of opinion that We had better put the 2,000 men, whom We are bound by treaty to contribute, on board middle-sized and fast-sailing ships of Our own, the more so, that were We called upon to furnish vessels of a lighter tonnage, We could not possibly avail Ourselves of them for the defence of the coasts of Holland and Friesland—more in danger than others from the Scotch, inasmuch as there are no harbours or ports of refuge on the coast of those countries, wherein, in times of need, large ships drawing much water could run. The loss of such ships, or their being in some spot where they could be of no service, would be an incalculable loss for these Low Countries,† which We must obviate as far as it is in Our power.

As the affair, however, is of great importance and deserves well to be treated and discussed by the parties concerned, We have resolved to write on the subject, and recommend you to lay this proposition of Ours before the King, and the

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* "A quoy selon la disposicion dambes deux (*sic*) les pays les navires moyennes et agiles pour non estre si tres fort subiectes aux dangiers des oraiges et tempestes, et peuvent plus facillement entrer es portz et destroitz et diceulx sortir à plaisir." *Dambes deux* is the Spanish expression "ambos à dos."

† "Veu que es dits quartiers ny a aulcun port pour en temps de necessite saulver les dits navires, la perte des quelles, ou sil advenoit quelles fussent bouttees quelque part de sorte que lon nen sçauroit tirer service, causeroit à ces pays dommage inestimable et irreparable."

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members of his Privy Council, and above all, before the High Admiral of England.*—Gandt (Ghent), 18 March 1543.

Indorsed: "To the ambassador in England concerning the ships and crews to be furnished in virtue of the treaty with England."

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

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n. d. **119.** MEMORANDUM addressed by MONS. DE GRANVELLE to Ambassador CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Mons. l'ambassadeur,"—There is no need of a long preamble to impress † you with the expediency of trying to induce the king of England to enter into a war with France within this present year. The juncture could not be more favorable than it is, considering the passage to and expected arrival of His Imperial Majesty in these countries, which, if God be pleased, will take place in May next, in the very heart of spring.‡

Considering also that king Francis incurred very large expenses last year in the various wars he made, and is still making, on this and the other side of the mountains, imagining—though, to say the truth, he has obtained no other advantage—not without great malignity on his part, that he can utterly destroy us, and yet, without any other result than the destruction and annihilation of his own kingdom, it is evident that this is the proper time and season to come down upon him so as to ensure his ruin and consequent loss of reputation, and palpably demonstrate to the World that he has neither forces nor generals (*chiefs*), nor soldiers to carry on warfare successfully.

In addition to this, king Francis is universally detested and blamed by all the powers in Christendom, even in Germany, where the indignation against him is almost general, owing to the captains and military men of that nation, who served last year under him, having returned home unpaid and discontented; so much so, that he will have great difficulty in procuring fresh recruits, unless it be secretly, and at great risk of being abandoned by them at a moment's notice owing to the general prohibition in Germany forbidding people to enlist under French banners.

His Imperial Majesty, on the contrary, will be able to raise as many levies as he likes, so that besides the great forces in cavalry and infantry which the Queen Regent has already in Flanders and the Low Countries, and the Spaniards and Italians the Emperor is bringing in his suite, the Imperial army, if necessary, can be increased to any amount.

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* Sir John Russel.

† "Pour vous enrichir" are the words in the original, but it is evidently a mistake of the deciphering clerk for "rencherir."

‡ "Par tout le moys de May prochain que sera fleur de saison."

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The king of France's subjects, are, moreover, exceedingly displeased and indignant with him, so much so, that some of them, like the inhabitants of Brittany, have risen tumultuously against him, and the people of La Rochelle have actually revolted, so that king Francis, his privy councillors and courtiers, begin to be afraid, that if the war becomes general, he and they may be in danger from the French themselves.

Should not the king of England decide to make war on France this year, it is to be feared that the hesitation and wavering he has hitherto shown in the matter, and the secret intrigues of the French, may perhaps influence him to forget the obligation by which he is bound according to the terms of the last treaty.

It is to be supposed that the king of England is so fond of his money, that it will greatly grieve him to lay his hand on his treasury; perhaps also the state of affairs in far Scotland will make him hesitate; yet, since he has come so forward as to sign the treaty of closer friendship and alliance, it must be presumed that he is now decidedly hostile to the French, not only on account of the interest of the money the French owe him for arrears of pension, as for insuring its payment for the future, the more so that he fears the French will thwart his designs in Scotland. The above are the reasons why king Francis ought to be attacked at once, and reduced to such an extremity that he may no longer take the offensive, and molest the king of England in Scotland or elsewhere.

As you know better than any other man the nature and condition of the English king, you must look out for means and occasions of getting him to declare to you what his real intentions are with regard to France, and ascertain whether he wishes to make war on its king, in conformity with the treaty, and what inclination he himself has shown since the signature of the same to oppose and fight France, and prevent any mischief they may do in Scotland. Of course, I need not tell you that I shall be glad to receive reliable intelligence respecting the state of that country, so as to judge what the King's position in Scotland really is.

You should take care, when speaking to the King, to declare to him the Emperor's full intention of making war against France this very year. You will tell him confidentially and under reserve that his (the Emperor's) voyage to Italy and land journey to this country has no other object—provided that king wishes to invade France—than to join his forces to his, and invade France. This, of course, to be said in such a manner that the mere and simple affirmation of the fact may not reach the ears of the French, and be the cause of the English profiting through it.

It seems also to us as if you might make the King and his ministers understand that His Imperial Majesty has undertaken this voyage, trusting and relying on the treaty itself,

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and on the assurances given by the bishop of Wasmouster (Westminster) when he went to Montçon.

Should the King make any difficulties about that, saying that he cannot possibly let his kingdom be unprovided with troops as long as matters of difference exist in Scotland, and fears of war on that side, you may assure him that he shall have from this side of the Channel as many men, horse and foot, as he will like to have, with the same amount of pay that the Emperor generally gives them; and that should he want and apply for such recruits, he must let the queen of Hungary know as soon as possible, that the best and most experienced soldiers may be secured.

Should he agree to enter into the aforesaid war, you will try to ascertain how and where that war is to be carried on, what is to be the amount of the invading force, and whether the invasion is to be conjointly or separately. But I must observe that if the King joins his force to that of the Emperor, and the English are in considerable number, the Emperor would much prefer that the invasion of France should take place separately on different points of the frontier, thus avoiding the difficulties and inconveniences that might arise between people of so many different nations and habits, as well as from want of victuals.

The best, after all, would be to induce the king of England to furnish his contingent in money, with which to raise a number of Germans, and that he should besides pay one half of the cost of the artillery, and other expenses, ordinary as well as extraordinary; that would be best, inasmuch as His Imperial Majesty will then be enabled to raise in this country as many men as he can wish for, and there being, as there is, both in Germany and in Flanders, a large quantity of heavy ordnance, the plan would be very advantageous for England and its king.

Yet, should you perceive that the King is willing to enter immediately into a war against France, no matter how, conjointly or separately, you will try to ascertain as closely as possible his intention and will in the matter, without opposing or contradicting him in the least, for fear of his conceiving fears or having scruples, and withdrawing entirely from his engagements; and you will take care to inform the Queen thereof, and in the meantime keep the King in good humour, without letting him suspect that we are disappointed.

Lastly, if you cannot succeed in persuading him to make war on France this year, jointly or separately, nor furnish money for one half of the expenses, it will be necessary, after making all possible efforts to obtain that end, to try whether you cannot obtain a loan of money from him, and let the sum be as large as possible, without, however, taking any engagement, or signing any obligation before letting the Queen know of it, unless you see that the delay is likely to bring on a rupture of the negociations.

1543.

Should the King ask you on what side His Imperial Majesty thinks of commencing war against France, you will excuse yourself, saying that you have no idea at all; and should the King insist, you will try and change the conversation; and if you do not succeed, you will answer courteously, just as you see the King's inclination to be, "on any part of the French frontier which may seem best to him."

You must not forget to inquire if it will be possible, in case of need, to obtain victuals from that country, and, likewise, whether the King has ordnance and ammunition, servants, armour, and lances, and, generally speaking, all implements and things needed in war, in case the King should decide to join the enterprise against France.

According as you may see the turn the negociations are taking, and what is likely to result from them, you will take care to inform daily the Queen Regent of every incident and communicate also with me if the case requires it, that We both may in return correspond with you, and keep His Imperial Majesty "*au courant*" respecting the progress of the negociation.

Indorsed: "Copy of the 'Memorial' drawn by Monsr. de Grantvelle (*sic*) for Monsr. Chapuys, the ambassador in England."

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.*

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22 March. **120.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—The King has just this moment sent for my inspection a letter from his ambassador [at the court of France], now at Bolongne (Boulogne sur Mer), informing him that the French governor of Therouenne has been lately in the former town with a view to undertaking some enterprise or other, but that afraid of having his fingers burnt as they were at St. Pol,† and knowing that Mr. de Rœulx was in the neighbourhood with a considerable force, he dared not run the risk of it, and had suddenly abandoned his warlike plans and returned to Montreuil, to wait for the reinforcements which he and other French governors in Picardy pretend are coming down soon, consisting of two thousand cavalry, between men-at-arms and light horse, divided into two troops, one of them commanded by the Sieur de St. Martin, the brother of the Cardinal of Paris (Bellay), the other by

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* This memorandum—for so it is endorsed in a handwriting of the time—by the Emperor's Lord Privy Seal (Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle), is no doubt the one mentioned in the preceding letter of the queen of Hungary to ambassador Chapuys of the 18th of March. As it is undated, it is, like many other papers, placed at random where it ought not to be.

† "Mais craignant le feu depuis quil fust eschaulde à Sainct Pol."

Captain Theodore, the men-at-arms having been drafted from various divisions of the French army on the frontiers of Flanders, such as that under the command of the duke of Orleans (Charles), or from those under the governors of Ardres, Boulogne, and Therouenne. With the above cavalry force, to which will soon be added, as the French assert, six thousand infantry, the above-named captains boast that they can and will come down upon Mr. du Rœulx and cut him to pieces, alleging among other reasons for their future success,—which they are already announcing with their usual taunts and braggings,—the very foolish one, that Mr. du Rœulx, and the duke of Aarschot are not now on friendly terms with each other, as if those generals were conjointly in command of Your Majesty's forces!!

The governor of Therouenne, moreover, boasts of his master, the king of France, having intelligences in Burgundy.* Of the truth of this statement the English ambassador (Paget), writer of the letter, has his doubts, inasmuch as he says that certainly before his arrival at Boulogne he had heard some vague rumours about it, but since then he had inquired, and knew better.

The English ambassador further writes that king Francis having heard that 4,000 German lanskennets were marching towards Valenciennes, had given orders to those he had in Britanny to hasten to the frontiers of Flanders. He (Francis) and his ministers were giving out that as they had had one year's respite, they had so fortified the chief towns of France as to render them impregnable, or nearly so. He had nothing to fear from the Low Countries, especially if the Emperor did not carry on the war in person, or send his Spaniards and Italians to Your Majesty's assistance. King Francis (himself) said that in order to collect a large sum of money for next year, he did not intend making at present any great efforts or incurring expense, but only undertaking a defensive war.† Even if the Emperor came in person he (Francis) would do no more than guard and defend the strong places in his kingdom.

Such are the intentions of the French king, if we are to believe what his captains and governors publish, adding that unless other powers, meaning no doubt England, take part in the war, they will be able to cope with the Emperor's forces. Three days ago the French ambassadors, on the receipt of letters from home, went to call on this king, and asked in their master's name permission to quit, and go to Calais, and remain there until his own ambassador, who is detained at

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* "Et se ventent (vantant) daillieurs les ditz François quilz ont bonne intelligence avec pluseurs bourgignons."

† "Et que le dit roy pour assembler force argent pour lannee que venoit il sestoit resoulu de non faire grand effort en la presente, et menner seulement guerre guerroiable, et que si sa ma^{te} venoit en personne ilz nattendroient à aultre forsque à garder leurs frontieres."

Boulogne, should arrive at Calais; but this permission the King has obstinately refused to give, saying that until he has seen his own here in England he will not allow the French to depart.

Lately a priest and doctor [in Theology] and a gentleman of this king's chamber, named Philip Aubin, and some others have been sent to prison charged with Lutheranism and heresy.*—London, 22 March 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2½.

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29 March. **121.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—We have advised you by Our letter of the 24th of last month on what terms We were with the duke of Clèves, who, notwithstanding all efforts made by the commissioners of the electors on the Rhine and Landgraf of Hesse, to bring about an agreement between him and Us, has not only hitherto refused to listen to reason, but, trusting on French alliance, continues still to do all he can against the countries under Our government.

And whereas the town of Hainsberge which We hold in the duchy of Juliers was in need of provisions for the garrison We keep there, owing to the peasantry in its immediate neighbourhood being unable to furnish any for fear of the Duke's troops, the town itself being within the territory of Juliers, We have sent thither Our cousin, the duke of Aarschot with a force of 2,500 horse and 10,000 foot, 4,000 of whom are Germans, to revictual the said Hainsberge. On the 20th the Duke left the frontier and reached the duchy of Juliers, having completely succeeded on the following days, the 21st and 22nd, in providing the garrison with all necessaries. On the 24th the Duke encamped in front of Scitart (Sittard), where news came of the duke of Clèves' arrival at the head of 4,000 horse and 10,000 foot, 6,000 of whom were from Upper Germany.† Hearing of this, the duke of Aarschot marched in good order against the enemy, whom he met shortly after, the Imperial cavalry charging at once that of Juliers and Clèves. The shock was terrible, and many horsemen on each side lost their saddles. They then fought against each other for a while without any decisive advantage, until Our cavalry obliged that of the enemy to leave the field and take to flight, slaying a good number of them. Yet however signal was the success of Our cavalry over that of the enemy—who, as aforesaid, were completely defeated—Our infantry refused to fight and ran away, abandoning the guns, so that when Our cavalry returned from the pursuit of that of the enemy, they found their artillery and Ours completely abandoned and the horses taken away, so that neither Ours nor that of the enemy could be made available, and actually remained useless on the field of battle. Thus Our cavalry could not possibly encamp that night for want of infantry to assist them, lest that of the enemy should suddenly return and attack us, and Our own artillery remained unavailable on the field for want of horses to carry it away. You will see by the two enclosed notes (*billets*) how the affair passed, and the enemy's loss in the engagement. On our side We have lost no officers of distinction save two gentlemen, namely Mr. de Lintre, from the duchy of Brabant, and Mr. de Rougy, from Haynnaut (Hainault), and about 100 men in all. The count of Hoochstrate is wounded but slightly, without danger of any sort; Mr. de Ysche more dangerously. The enemy, on the contrary, own that their loss amounts to 1,500 men, and among others the personages contained in the enclosed list.* We made about 200 prisoners, the greater part men of quality, whose names We do not yet know.

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* "Cez jours ont este myz en prison un prestre docteur et ung de la chambre du roy nomme Phle. Aubin et certains aultrez pour cas de Lutererie et herezie."

† "Alemanci alti," that is, from higher Germany.

We send you the above particulars that you may inform the King thereof. The general opinion about this engagement is that never did Our cavalry behave so gallantly as on this occasion, though it chiefly consisted of raw levies. According to the report of their own captains, the men behaved very well on the field, and are determined to fight the enemy again, if possible more bravely and efficiently than they did the other day, if they can only come to close quarters with him.

The new court-master (consul) of the English merchants has come here with credentials from that king to complain of certain impediments (*empechesments*) which (he says) the custom officers (*les gardes du Tollieu*) of Zeeland and Brabant have put in the way of the merchants of that nation. We have answered him in such a manner that he seems completely satisfied; yet, as the court-master also wants the said merchants to be exempted from the payment of the $1^{\circ}/_{0}$ duty, pretending, as he does, that the commercial treaties between England and the Low Countries forbid any tax or duty of that sort to be imposed, We have replied to him that the King, his master, has been officially informed of the reasons of that duty, and that We confidently trust and hope that for the considerations which We have laid before him he will raise no difficulties as to that. That the duty is not meant

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* Not in the packet.

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to be permanent, but merely for a time, and only intended to increase Our resources to carry on the war against Our common enemy. Thus much did We say to the English court-master, who replied nothing at the time; but as most likely he will write to his master, the King, and the merchants will pursue this affair of the exemption,—which, if granted, would oblige Us to revoke entirely the ordinances published to that effect—a very grave and dangerous measure in the present state of Our affairs—*We have decided to resist to the last, and to disregard the above-mentioned petition of the English merchants. We, therefore, beg you to do your utmost to persuade the King and his Privy Council not to prevent and impede the payment of the said duty, and take good care to let Us know their resolution.*

Continual reports come to Us from France of daily proclamations being issued and papers printed in that country, stating that a peace will soon be made between the English and them, that the former have released all prisoners of that nation and restored their confiscated property. If there be any foundation for such rumours, the king of England or his privy councillors must know something about it. We therefore request you to investigate what truth there may be in the exaggerated reports of the French, and continue to inform Us of the news of that country as you did last by your letter of the 17th inst.,* which has duly come to hand.—[Brussels], 29 March 1543.

Indorsed: "To the ambassador in England, the 29th of March 1543 after Easter."

French. Original draft, partially ciphered. pp. 2.

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30 March. **122.** MR. DE GRANVELLE to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsr. l'Ambassadeur,"—Since my last of the 12th inst., † I have received yours of the 10th, together with the copy of the one you wrote to the queen [of Hungary], both of which I immediately forwarded to His Imperial Majesty, that he may know and appreciate the sentiments of sincere friendship and affection which the king of England bears him, and in which he will always find on Our Master's part most perfect and complete correspondence. God knows how much I should wish to be able to visit the king of England, and personally declare to him the sincere affection which His Imperial Majesty does entertain for him, and the great desire he has that the friendship and alliance now existing between them be everlasting, and pass on to their respective heirs and successors. No one knows better than you how long I myself have been wishing to visit England, though I have always been prevented one way or another from making the journey. Even now, that I am so close to that country, I do not see how I could possibly take the leap without being in fault here in Flanders,* and neglecting the mutual affairs of His Imperial Majesty and of that king, which happen to be just now in very fair way, so much so that the Emperor, our master, will on his arrival find everything in very good train.

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* No. 116, p. 278.

† Granvelle's memorandum to Chapuys (No. 117, p. 283), though undated, might have been accompanied by a letter of the 12th. As to Chapuys' letter to the Queen, of the 10th, it will be found at p. 269, No. 113.

There is still another cause which prevents my leaving the country just now, which is, that I have to correspond almost daily with His Imperial Majesty's ministers and ambassadors, so as to keep them *au courant* of political events likely to affect Our Master's interests. My visit to England, therefore, would only serve to certify the King of my sentiments towards him, as well as of my sincere regret at not being able to accept his invitation. It will be for you to plead my cause, and tell the King that I have not lost entirely the hope of seeing, one of these days, His Imperial Majesty and himself working together for the success of their common affairs, whilst the queen of Hungary, herself, will co-operate by throwing light on certain political matters, and directing whatever operation may be deemed necessary for the closer intelligence between the two Princes, as well as for any military undertaking against the common enemy. No time is to be lost, for as the King said to you very wisely the other day, *Judas non dormit.* So true is it that I can tell you for certain—nay, you may believe my words as the Gospel, that king Francis is actually soliciting the Pope's aid against that king with a view to support and encourage the party which he boasts of having in Scotland, pleading as an excuse for his demands ‡ some violence or other which, he says, has been done in England to the Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews, to the profit, as he pretends, of that king's affairs in the above-mentioned country. Since king Francis is going on with his intrigues, and his aim seems to be to cause divisions and do the worst he can, I should fancy that the most convenient and profitable plan for the Emperor and

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* "Et nul ne peult mieulx sçavoir que vous combien je l'ay desiré, tant y a que je ne voy que je puisse pour maintenant faire le sault jusques à de la, sans faire faulte en ce couste aulx choses qui concernent le bien commun de leur dites maiestés que sont en tres bon chemin."

† "Vous pourrez bien plesger (plaider?) pour vous et moy le tout, et je ne suis sans espoir que nous pourrons veoir leurs dites maiestes ensemble avec grande satisfaction de tous deulx (*sic*, r. deux), et la royne pourra entierement satisfaire à lesclaircissement et direction de tout ce que concerne l'intelligence très estroicte des dits deux princes, at à l'exigence de l'affaire contre le commun ennemy."

‡ "Prennant occasion de ceste demande que lon aye faict la quelque violence au Cardinal Escossois."

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the English king to adopt would be to fall upon him at once and attack him in his own kingdom, stop him in his course, and prevent him from doing harm abroad, and incapacitate him from drawing upon the substance of his own subjects, but on the contrary to dispose matters in such a way that these latter may go on rebelling against him, as there is a rumour the people of La Rochelle have again done, and those of many other towns in France are likely to do soon: such is the rebellious and tumultuary spirit that pervades all classes of society in France. Indeed, I can assure you that not only is king Francis universally hated on this side of the channel, he is as much abominated as Judas was. For God's sake, let no time be lost at this present season and juncture, when all heavenly and terrestrial influences are decidedly against the common enemy. Never again could such an opportunity offer, for king Francis has no help whatever to expect from any one but from the Turk, whose aid he is now soliciting harder than ever, by land as well as by sea. This of itself is bad enough, as the King will thereby be precipitated into *profundo malorum*, and then I shall be able to say to him, "*Nunc dimittis.*"

The Pope is doing all he can to persuade His Imperial Majesty to make peace with king Francis, who feigns to be as mild and courteous as possible on the subject, with a view to escaping this early spring from ruin and destruction, and gaining time to carry on war beyond his dominions. But I can assure you that His Imperial Majesty has again expressly written to me that he will make no stay at all in Italy; in fact, he would not have gone thither had it not been for the purpose of his passage to Flanders. If he has to meet the Pope there, it will be without going out of his way, losing precious time, or speaking to him on other matters except the assistance against the Turk; even on this subject nothing definite will be concluded, as it is the Emperor's intention to refer the Pope entirely to his ambassador at Rome.*

It is for you to inform the King of the above particulars, if you think it opportune and convenient. You must, however, thank him and the members of his Privy Council for their kind commendations, as well as the honorable words they have said to you about me, at the same time offering them my services with all the sincerity of my heart. Meanwhile, I shall not fail to inform you as frequently as I possibly can of the occurrences in Flanders, although I am sure that the Queen will keep you *au courant* of every event likely to affect the interests of our English allies. I again repeat that no time should be lost, &c.—Nüremberg, 30 March 1543.

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* "Le dit pape est bien apres [luy] pour persuader paix á sa maiesté en faveur du dit roy de France le quel fait le doulx et courtois, cuydant eschapper ceste fleur de saison en gaignant temps et ruer la guerre ailleurs; mais je vous certiffie que sa dite maieste imperiale m'a encoires expressement escript quelle ne sejournera en Italie sinon pour la necessite de son passaige, et sy elle seroit avecq le pape, sera sans aller hors de chemin, sejourner ne parler dautre chose que de assistence à lencontre du Turcq, et encoires dicelle son remectre entierement à son ambassadeur."

P.S.—I shall not fail to recommend to the Emperor your own particular affair as affectionately and efficaciously as if it were my own son's.

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n. d. **123.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

The enclosed has been purposely worded as it is, that you (Eustace Chapuys) may, if you deem it convenient, show it to those privy councillors. Every effort must now be made to persuade that king to make war on France, as I have written to you more than once, and I need scarcely add that you must inform the Queen as often as you can of the progress of your negociation. I am sure that the latter will keep me and you *au courant* of everything, and if there should be any point which requires clearing up, or in which my advice is wanted, pray let me know at once, and I will do my best to help you.*

Indorsed: "From Mons. de Grantvelle to Ambassador Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

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2 April. **124.** Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—On the 24th ult., Your Majesty's letter of the 17th, enclosing one from Mr. Granvelle to me, and the documents thereto annexed, came duly to hand. It would take me too much time to recount what passed on the affair of the treaty between this king, his privy councillors, and myself in my three different journeys to court, from which I have just returned. It would also be superfluous and not to the purpose to dwell on the service, which I flatter myself I have rendered on this occasion, since it has pleased God to have it concluded entirely to the Emperor's satisfaction and your own. In short, this king, after several meetings and consultations with his privy councillors, resolved, as he has just sent me word, to make war upon France this very year, and if possible lead his own army (though this he would not actually promise), provided the Emperor, as Mr. de Granvelle writes to me, determined to invade France personally. Though there can be no doubt that the Emperor's presence at the head of his army would be very profitable for the undertaking, the King says that in his opinion a prince, like the Emperor, ought not to expose his person to danger and fatigue.

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* There is no date, but it is evidently a postscript to the preceding letter from Nüremberg, 30 March.

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As to the plan of campaign, the King thinks that the Imperial army might invade France by Champagne, a province comparatively open and fertile, as well as more commodious and nearer for Spaniards and Italians coming straight down from Germany. It would be much to the purpose that the invading army should lose no time in besieging towns on the river Somme, but march at once on Paris. And upon my replying to him that there might be reasons for not following his advice, inasmuch as the said province of Champagne might claim neutrality, the King said to me, "I am not aware of that, but if it is so, let me tell you, that whoever consented to that condition committed a great fault. At any rate, granting that Champagne is a neutral country, as you say, the Imperial army can very well march through it, paying down in money for whatever provisions they may want, as if it were a friendly land. Should the inhabitants refuse to afford passage and sell provisions, then, in that case, they would be unworthy of the said neutrality. As to my own army," continued the King, "I intend to send it towards Boulogne and Montreuil, and thence to Abbeville, as if I intended to lay siege to the latter town. Yet that is not my intention: Leaving Abbeville on one side, I would make my army march straight on Rouen, which is not very strong, and on its arrival there attack two bastions (bellvears), *which the French have erected and armed with guns pointing to the sea; whilst on the land side they may easily be taken, and afterwards held with the assistance of my fleet."*

The King was also of opinion that in order to prevent king Francis from utilizing the services of the Gascons out of their own county, the Emperor might double the garrisons of his places along the French frontier and Guipuscoa, and make some show of invading France on that side.

In order to prove to me that he was not speaking without foundation, and filling my head with vain words, but was really in earnest, the King added that he had sent to all the provinces of his kingdom to select and enlist soldiers to serve in this war, and had taken such measures that the enlistment seemed to be very successful, and more orderly than in old times. And I gather from his words that he will enrol as foot soldiers only his own subjects, the English, though he will have his cavalry from abroad. He would very much wish, intending, as he does, to prepare his men for the future war, that Your Majesty should lose no time in prepar-*

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* "Et pour me tesmoigner quil ny alloit pas à faulse enseigne, et quil ne vouloit repaistre le monde de parolles, il me voulloit bien advertir quil avoit desja despaiche (despeché) par tous les coustez de son royaulme pour choisir et enrouller gens, en quoy sestoit mis nouvel ordre et trop meilleur que le passe. Et me semble, à ce que je puis comprendre par ses propoz quil ne prendra à sa souldre autres pietons que du sien [royaulme], ouy bien gens de cheval."

ing and fitting out the war ships, ammunition, and material required for the undertaking. I did not ask him how many pieces of ordnance he had at his disposal, how many sets of armour, or lances for the infantry, nor what amount of provision in store. Not to trouble and over fatigue him with so many questions at the same time, and, considering that as he himself told me that yesterday he had a slight access of fever, and besides that my frequent communication with his privy councillors will afford me plenty of opportunities to interrogate them on that point and others connected with the preconcerted invasion, I refrained from asking any more questions; his councillors assured me that there was every prospect of a good harvest this year, and that corn would be so abundant here in England that it might be exported in large quantities. There might (said the privy councillors) be a deficiency in butcher's meat, owing to a great number of beasts having died in consequence of the hard winter, but as to other necessaries of war, such as ammunition, ordnance, and so forth, they were amply provided. Neither have I asked him, for the same reason, what number of soldiers he (the King) intended to enlist. Supposing that whether he commands his army in person, or sends it under a general of his own choosing, it will be sufficiently numerous for all purposes, and may in case of need be increased as may be deemed necessary.*

I have shewn to these privy councillors certain articles and advice drawn by the admiral of Flanders respecting the manner in which the commander of the English fleet (*navierez de par deça*), when in contact with that of the Low Countries (*cellez de par della*), in the harbours (*avrez*), or on the high seas is to behave; and they have approved of the whole, adding only that they should wish that besides the ordinary flags carried by the vessels of each nation, there should be a countersign to be changed every month, so that the enemy may not counterfeit the ordinary flags, as they might easily if the secret countersigns were known to them. As soon as they give me their opinion in writing on this particular, I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty.

There are now in those Low Countries a number of English emigrants, a bad lot (*meschants garnements*), who are continually having heretical books printed there, and who afterwards send them by secret means to this country, to have them circulated to the great scandal of worthy people. That

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* "Je ne luy ay point tenu propoz quil equippaige quil avoit dartillerie, municion, harnoix, ni aussi bastons de guerre, ne pareillement quelle assistence il pourroit faire de victuailles tant pour non la travailler par trop, veu la grande communicacion quavons eue sur le reste, et quil mavoit donne dentendre que hier il avoit eu un petit acces de fievre, joinct que ceulx de son conseil mavoient dict quil y avoit apparence de bonne prise, et que ce estant lon pourroit diçy tirer grande quantite de grains, mais quil ny avoit soubres (Sp. *sobras*) de chairs mesmes à loccasion du grand iver qui avoit tue grande nombre de bestez."

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is why this king has requested me to beg Your Majesty that some provision be made and remedy applied to this evil, according to the mutual engagements taken on two former occasions.

I must not omit to say that this king has taken in very good part the particular notice received from Your Majesty of the political and other events in those Low Countries, which he has attentively perused and read, praising all the time Your Majesty's prudence and great attainments in the science of government.

The French ambassador received yesterday letters from the King, his master. He counted upon having an audience from the King this very day, but I went to Court first, and prevented his seeing the King. His predecessor in the embassy * has left for France whilst I have been writing this letter, and although the English one, who was formerly at the court of king Francis, is already set free (*lasché*) at Boulogne, yet the Frenchman now going down the river will be compelled to stay a little while at Calais until the English one lands here, at least such is my information from one of this king's privy councillors.

I have presented to the King Your Majesty's letter respecting the safe conduct for the wines and biscuit (*pastel*) which the Vuychardini (Guicciardini) are sending from France to Flanders, and have explained to him my own credentials to that effect, but hitherto he (the King) has made difficulties about granting it, alleging that the enemy might well, under cover of that, cause some of his ships to pass on to Scotland. He thought it was far preferable that the French should lose their merchandize (*denree*), and thus have a taste of the impending war, than furnish them the means of attacking the allies, and that he thought Your Majesty must have been asked with importunity by some foreign commercial house to apply for a safe conduct from him. That he would grant it if Your Majesty wished, but only for a reasonable quantity, not for the whole cargo. Even then it seems to me as if the King, when he spoke to me about it, wished that the goods in question should come in Flemish bottoms, not in French. Your Majesty will be pleased to send me her commands as to that, and tell me how to act in the affair.—London, in haste, 2 April 1543.

Signed : " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

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* All this paragraph refers to Marillac, but it is doubtful whether the other ambassador who called on the King was Morvilliers or the Prothonotary of Orthez. *See* above, p. 276. As to the English ambassador in France (Sir William Paget), his return took place about the 20th of April. *State Papers*, Vol. IX., p. 353.

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8 April. **125.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—We hear that the courier dispatched to you on the 29 ult. *has been taken prisoner in the Channel, though he had time to throw into the sea the packet of letters, of which he was bearer. That is why you will find herein enclosed a duplicate of that which is missing.*[*] *We there gave you an account of the engagement fought between Our army and that of the duke of Clèves on Easter Eve. The loss of that letter We regret, the more that We should have liked the King of England, Our ally, to be informed as soon as possible of the signal victory of Our arms over the enemy. After that, having received more particular information concerning the said battle, We could not do less than add to the missing letter the following particulars, which have since been received, that you may communicate them to the King, and he may know what is the state of affairs in those parts. Whatever Our enemy (the French) may say to the contrary, the duke of Clèves cannot certainly be proud of the advantage which his men pretend to have gained over us, for after all they lost all their artillery, which they would very much like to have now, besides a number of captains, lords* (sieurs), *and gentlemen slain in the battle, they themselves owning that the number of gentlemen of good family killed in the encounter exceeds that of one hundred and fifty. On Our side, We have lost no gentlemen at all; those whom in the first advices from the field We counted as dead, happening to be alive though prisoners, such as Mr. de Ysche, whom We reported as dangerously wounded, and is now out of danger. Our total loss consists in 27 cavalry, as appears from the muster-rolls, 60 who are prisoners of the enemy, and a few who had their horses killed under them.*[†] *Had the infantry done their duty, the battle would have been gained entirely.*

Whilst We were writing the above in confirmation of the missing letter, yours of the 2nd inst., came to hand. You have done your duty in persuading that king to make war on France; but still We should be glad to hear how far, and in what manner he intends declaring himself; when and where he purposes carrying on war; what part of the French frontier is to be first assailed, with what number of men, and at what season of the year? On all these particulars We wish to obtain reliable information, in order to be pre-

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[*] A duplicate of the missing letter, dated the 30th of March, has already been abstracted. *See* No. 122, pp. 290–3.

[†] "Confessant qu'ilz ont perdu plus de cent l. gentilshommes de nom de leur pays. De nostre coste navons perdu aucuns gentilhomes, mais ceulx que pensions estre tuez sont prisonners, et vivants. Le S^r d'Ysche, qui estoit fort bleshe (blessé), est hors dangier. Ne sont de nostre coste demourez mortz à la dite bataille point plus de xxvii. personnes des gens de cheval, comme s'est trouvé à la monstre depuis faicte. Il y a environ lx. prisoniers, et aulcuns aultres qui ont eu leur chevaulx tuez."

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pared, and provide on this side of the Channel all necessaries of war. We also wish to know whether that king intends taking into his service any of Our men; if so, how many; and whether he intends waiting until His Imperial Majesty has reached this country, or invading France without him? It will be for you with your usual dexterity and secrecy to ascertain the above from the King himself, from his ministers or privy councillors, or else from the would-be commanders of his forces, without, however, making it appear as if We Ourselves had applied to you for such information. And should the King wish to know how We Ourselves are prepared for any enterprise he may think of against France, you will answer him that if he wants 2,000 horse and as many foot, paid at the Emperor's expense, to join his army and obey an English general according to the article XXII. of the treaty of closer friendship, We shall be glad to furnish them whenever demanded. But if the English think that We consider Ourselves bound to furnish that contingent of troops at Our own expense, independently of any other separate attack that the Emperor may also make on his side on the French frontier, the English are mistaken, and you must as soon as possible make them aware of their error. You will tell them that those are two different and distinct things, but that We shall not fail to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty in all its parts. It ought also to be borne in mind that His Imperial Majesty has not yet decided whether, after his progress through Germany, he will direct his arms towards France or towards Italy. As long as he remains in Spain he cannot say what his movements will be. That will depend chiefly upon his passage to Genoa, whether long or short, and the state of affairs when he arrives there, and the military operations which the enemy may be carrying on at the time, all things which must be considered and kept in mind for fear of mistake.*

You write to say that the King desires Us to commence the fitting out of the necessary war-ships, though without specifying the number and class of those with which We are to help. You will therefore inquire and ascertain what sort of craft the King means, what number, and of what tonnage; when and where they are to be ready, that We may in time do what is absolutely required of Us without however having to incur unnecessary expense.

As to that king's presumption that His Imperial Majesty might, and ought to, make an invasion by Champagne, We have always understood that the enemy's frontier in that particular province of France is more open and less fortified than any other, and yet We also hear that it is more difficult there than anywhere else to procure food for an invading army, owing to the agricultural districts of that province having been much wasted during the last year, not only by Our own soldiery quartered in or passing through it, but by the men of Martin Von Rossom after their retreat to France, all of whom—friends and enemies—have lived at large among the people of the country, owing to which cause provisions and food have now become so scarce that many proprietors and farmers have been obliged to abandon their homes and cultivated lands.

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* At this time the Emperor was still at Barcelona. On the 1st of May he sailed for Genoa, where, after touching at Savona, he landed on the 27th. He stayed there till the 2nd of June, and left for Tortona and Pavia.

Burgundy's neutrality moreover will prevent any attempt being made on the side of Champagne, though the French themselves, regardless of that neutrality, have made frequent incursions on that side of Our frontier.

If the King wishes to dispatch an army of his own to this side of the Channel, he will be obliged to send also wheat from England for the support of his men, for We ourselves have none to spare here. We request you to take particular notice of this point, and if you find a fit opportunity, obtain from him permission to purchase in England the quantity required for Our forces in the field. Should the wheat be stored at Calais, or in any town in its immediate vicinity, the King's army and Our own might thus be amply provided with food.[*]

With regard to the articles bearing on the discipline of the crews of the ships of war and mutual relations of their commanders, We find that the additional measure suggested by the King's privy councillors with a view to prevent frauds and surprises is very reasonable, provided it is carried out sincerely and uprightly (sincerement et droitierement), *without any shade or suspicion of the allies molesting each other, as the perfect friendship of both princes requires. As soon as you send Us the amended articles We will remit them to the admiral of Our fleet, that he may have them enforced accordingly.*

Respecting the books in English, which the King says are being printed in these Low Countries, We know nothing at all, but We are now writing to the Margraf of Anvers (Antwerp) to make enquiries, and should it be found that such books are printed in the town of Antwerp, the printers shall be punished to the contentment of the English.

As to the difficulties which that king makes about granting safe conduct to vessels laden with wine and biscuit[†] from France, on the reasons and considerations alleged by his

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[*] "Si le dit roy d'Angleterre veult envoyer armee decha (deca ?) la mer, il sera roquis tirer bledz d'Angleterre pour la pouvoir secourir de vivres, à quoy vous requirons avoir bon regart et obtenir congee du dit sieur roy den pouvoir tirer, et sil en vouloit faire provision à Calais ou aultre ville vosine (*sic*) ce pourroit grandement servir à son armee."

[†] "Vins et pastel" are the words. *See* above, p. 296.

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privy councillors, and mentioned in your dispatch of the 2nd of April, you will represent to them that those very considerations have hitherto prevented Us from granting safe conducts to vessels coming from France to these Low Countries laden with wine, biscuits, and other articles, but since then, from considering that in consequence of the war of Clèves German wines cannot be easily procured, and that if an army is to be raised, and put on war footing, it is indispensable to make provision of wine for the soldiers to drink—of which article We already begin to feel the want—We have lately granted permissions to introduce 10,000 tuns of it, 3,000 of which are already stowed in 20 French vessels, and that about 10,000 bales[*] of biscuit (*pastel*) have likewise, as We hear, been put on board of certain French vessels. In short, that We very much wish that the King would give orders for the said wine and biscuit (*pastel*) destined for these Low Countries to be allowed to pass free, promising on Our part to take care that none of that goes to Scotland, and that the vessels (*navières*) go back to France laden with those articles without landing any person or persons in that country ; besides which, should We in future require more wine and biscuit (*pastel*) it shall not be introduced in French bottoms, but in Spanish, English, or Flemish, as may be.[†]—8 April 1543.

Addressed: "To Ambassador Chapuys in England, 8 April 1543 after Easter."

French. Original draft, almost all ciphered. pp. 5.

n. d. **126.** ADVICES from the EMPEROR'S CAMP.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl.

The Emperor's army numbering 10,000 foot and 24,000 horse[‡] entered the duchy of Juliers on the 21st of March, and arrived at Hainsberghe at 11 o'clock of the night, owing to impediments caused on the march by the long and heavy carriage train, and the bad weather. The whole night after their arrival the Emperor's men had to pass before Hainsberghe in order to revictual the place next morning, which was effectively done before noon, the whole of the provisions being unloaded and sent to the town. After effecting the revictualment as aforesaid, the Imperial army went and encamped a short league from Hainsberghe, whereupon the enemy, appearing all of a sudden, some alarm was felt at first, and there was some slight skirmishing, though without loss on either side,[*] Our army retreating another league towards Sittart, where it is now encamped, Our scouts however . . .[†]

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[*] "Et quelque nombre de pastel jusques à x. mille bailles sur aultres navieres franchoises."

[†] "Et de nostre couste feront prendre regart que personne ne passera pour aller en Escosse, et que les dits navires retourneront droit en France, et que dores en avant ne fera conduise les vins et pastel sur navires d'Espaigne, angloises ou flamenges."

[‡] "L'armee de l'empereur qui estoit de x^{m} testes de pietons et xxiiii^{c} chevaulcheurs est entree en Juliers le xxi. du mois de Mars, et arriva à Hainsberghe auprinces (*sic*) à unze heures de nuyt pour l'empeschement quilz avoyent eu a cause du grant charoy qu'ilz avoient, et du mauvais temps quilz avoient."

French. Original. p. 1.

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9 April. **127.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Since the date of my last,[‡] this king has sent for my inspection a letter he had received on the fight before Zittart (Sittard), in which letter it was said that the affair had turned out more disadvantageously for the Emperor's army than I myself had reason to believe, to judge from private correspondence. And I am told that whilst lamenting with his privy councillors over the untoward event, the King told them that in his opinion it would be very fit and convenient to find out some means for His Imperial Majesty and the duke of Clèves to come to terms; but that Secretary Wristley (Wriothesley) got up and contradicted the King, saying that it would be a dishonourable act for the Emperor to propose means of reconciliation with his enemy, much less agree to any terms put forward by the Duke. Since then, fresh and more favorable accounts of the engagement between the Imperial troops and those of the rebel duke have come to hand, which I have shown to the King, and, I must say, have been received with particular satisfaction and contentment, although they differ slightly as to the details of the fight, that being the reason why an official and detailed account from Your Majesty would come very *à propos.*

These privy councillors have not yet, owing to their being engaged with certain internal affairs, come to a resolution concerning the order to be observed by the two fleets when they come to join, but they will to-day meet again, and the vice-admiral of Flanders, who is now in London, will be the bearer of their determination in that particular. Neither have they, owing to their many occupations, dispatched the two ambassadors, who are to go to Your Majesty. I myself have not insisted particularly on their departure, inasmuch as the chief point which made me desire their prompt expedition to the Low Countries is already settled, as Your Majesty will see by my last letter,[‡] yet I believe that they will depart shortly. This notwithstanding, I would most humbly request Your Majesty to let me know as often as possible how affairs are going on in Flanders, for the satisfaction and contentment of this king, who I am sure will not fail to respond on his part, *for even yesterday he sent me word that he had intelligence that a man-at-arms, and an archer of the army commanded by Mr. du Roeulx were in secret intelligence with the French. The King (said the messenger), had not heard the names of the men, but they were both from Brussels*, which piece of news I have immediately transmitted to the said commander that he may enquire into the affair, and punish the guilty parties.

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[*] "Et s'est faicte la charmouche (*sic*) sans perte d'ung coste ou daultre."

[†] The letter itself is unfinished (ending abruptly with the words "ou icelle a campe et ont les allarmes"); it is, moreover, undated and has no address, from which it is natural to conclude that it was abstracted from another sent from the Imperial Camp to someone living at Brussels, whence it was probably forwarded to Chapuys in England, enclosed in one of queen Mary's. At any rate it is annexed to the preceding of the 8th April from the Queen to Chapuys.

[‡] That of the 2nd of April. *See* above, No. 124, p. 193.

The ambassador of France,* since the date of my last dispatch, has been to Court two days running (*deux jours de rotte*), thinking that he might be allowed to see and speak to the King. This, however, has not been granted to him. His charge was, as he himself declared to the privy councillors, that the King, his master, was willing to let this King's ambassador at Boulogne † proceed on his journey and return to England, provided Mr. de Marillac, who was still at Calais, were released and allowed to depart, and that he (Francis) could not persuade himself that it was the king's intention to violate the liberties and privileges of a resident ambassador, and keep him in exchange, as it were, for a certain Scotch priest, this king's servant, who whilst in France, and in his service, had been accused of being mixed up with various intrigues at Rouen and in Dieppe. The French ambassador, moreover, had charge to say to this king that, unless another English ambassador were sent to replace the one who was detained at Boulogne, he was ordered to apply immediately for his *congé*. It appears that this king's Privy Council has come to this resolution, namely, that the ambassadors be mutually set free at some spot or other between the frontier of Calais and Boulogne, and that there be only six persons on each side to accompany and escort the ambassadors; not a large contingent, as Our common enemy, the French, wish, lest the latter, led by their treacherous and wicked propensities and their customary habits in matters of warfare, should all of a sudden fall on the English party, and thus obtain some small success at the beginning, likely to turn out to their advantage and consequent reputation. Such has been, as I hear, the resolution of the Privy Council in this case, adding that the French ambassador here may go away or remain, just as he pleases; but as to their master sending another one to France, that he would do whenever it suited his purpose, and not at the will and pleasure of anyone whomsoever.

The Scotch priest ‡ above alluded to had been sent to France for the purpose of inquiring about the disposition and defences of Rouen, and the neighbouring districts, and of

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* Morvilliers (?), for Marillac had already left, and was at Calais. *See* p. 296.

† Sir William Paget of the King's chamber.

‡ Most probably John Penven. See *State Papers*, Vol. V., pp. 61, 360–2, &c.

*the coast of Normandy in general, and to procure intelligences in the country. He did also solicit the departure from France of the brother of the governor of Scotland, and also that of certain other gentlemen, who passed the other day through this city [of London], who were well received and entertained by this king, and I do believe did not leave this Court without handsome presents.**

Two days ago, the two Scotch ambassadors, who were expected here, arrived; one of them is the governor's cousin. Nothing is as yet known about their mission, for they have not yet explained to the King what it is. Yet I was lately told at Court that most probably their mission consists in declaring in the name of the General States, or Parliament of Scotland, that they consent to the proposed marriage of their Princess to the prince of Wales (Edward), but that they refuse to put her into this king's hands until she is of a marriageable age. Yet the English still hope that the princess will be, sooner or later, sent to England before that time, especially with the favor and help of the Douglasses, whom the said General States have lately reinstated in their property, honors, and rank. These Douglasses have great influence over the governor of Scotland, and enjoy much popular favor; for the count (of Angus) and his brother have gained much reputation and honor with the States now assembled, for having introduced such good order in the discussions, that up to this time no dissension or noise has ensued.†

The English Parliament, on the other hand, has again granted to this king, as they did four years ago, the tenth of all English property, whilst foreigners are to pay the fifth. It is still sitting, and it seems to me, from what I hear, as if they intend to bring in measures for the extirpation of heresy, so much so, that no later than yesterday, four or five priests were cast into prison. The principal man at the head of this reformation, and who is now trying with all his might to bring it on, is the bishop of Winchester

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* "Le dict prestre excossois a este envoye en France pour espier la disposicion du dit Rouen et de tout le pays à lentour, mesmes à la ligiere (lizière) de mer, et cherche[r] de y avoir de lintelligence et si a sollicite de faire vuyder de france le frere du gouverneur dEscosse, et certains aultres gentilzhommes, qui sont passez par icy tres bien recueillez et festoyez du dict sieur roy. Et croy[s] bien quilz ne sont party (partis) sans present."

† "Bien me me fust dict dernierement en court que lon pensoit quilz apportoient le consentement des Estatz du dict Excosse sur le marriage de leur princesse avec le prince de Gallez, mais quilz netoient dadvyz iceulx estatz de mettre leur dicte princesse aux mains du dict sieur roy jusque à ce quelle fust daage (*sic*) pour consumer le marriage. Toutesfois ceulx cy ne sont hors [d]espoir dobtenir la deslivrance de la dicte princesse avant le dict temps, et mesmez avec la faveur de ceulx de Douglaz, quont par les dictz estatz estez reintegrez à leurs biens, fame (?) et preheminenzes, et sont ceulx que peullent (peuvent?) aultant avec le gouverneur et le peuple. Et a le conte Douglaz et son frere acquiz reputation et honneur davoir donne si bon ordre aus (*sic*) dits estatz (ou sont assembles les seigneurs du dict royaulme) que encoirez ny soit advenu desbat ne noise."

(Gardiner), who happens to be at this moment most in favor with this king, to the great regret, annoyance and disgust of the Lutherans, and also of the French, who hate him like poison.*

The earl of Surrey, eldest son of the duke of Norfolk, has been in prison for about a week, owing to his having been two or three nights in company with other young men pelting and breaking the glass windows of honest merchants of this city.† Two of his chief accomplices in the deed, namely, one, son of Master Huyet (Wyatt?), and another of the provost of the [Royal] household have been sent to the Tower, and are closely confined therein, and I do believe that all three will remain in prison for some time to come, since besides their guilt they are suspected of professing Lutheranism, to which heretical sect the above-mentioned earl [of Surrey] is said to belong, besides being a Frenchman at heart.

Talking yesterday with the Master of the Ordnance to this king, he told me that there was plenty of it in the kingdom, besides ammunition of all sorts, but that there was not a proportionate quantity of powder. That is why I think it would be advisable to issue prompt orders that when the English army on that side of the Channel happens to begin operations against the common enemy, they may be furnished with any quantity of gunpowder they may want for their money. The same might be done respecting carriage, in which they are deficient.—London, 9 April 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

April. **126**A. The EMPEROR'S MANIFESTO against THE DUKE OF CLÈVES.

S. E. L. 8vo. s.

In order that the duke of Clèves, Guillaume de la Marck, and his six ambassadors, who lately, at Nüremberg, treated of a truce with the Emperor, may not in future deny or disguise that fact, and under some excuse or other pretend that neither he nor his ambassadors did apply for, and treat of the said truce, it has been found expedient to reproduce here, not only the full powers by him granted to his six ambassadors, but also the letter which the latter wrote to the queen of Hungary, regent in Flanders and the Low Countries, stating that the Duke, their master, had peremptorily refused to ratify the said truce. From which documents it appears that the said duke has not only usurped the duchy of Ghelders and county of Zutphen, both of which belong to the Emperor, but has also within the last year carried on war against him, his natural lord and sovereign, in the Low Countries. As to the Duke and his ministers pretending to excuse the infraction of the truce concluded with them on the plea that it was not valid until after the closing of the Nuremberg Diet, the argument has no force whatever; for the powers granted to the ambassadors were not limited nor restricted to the duration of the Diet. And besides that, is it not notorious and evident that the distinguished personages, who have intervened in the said truce, were purposely accredited by their respective masters to treat of it even after the recess of the Diet, as it was done at the urgent request of the Duke's ambassadors? And yet the Duke and his ministers do not scruple to say that the truce is a forgery, as if this document had not officially passed through the Imperial Chancery, and been signed and sealed as required! And is it not enough for the Duke's ambassadors to dishonour themselves and their master by thus denying the truth, but they must also cast dishonour and infamy upon the mediators, as if they had been influenced and obliged to do what they themselves had urgently and continually solicited night and day, the Duke having repeatedly declared that he would consider it a great favor? But above all, how can the electors, the German princes and others, tolerate the injury done to them by disavowing and contradicting what their deputies and commissioners have done, agreed to, and signed in their names? In one word, will not the said princes and electors consider it an offence to their dignity if, after doing such good offices for the duke of Clèves as to obtain for him, at the urgent request of his ambassadors, a truce, they find themselves deceived? What a blame and reproach will for ever attach to the whole German nation for preserving within its ranks a prince who can so openly break his faith,—in a country, too, like Germany, where the simple word of a gentleman, nay, of the lowest peasant, has always been considered as good as a notarial act!

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* "Au grand regrectz et dez Lutheriens et dez François, que le ayent (haient haissent ?) comme poison."

† "Le dict conte de Surrey, aisne filz au duc de Norfocq est en prison yl y a passe huytz jours pour sestre trouve en compagnie deux ou trois nuitz, ou sestoient rompuez plusieurs verrierez de gens de bien de ceste ville."

Is it not clear from the above that the duke of Clèves has not only allied himself with the enemies of the Holy Empire and Christian Republic, but has also so accustomed himself and his ministers to the manners and ways of those enemies, that he cannot speak one word of truth, as has been proved by the last Diet, nor fulfil any promise he has made?

What other proof does Germany require of the Duke's bad faith, and hostile intentions, than his refutation of the truce, and his notorious alliance [with the French], in order to prevent any resistance against the Turk, the ally and confederate of the latter, to keep the whole of Germany in trouble and contention, and thereby impede the peace and welfare of Christendom?

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.*

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* This document has rather the appearance of an original draft. It is, however, only a fragment of that which appeared in the *Memoirs de Granvelle*, Vol. III., pp. 96–99.

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12 April. **129.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—By Symon, your man, We have received your two letters of the 17th of February, together with the copy of the treaty concluded in Our name between the commissioners (*commis*) and deputies of the king of England and you. We fully acknowledge the great diligence and dexterity shown by you, as well as the pains and trouble you have taken towards the conclusion of the said treaty; your services on this occasion have been more acceptable than ever they were. After having it examined in Our Council [of State], We have signed, ratified, and sworn to it, in Our private chamber, during Mass, and in the presence of the English ambassador only, that it may, as We are told, remain secret the longer. The treaty itself, after being thus signed and ratified by Us with the solemnity and form specified therein, as well as in the King's power to his ambassador, has been handed over to the latter that he may return it to his master.

And whereas it is required that the king of England do the same on his side, and ratify and swear to the treaty, We now send you express powers to receive from him the said ratification and oath, as well as a copy of Ours, and of the memorandum which the English ambassador placed in Our hands respecting the form and manner of the oath. As all these have been punctually observed according to the English ambassador's desire, it is for you, Chapuys, to solicit and take care that the same ceremonies and formalities be observed there; and when that is done, to remit the treaty to the queen dowager of Hungary, Madame [Marie] Our good sister, to be kept in a place of security for Us and Our successors.

As, moreover, the English ambassador has earnestly inquired from Us whether We had any other griefs and complaints against the king of France than those already in the treaty, in order that if We had any, they might be inserted in the preamble of the treaty before its formal ratification, or else be included in the war-challenge that is to be made by Us two in common, We have made the following declaration:—

That over and above the requisitions and peremptory demands contained in the said treaty, the king of France be bound to compensate for all the damages that We and Our subjects, Our kingdoms and interests and dominions, have suffered by the wars he has commenced against Us, and likewise that he restore to Us all and whatever places and fortresses once belonging to Us, which he still retains and occupies, and may not be mentioned in the treaty.

Also, that to the article wherein it is said that the king of France is to restore to the Germans, and compensate them for the damages their interests have had to sustain in the defence of their country against the Turk, be added: that he (king Francis) shall also be bound to compensate Our brother, the king of the Romans, for his losses in Hungary and other countries belonging to him. It will also be fit and convenient, when on the subject of the requisitions and demands, to add that of Our cousin of Savoy, who is to be reinstated in his duchy and territories, and fully compensated for the damages he has suffered at the hands of the French, and receive adequate interest for his losses.

In the article where it is expressly said that king Francis shall pay Us the damage sustained in consequence of the taking of Castilnovo by the Turk, *owing to the latter having had the help and assistance of twelve French galleys,* this last sentence might be omitted, for, although the French galleys were then at Constantinople, yet it has been ascertained that they did actually help to the taking of Castilnovo by the Turks.

Respecting the article of the treaty in which it is stipulated that the king of England and We shall conjointly send Our heralds to challenge, defy, and continue the war against France, as We have no one here fit for that purpose, We now write to Our sister to send Toison d'Or, who is now at Brussels, and that she (the queen), Mr. de Granvelle, and yourself together decide what charge he is to take to Calais, there to meet the herald whom the king of England may send, that they may both conjointly enter France, and if necessary, come afterwards to Us. Though, it seems to Us that, as We are already at war with France, and that the king of that country has openly broken the truce of Nyce (Nizza), and other treaties existing between him and Us, and has wilfully directed his armies against Our kingdoms and dominions, without any previous intimation or defiance, it would be unfit for Us to make a new challenge on Our part, and that the said Toison d'Or ought merely and conjointly with the English herald to ask for the restitution and satisfaction of the above items, as contained in the treaty, protesting that unless Our demands are fully complied with, We will prosecute and continue the war already existing against king Francis, his kingdom and subjects.

With regard to your remark that the English refuse to specify and name in the treaty the dukes of Holstein and Clèves, but maintain that both are clearly and distinctly comprised in the general clause as "common enemies," though in truth it is to be so understood, yet it would be desirable that you should look out for the means of obtaining a more explicit declaration on that point, and then that you solicit and procure it with all your might, either by some particular document bearing the King's signature, or by his declaring in your presence that both of them are in fact his enemies, or in any other way that you may suggest. We recommend to you to use in this case all possible discretion and dexterity.

Touching the common invasion of French territory which is to be undertaken at least before two years are over, and about which the English ambassador has spoken to Us in earnest, We could not at present determine specifically when

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and at what time it could be carried out. We have said to the ambassador that We are only waiting for the arrival of prince Doria with his galleys to cross over to Italy, and that once in that country We shall not fail to make all possible effort against the enemy according to the season of the year, and the disposition of affairs in England, and that it would not be amiss for the king of that country to be also prepared and willing to undertake conjointly with Us the invasion of France. However, as we consider it almost certain that the King will excuse himself from making the preconcerted invasion this year, owing to the season being already much advanced, and to his inability to make his men cross the Channel in so short a space of time, and do effective service on the Continent, We have told the English ambassador in general terms that he may report Our words to his master, that We shall be ready, as above said, according to time and circumstances, lest the king of that country should say one of these days that he had not been informed beforehand as to the precise time of the invasion. It will be for you to treat of this affair as if the proposition came from you, in conformity with the above statement, but you must not go beyond that, or take engagements, until you receive fresh and express orders from Us.

Your despatches of the 16th and 21st of January have been duly received; but as the treaty has been concluded and signed since then, there is no particular answer to make, except that We shall be pleased at your continuing to advise the news of that country, and tell Us how the affairs of Scotland go on, and how it is that the cardinal of St. Andrew's (Betoun), has become a prisoner in the hands of that king, of which imprisonment, by the way, and other political news, We expect to receive positive and certain information by your next despatch.

The English ambassador here has spoken to Us of the desire which his master has that We should go to Flanders by way of Biscay, for us two (the king of England and Ourselves), to hold an interview, and that he may entertain and feast Us in his kingdom; or else, if We decide to go the other way, by the Mediterranean and Italy, that he may, on Our arrival on the coast of Flanders, meet Us at Calais or at some other port, and thereat hold a conference. Our answer has been that he (the ambassador) could see that We had come to Barcelona to wait for Our galleys and sail for Italy, and therefore, that there was no possibility at present of Our sailing by the other sea. As to holding an interview with him at Calais, that, We said, in general terms, We could not do, without giving the ambassador any specific reason, or saying more about it.* This much did We answer to the English ambassador respecting his master's invitation, and as it might be that a similar offer was or is made to you there, in London, We inform you of Our answer to the English ambassador, that you may decline the invitation, if repeated. Besides which, We have held so many interviews of the sort without deriving any advantage or profit therefrom (but, on the contrary, exposing Ourselves to personal danger), that We are unwilling to accept this one. This, of course, to be expressed in general terms, without positively accepting or refusing, but trying to get out of the difficulty as you best can.

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* "Et que quant à nous entreveoir avec luy au dit coustel de Calais, nous le passames generalement sans aultrement le reprendre ny en faire mention."

The same English ambassador, in conversation with some of Our ministers about the projected invasion of France by Our joint armies, is reported to have declared that his master, the King, would be ready at any time, when requested, to enter French territory. If so, taking first the advice of Our sister, the Queen, and also that of Mr. de Granvelle, who will not fail to send you instructions as to that, you will solicit the King to effect at once his entry into France by the Calais frontier, and act entirely in conformity with the orders you may receive from them [Our sister, and Monsr. de Granvelle].—Barcelona, 12 April 1543.*

French. Original draft. pp. 3.

18 April. **130.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—On the 12th inst. Your Majesty's letter of the 8th, and the duplicate of that of the 29th ult., came to hand.† As the King was then somewhat indisposed (*pesant*), and, in addition to that, very much engaged with the Scotch ambassador's business and other affairs, two of the privy councillors, that is to say, the bishop of Winchester and Secretary Wristley (Wriothesley), were of opinion that I ought to postpone my journey to Court until the following Sunday, as in the meantime (they said) they might be able to acquaint the King, their master, with the singular care and diligence which Your Majesty was and is using in all political affairs, and the confidential reports you are continually forwarding respecting military events in that country, as the perfect friendship between Your Majesty and this king requires. They might at the same time (said the privy councillors), caution their master, the King, against giving credence to the wild rumours, which respecting those very events might be spread elsewhere, and would, besides, report the detailed news, which I had communicated to them concerning the battle fought on

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* On this day the Emperor was at Barcelona waiting, no doubt, for the conclusion of the treaty which he ratified on the 12th (?). On the 15th news came of Doria's galleys having anchored in front of Rosas, in Catalonia. On the 18th, Doria himself entered Barcelona with his 44 galleys, and in the afternoon of the 1st of May the Emperor embarked for Genoa.

† *See* No. 124, p. 298, and No. 120, p. 289.

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Easter eve. However, when Sunday came, there was a counter-order, owing to the French ambassador having a week ago, with persevering importunity, asked for an audience, which he at last obtained. On Monday, the King left his usual residence and went to another, and yesterday (Tuesday) he received me. His reception was, as usual, extremely kind and affable; *but no sooner had I begun to relate to him the substance of Your Majesty's letter to me than I saw him knit his brows, and then with a most disagreeable expression he proceeded to say that the people of the Low Countries (meaning the councillors near Your Majesty's person), had learnt from the French the art of exaggerating and falsifying their accounts of certain events, and that they had evidently done this when they represented them to Your Majesty in such a very different light from the true one. He (said the King) knew very well that it was no fault of Your Majesty, whom he believed incapable of saying or doing one thing for another, but of your advisers or news reporters. The French ambassador has shown him a copy of the letter which the duke of Clèves himself had written to king Francis concerning the battle in question; and, certainly, the account he (the Duke) gave of it differed much from that contained in Your Majesty's letter to me. As to the assertion that the Duke had flatly refused to come to terms with the Emperor, he (the King) knew it to be untrue; if he had, it was entirely owing to the iniquitous and unreasonable demands made by the Imperial ministers.*

Having, as I think, given an appropriate reply and stated my own opinion on the above two points, the King seemed satisfied, and We passed on to another topic. He then told me that the French ambassador's visit on the preceding Sunday had been for the purpose of ascertaining through various means which he put forward what his will, intention, or inclination was respecting a war with France, but that he had departed from his Royal presence as irresolute, uncertain, and confused as he was before he came to him; for his (the King's) answer to him had been (as he himself told me), that if his master (king Francis), would observe faithfully all the treaties he had with England, and act in all matters as behoved a good prince, he might rely implicitly on his friendship and alliance; but if, on the contrary, he acted against the stipulations of those treaties, and persisted in acting as he had done of late, then he [the King], would much prefer that his hostility were open and frank, rather than hidden under cover of dissimulation and deceit.

In this manner did this king (as he himself assured me), meet the French ambassador's interpellation, telling me at the same time that he wondered at the dissimulation and stratagems of the French, who, whilst proclaiming and preconizing throughout France that their king was at peace, and on friendly terms towards England, and that English subjects ought to be as much respected and as well treated in France as if they were residing in their own country, yet all the English who have fallen into their hands were detained in close confinement, not having released or let one of them go home, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of his ambassadors. And that whatever their professions of peace and friendship with England were, they (the French) were nevertheless intent upon war against him, especially since they had fancied that the Emperor might possibly visit soon this kingdom on his way to the Low Countries by sea.

The King, moreover, told me that he had authentic news of the French having a fleet of sixty sail (*navierez*), ready to put to sea, and that they were daily trying to increase that number of war-ships. He (the King) could not say for certain what the object of such formidable armaments could be, for, if destined for Scotland, there would be in the ports of Normandy, or wherever the said armaments took place, some meeting or other of infantry to man them with, whereas his secret agents and informers wrote that not a single soldier has been seen in all that coast. "All things considered (said the King to me), I cannot help thinking that the destination of that armament must either be the port of Dunkerke, which the French flatter themselves can be easily surprised and taken, or else to assist their army in case of their laying siege to Gravellingues, and thence penetrating into Lower Flanders." The King further said to me that I ought to let Your Majesty know of that, and likewise that, according to his information, this is the day fixed by the French for the beginning of their campaign, and the revictualling Therouenne, and undertaking perhaps other towns, and that the force they purpose to collect for the invasion of Flanders* is to consist of 2,000 men-at-arms, and from 18,000 to 20,000 infantry, including in that number some Germans—the most wretched and lowest blackguards that could be imagined. Men drafted from the garrison of frontier places, which thereby would remain insufficiently provided for, form the rest of the French army, "and yet (added the King)† they would act imprudently if they left Abbeville without a sufficient garrison for its defence, for quite recently, as I hear, a large span of the surrounding wall has fallen to the ground."

Upon my replying to the King that if the French fleet was, as he said, ready to put to sea, it would be very easy suddenly to put on board a number of landing troops, and

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* "Et quel'assemblee debuoit stre de deux mille hommes darmes, et environ xviii. ou xx^{m} piettons, dont yl y avoit quelque nombre dallemans, la pire et plus inutile canaille que lon sçauroit dire, et que la pluspart de este assemblee estoit dez garnisons dez frontierez, les quelles restoient assez despourveuz"

† Here at the beginning of this next sentence there must be some words, or perhaps a whole line wanting, otherwise the sense is not clear. "Et toutefois quil ne convenoit [pas] laisser Abeville sans bonne provision attendu que ces jours ung gran pand (?) de murallie (*sic*) dicelle estoit tumbe par terre."

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that, although there might be no infantry in Normandy, the French could, in very few days, send from Paris a large number by the river Seine, and that a portion of the army, which, he said, was about to revictual Therouenne, might, after accomplishing their object in that locality, march to Boulogne and there embark, the King still persisted in his idea, alleging that there was no likelihood of that, for these men, being principally drafted from garrisons in Picardy, could not possibly go a long distance away from their usual service.* Notwithstanding this, and other objections raised by the King in the course of our conversation, at last, without recollecting what he himself had previously said respecting the probable movements of the French, he informed me that he had news, that after revictualling Therouenne and other places in the immediate neighbourhood, as above said, the French intended to march towards Champagne; and upon my representing to him the difficulty, nay, the impossibility of such a movement, he ended by owning that it was more likely, after all, that the French would invade the duchy of Brabant.

Returning, then, to the subject of the French fleet in the ports of Normandy, the King said that he wondered why, in Flanders, knowing, as Your Majesty must know, of the French naval armaments, orders had not been issued for the fleet of the Low Countries to put out to sea; upon which I replied that Mons. de Bevres had already some ships under his command, but would not go out of port without the ship that was detained here in England; and that the very moment that she went back, the Flemish admiral would sail with the whole fleet under his command in whatever direction he was ordered to go. There had been still (I said) another impediment: nothing had yet been decided here in England as to the place of meeting of the two fleets (the English and ours), nor as to the order to be observed by the ships of both nations when acting together and in common, so as to guard against inconveniences and accidents; but that since the vice-admiral's ship had already left English waters, and the question of ceremony and signalling had been disposed of, I had no doubt that the Flemish fleet would put to sea very shortly. The King, moreover, is of opinion that Mr. de Bevres' fleet ought to sail first for the Downs or for Dover, that the English may make acquaintance with ours, and mutually communicate to each other their plans of campaign, and what had better be done under the circumstances now. The King further assured me that on his part nothing shall be wanting; his ships, when at sea, will take care not to harm those of the Emperor's subjects, as will also the privateer vessels, which some of the guilds (*mestiers*) of this city have, with his permission, armed against the French, having previously received to that effect sufficient guarantee and proper charter.

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* "Icelluy roy me respondit quil ny avoit apparence puisque estoient souldars de garnisons que ne peuvent eslonger."

With regard to other particulars in connection with the preconcerted *invasion of French territory, it seems to me as if I had, on former occasions, succeeded in inducing this king—not without some amount of difficulty—to co-operate; this I have obtained by constantly speaking about it, without, however, furnishing him occasion or pretence to get cool upon it. But as the King was then in indifferent health, and I perceived that the various points, about which Your Majesty desired to be particularly informed had been sufficiently declared to the satisfaction of both parties, by comparing the King's answer, and his discourse* (discours) *with the memoir and instructions of Mr. de Granvelle, on which all my conversations with the King have rested, I felt quite satisfied that there was no immediate need of again reverting to the subject. Yet for the greater satisfaction and ampler information of Your Majesty, I yesterday at the King's audience took the greatest possible pains to ascertain his real intentions in this particular, and although the King at first refused to answer my questions, saying that he found it very strange that we should always want him to speak first and reveal his intentions on political matters, he, nevertheless, going from one thing to another, ended by saying that in his opinion the undertaking against France ought to commence on the first days of July. That as to the number of men he himself counted upon, he thought that he should be able to put in the field an army of* 16,000 *English infantry* (pietons) *and between* 4,000 *and* 5,000 *pioneers, besides* 5,000 *cavalry, and that he had already spent in* "materiel" *of war for the said enterprize no less than* 60,000 *ducats, and therefore that it would be exceedingly inconvenient, and a source of regret to him, if the sum he had disbursed should be lost and thrown away. That, although he himself had fitted out a good number of war-ships, yet he did not see that on our side sufficient ships had yet been provided for the transport of the allied forces, as stipulated in the last treaty for the invasion in common of French territory. This was the King's language respecting naval affairs when I last saw him; as to ordnance, both for siege and for the field, that was well furnished with pieces of all kinds and calibre, &c., in perfect order and condition, but that if it were possible to get from Flanders some more cast iron guns to mount on several vessels he was about to arm, he should be glad, provided they were not of the same sort as the three hundred lately sent to him from Holland, which (he said) had turned out so unserviceable that they were put away. He would, therefore, beg Your Majesty to do him in this particular all possible favor.*

With respect to the provision of wheat for his own army, the King said that he would send to Calais a sufficient quantity

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for the support of his army, and if that were not enough, his troops along the coast would be supplied by the fleet.

I said nothing to him of the chance there was of the Emperor being unable to co-operate in the enterprize, nor of his contributing with certain infantry and cavalry according to the letter of article 23 of the last treaty, inasmuch as the experience I have of the affairs of this country, and what I myself have heard the privy councillors say from time to time, led me to believe that any difficulty started by me might spoil the whole affair, for had I hinted that he (the King) was bound to furnish a certain contingent of men for the enterprize, without the Emperor being obliged to do the same on his side, surely there was danger of the whole structure falling to the ground. Indeed, one of the chief difficulties, which in my opinion stands in the way of this is, that, although I have repeatedly told this king, that if he wants German cavalry, he may recruit it on the same terms as the Emperor, he has not yet, that I know of, made an application in that direction, from which I conclude that he trusts upon getting that of Flanders. For that reason, as I say, have I refrained from mentioning this subject to him, nor will I allude to it, unless I get fresh orders from Your Majesty, always assuring this king, whenever I have an opportunity, that Your only and exclusive desire is to be agreeable to him, and know beforehand what his wants are, in order to ensure the success of the enterprize.

Touching the duty newly imposed in Flanders of the one per cent., the King did certainly show some discontent when I first mentioned to him the measure adopted by Your Majesty in order to provide for the expenses of the war, alleging that it is against the letter of the treaties between England and the Low Countries. He found it very strange (he said) that Your Majesty should tax, as he said, his subjects; but after explaining to him the reasons for that measure, he seemed more calm and reconciled to it, saying that I might communicate at once with his privy councillors, and that he himself would consult them thereupon. So, after leaving the King, I went into the Council room, and explained the whole affair. After some altercation with its members, they owned to me that they found it natural enough that English merchants trading with the Low Countries should pay a duty on the goods they imported; but they (the councillors) objected to it on the ground that it would subject the English merchants—carrying on business with the Low Countries, with more profit, perhaps, than those of other nations—to the annoyance of having their goods examined and valued. They would much prefer—and so would the merchants—to give a sum of money, twice as large as that which the duty might be calculated to amount to for the next two years, and had no doubt that English merchants trading with the Low Countries would agree to it, and at once pay the sum

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down. They accordingly promised to see the King about it, and let me know his resolution. As to the merchants themselves, there would be no difficulty; they would be glad to have the duty compounded in the said manner.

I have tried hard to obtain the passport or "*placet*" for the twenty ships laden some with wine, and others with biscuit ("*pastel*");* but I have been unable to make this king consent to it, his principal objection being, not as to what else the French ships might convey besides the above-mentioned articles, or do during their voyage, but on account of the return money, which through that means would flow into the pockets of the enemy. As to himself, he declared to me that he would rather drink beer, or even water, than allow his subjects to import French wines as abundantly as they used in former times, and that he found it very strange that the licence applied for should be for 10,000 casks (*tonneaux*), whereas in time of peace it had never exceeded six thousand for England and the Low Countries together. That the price of such quantity of wine, exclusive of the biscuit (*pastel*) would amount to an enormous sum (*horrible denier*), besides which the wine was of such quality that it could not be carried by waggons in the train of an army without becoming thick and sour in consequence. He had no objection to grant a licence for the introduction of five or six thousand casks (*tonneaux*) for Your Majesty's dominions, but as to a larger quantity, he certainly would not; alleging besides the above, several other reasons for his refusal.

Having afterwards asked him what news he had of the agent he had sent to Denmark, he answered me that he had written from Bremen and Ambourg (Hamburg), but beyond those towns he had not been heard of. He however had reason to think that the arrest of his man had been made at the Sond Straits rather indiscreetly and without any particular reason or motive. The merchants of England had sent him to Iceland for the purpose of establishing a fishery in those parts; and as the loss to English trade would be great, he (the King) had sent an agent to inquire after him. The King however assured me two or three times running that the people of Ambourg (Hamburg) had written to him the kindest and most reassuring letters possible on the subject of the missing man, and had no doubt that he would soon turn up.

He gave me no opportunity to interrogate him concerning Scotch affairs; but I must say that since the date of my last letter, no fresh news have come in.

I send Your Majesty, herein enclosed, the copy of the regulations to be observed by the commanders (*conducteurs*) of

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* "Les vint navierez chargeez de vin, et lez aultrez de pastel."

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ships of both nations when in sight of each other, the original of which the vice-admiral of Flanders himself will take at his departure.

I must not omit, before I sign and close this present despatch, to say that the King is still showing the greatest possible desire that Mr. de Granvelle may visit this country; it would be very convenient for the purpose of hastening the preconcerted invasion of French territory.—London, 18 of April 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the dowager queen of Hungary, regent in Flanders and the Low Countries."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 6.

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26 April. **131.** MR. DE GRANVELLE to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsr. l'Ambassadeur,"—Some days ago I received Your letter of the 2nd inst., together with the copy of that of the same date which you wrote to the Queen in Flanders.* I am much pleased to hear what you say respecting the *king of England's determination of carrying on war against France this very year, as he himself declared to you. And certainly, the more I look forward to events, the more I consider this present juncture as the best and fittest that could be desired. Indeed, perhaps the opportunity will never offer itself again; for you must be sure that the Emperor on his side will not be in fault, and that, without stopping in Italy, he will come to this country, as he has written to me. Besides the forces he has now with him, I have now raised here for his service a large body of infantry as well as cavalry, together with a train of heavy ordnance, consisting of upwards of one hundred pieces, equipped and provided with ammunition, shot, and every necessary, besides a suitable complement of men to serve the guns.*

You will see by the answer that the States of the Empire assembled at this present diet † have given to me respecting the king of France, the esteem in which they hold him, and the favor and good-will with which his acts are likely to be regarded by all. And since the representatives in common of those States speak, deliberate, and write so openly and freely about king Francis and his doings, you may well guess what each of them in private will say, and what they do keep in their hearts.‡ In short, they say and declare that they will do anything the Emperor wants them to do, provided he himself comes to attend this diet; and I can assure you, on my faith and honor, that there is no one here who dares utter a word in favor of the king of France, or pretends to excuse his acts.

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* *See* above, No. 124, p. 204.

† That of Spires in Bavaria.

‡ "Et puisque ilz en deliberent et escripvent en communs estatz si librement, ou ilz sont fort pesans, vous pouvez penser ce quilz en dient particulierement, et ont en leur cœurs."

The States have already granted their help and assistance against the Turk, with a sum of money sufficiently large to defray the cost of 20,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, the money to be handed over to the king [of the Romans], for him to recruit the men, and lay in stores of provisions and ammunition. True it is that the Lutheran princes and electors, owing to their differences with the Catholics, have protested ; but still, they will contribute like the rest, as they have since privately declared to that king, and to me. Already the people of this town (Spires), have paid their contingent in money, as have also done the duke Maurice of Saxony and the marquis of Brandenburg. The rest of the princes and electors have confirmed the peace, and placed the reform of justice entirely in the Emperor's hands.

The Protestant princes, on the other hand, are preparing an embassy to the Emperor, with a view to justify and excuse their late acts in the Brunswick affair, and offer their services against France. In short, both Lutherans and Catholics are quiet, and live in good harmony, anxiously expecting His Imperial Majesty's arrival.

But to return to my purpose. It is desirable that you (Chapuys) write as often as you can respecting *that king's avowed determination of making war against France, as well as respecting the progress there made in the storing of provisions, and the precise time at which he will be able to make his army march forward, so that his Imperial Majesty may do the same on his side, and both together or separately molest and annoy their common enemy.*

I am told and informed on every side that I am in favor with that king, as my work and acts towards him deserve. I trust that I shall continue so as long as I live, for, after all, it is for God's service that I work.*

I shall not expatiate longer on these subjects, being, as I am now, very much engaged in preparing a despatch for His Imperial Majesty, and a report on political matters in general, as well as in writing to the dowager queen of Hungary. I shall merely add that I believe that the Emperor will be at Gennes (Genoa) towards the end of this month, or the first week of May.

I am glad to hear that the gout has left you, and that you have made my compliments and commendations to all the King's privy councillors, to whom I should like to be of use, and offer my services accordingly. As to you, in particular,

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* The paragraph, which is rather obscure, stands thus : " L'on mescript et advertit de tous coustelz que je suys en sa grace aussi bien comme mes œuvres envers luy le meritent, *mais* (?) je confye en Dieu quil me gardera puisque cest pour cause de son service."

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I shall think of you and of your valuable services in that Court, as my duty and my obligation, as well as our old, true, and indissoluble friendship require.—[Spires], the 26 of April 1543.

Signed: " Perrenot."

Indorsed: " Copy of a letter of Mr. de Grantvelle (*sic*) to the ambassador in England."

French. pp. 2½.

1 May. **132.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

" Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—*We have read with pleasure your despatch of the 17th ult., giving the late occurrences in that country, but find it rather strange that the king of England, who knows very well how prone and inclined Frenchmen are to disguise facts, should have expressed doubts as to Our account of the battle fought in front of Zittart, which battle was completely successful for Our arms, as We wrote to Our brother, the Emperor. The account We sent you to be shown that king was similar in all its parts to the one We forwarded to his Imperial Majesty; and certainly We should never have thought of writing to him anything but the plain truth, so much so that we purposely delayed advising him of the signal success of Our arms until We got reliable and official information on the whole. The enemy may say what they like about the battle, but they cannot deny that their cavalry was defeated, and lost the day. Indeed, the testimony of the foreign officers in the Duke's service, and the many troopers* (serviteurs), *who returned home without their masters, are sufficient proofs of the discomfiture and loss of their men-at-arms before Zittart. If the king of England thinks that the Duke's account of the battle is more reliable than Ours, he is seriously mistaken, for since his return from France the Duke has become such a convert to French manners and ideas, that he does not scruple in the least to disguise the truth, and make a victory out of a signal reverse. I have purposely said this much, in order that should the King again speak to you on the subject—not otherwise—you may reply to him according to the truth.*

With regard to the King's particular enterprize against France, you did wisely not to press him too hard. Until you perceive his inclination and good will to undertake something of the sort against the common enemy, you must avoid pressing him on the subject, for fear that too much pressure on Our part should render him suspicious and cold. And yet, as you cannot fail to understand, it is requisite, if the undertaking is to take place, that We be informed in time of the King's intentions as to that, when and where the allied forces are to be collected, what part of the French frontier is to be assailed by us, and other particulars;

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according to the memorandum of Mr. de Granvelle, in order that We Ourselves may make the necessary preparations for an invading army. You must, therefore, let Us know if you consider it certain that within the period of time alluded to in your letter, that king will be willing and ready to undertake the expedition against France, and what We are to do on Our side; with what number of men, and what amount of provisions, gunpowder and ammunition, as well as carriages and horses, We are called upon to contribute towards it, that the whole may be ready when wanted.

We must, however, observe, that if the Emperor undertakes anything against France, or against the duke of Clèves, he will naturally require the cavalry of these countries under Our government; and, if so, that it will be difficult for Us to provide both armies with sufficient cavalry to withstand the onset of the French should they attempt to give us battle.

As you write that the King gives no sign at present of recruiting foreign cavalry, it is important to know whether he intends having a separate army of his own—which, for the considerations contained in Mr. de Granvelle's memorandum, seems a more expedient plan—or whether he purposes to join his forces to those of the Emperor. In either case, We shall be glad to know in time that king's resolution, in order to provide what may be necessary.

Should the King decide to make an enterprize against France with such a force as is stipulated in the article 22 of the last treaty, and the assistance on Our side of 2,000 German infantry and 2,000 cavalry, according to the said article, it must be borne in mind that should the Emperor on his own side assail the frontier of France, We are not obliged to furnish the said contingent of German infantry and cavalry.

Respecting provisions and carriage likewise, it must be understood that should the Emperor make a separate enterprize of his own, he must be sure that the king of England will also make his, and it must be borne in mind that the most fertile frontiers of Flanders having been wasted by the enemy, the storing of provisions will be very difficult in consequence. We will, however, do Our best for the English army to be served with them. As to the gunpowder, which generally comes from Germany, and which we obtain with great difficulty, We have no objection to the king of England purchasing here as much as his own merchants can procure him, to be used, of course, for the said enterprize; but We fear that a very small quantity will thus be forthcoming. We have deemed it fit to acquaint you with these details, not that you may press the King and his ministers further, but that you may be informed thereupon and try to ascertain what the King's intentions are, and what he expects Us to do in the event of the said enterprize separately or conjointly.

With regard to the war-ships, which we are bound by treaty to send out to sea, We have delayed the equipment and fitting

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out of them, because, among other reasons, We do not consider Ourselves obliged by treaty to send out Our fleet before the king of England has actually challenged and declared war against king Francis, which he has not yet done. Even now, after the language which you say he used the other day to the French ambassador (Marillac), that king does not yet consider him of France as his enemy, although by the words of the treaty, pure and simple, he is bound to hold him as such, as well as all those who are actually invading the Emperor's territory on this side of the Channel, such as king Francis himself, who has now his army within the county of Arthois; the duke of Clèves, who has invaded the district of Limbourg; and he of Holstein, who has sent a force in help of the former; in fact, any prince who, according to article VI. of the treaty, should carry on war against the Emperor's dominions in these parts.

*However that may be, as the French have actually entered Arthois with a force of 10,000 men, We should have been perfectly justified, as We imagine, in asking for that king's assistance according to article VII. of the treaty, and yet We would not do it until We had your opinion in the matter. You are, therefore, requested to let Us know as soon as possible what your advice is, and what We had better do in His Imperial Majesty's interest on this occasion, without, however, giving that king any cause for resentment. Let Us know whether We had better wait until the ratification of the treaty to demand that help and assistance to which We are entitled, since, as aforesaid, the treaty is clear and absolute, and the words of the article are conclusive. The contracting parties are bound, in virtue of the powers granted by them, and the promise of their respective ambassadors, to the observance of the treaty as much before its ratification as after, which ratification neither of them is obliged to grant, until 15 days after the requisition; it therefore naturally follows that the effect of the treaty as to its other bearings is in nowise suspended.***

We also want to know whether, in case of Our applying for the assistance to which We are entitled, the application is to be urgent or not, considering that the King is only obliged by treaty to get it ready forty days after the application, and if it be in money, one month after the lapse of that period, and that if the enemy withdraws in the meantime, the King might allege that he is no longer bound to lend the said

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* "Et si debvons attendre la ratification de sa ma^{te} avant de demander quelque assistance que ne semble requis, considere que, comme dit est, le traicte est pur et absolut, et les princes en vertu des pouvoirs par eulx donnees, et les promesses des ambassadeurs ensuryvis (*sic*), sont obliges à lobservance dicelluy aussy devant la ratification laquelle nulz deulx est tenu de donner sinon dedans xv. jours apres la requisition, parquoy leffect du traictie (*sic*) quant à la reste nest en rien suspendu."

assistance in money or men. If so, in the event of Our applying now for English aid, We should have to bear alone all the burden of the war, and wait a long time before that aid and assistance, which the English are bound to give, becomes really effective. On the other hand, it seems to Us as if the treaty allowed the application for aid to be made before the enemy had actually invaded the country of one of the allies.

We also request you to tell Us if it would not be fit and expedient under the circumstances that the King declared at once against France, Clèves, and Denmark, according to article VI. of the treaty, and expelled from England the subjects and natives of those countries. That would be, in Our opinion, a most profitable measure for the Emperor, and one which might, perhaps, make Our common enemy think and reflect before proceeding to fresh undertakings.

We also should like to know, in order to satisfy the demands of the treaty, what sort of equipment will be required for the war-ships that We are obliged to furnish, and you must not forget to thank the King for his very opportune warning concerning the maritime forces of the French, which might one of these days surprise Dunckercke or succour their army in the event of their entering Lower Flanders. This, however, they could not do if they wished, until after 11 *or* 12 *days from this date, for the rains have been so abundant and continuous that the roads are actually impassable, and the enemy would not be able, if they attempted, to do anything by land.*

As to the French in the Arthois, they have done nothing of importance yet. We cannot say what their future movements will be, but whatever their plans of campaign are, our generals will act accordingly.

The duke of Clèves' army had thrown a bridge over the Meuse at Ruremonde, in order to cross to the other side and make raids into Brabant; but the late rains did so swell the river that the bridge was carried away. They are now daily strengthening their position on its bank, but it is not known what they intend doing next.

We beg you to persuade the King's privy councillors, by all honest means in your power, not to raise difficulties about the English merchants paying the one per cent. duty which these States have lately imposed on all goods and merchandize exported from this country. The duty cannot be said to be onerous for the English merchant who imports more goods than he exports from these countries, and in addition to that, does not pay duty on his imports, which duty after all he makes the consumer pay. As the duty, moreover, is only for a limited time, and to cover the expenses of this present war, the English ought not to mind it. We will give orders *that they be courteously treated in the ports of the Low Countries, that their vessels and goods shall not be examined more closely than they are at present; and as to the duty itself, it will be so considerately exacted that they will have no reason to complain: the search of their vessels not to be general and over-scrupulous, but partial, so as to ascertain by declaration what the quantity and value of the merchandize may be, for which the opening of any single bale or packet will be sufficient, preceded by the written declaration of the goods, and their estimated value. Even in this the English will find that they are more favored than any other foreign nation. If by chance the King's privy councillors would not agree to that, you will see what other means there are of satisfying the King, who, We hope, will not look too closely at a thing of this sort, by which his subjects will lose very little or nothing, whilst it will be exceedingly injurious to those of the Emperor. This consul* (cour maistre) *made some time ago a protest against the merchants of his nation paying the said duty of one per cent.*

With regard to the passport or safe conduct of the wines, which, as you say, the King makes difficulties about and will not grant, We confess that We find it rather hard and unreasonable that the Emperor's subjects in these countries may not be able to introduce any quantity they want or any other merchandize from France by means of safe conducts. Indeed, the King's absolute refusal to grant the said safe conducts for the wine and other merchandize coming to or from France, or to respect Our own is unjust, for, whilst his own merchants are freely trading with France, it is not stipulated by treaty which articles We Ourselves may import, and which We may not. Until the King has fairly and openly declared himself the enemy of France, he ought not to throw impediments in the way of trade with that country. When at war, We Ourselves will be the first to refuse granting passports or safe conducts to French vessels without consulting him. That is why, considering the inequality of Our relative positions, whilst one of the two countries is at war with France, and the other is not, you are to insist, though as mildly and courteously as you possibly can, upon the King's cruisers not impeding the navigation of or capturing at sea merchant vessels having Our safe conduct, in the same manner that he would not like Us to throw impediments in the way of his subjects trading with France.

Respecting the Englishman who was arrested at Utrecht, you will explain that Our military commanders could not do less, considering that he was about to take the direct road to Ghelders, whither no one is allowed to go, and that, when stopped, the man would not say which way he intended to go, and had no document or letter on his person to prove his nationality, his name, or his business; the *guard on the road therefore suspected that he was a spy, and took him prisoner.*[*]

As to the order to be observed by the respective fleets when at sea, We expect Mons. de Beures here in a day or two. We will take care that the paper which has come from England on that subject be at once put into his hands to be organized and reported upon by him. As soon as the Admiral has done his work, We shall not fail to advise you, that you may shape your answer, although I have no doubt there will be no difficulty in accepting the rules proposed and set down by the English.

French. Original draft, entirely ciphered. pp. 3.

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2 May. **133.** King Henry VIII., of England, to the President of the Council of the Low Countries.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Varia. Corresp. Engl., 4.

"Tres cher et tres ayme,"—Having many a time heard from the Emperor's ambassador residing at this Our court the desire you have manifested, and the good offices you have hitherto rendered towards the establishment of closer friendship and perpetual alliance between the Emperor and Ourselves, of which desire, however, we never doubted; knowing you to be, as you certainly are, the good and faithful servant of Our good brother, the Emperor, and sending, as We now do, to the most high and most excellent princess, Our dearest and most beloved cousin, the dowager queen of Hungary, regent in the Low Countries, Our faithful and most beloved councillors, Messire Thomas Sayntmour,[†] knight, and gentleman of Our Privy Chamber, and Nicholas Wotton, doctor and dean of Canterbury, for the express purpose of communicating to her certain matters and things respecting the said closer friendship and alliance; We have deemed it convenient, dearest and most beloved, to request you by these Our letters to continue and persevere in the good will and desire you have hitherto shown for the fostering and increasing of that same friendship and alliance, and in all matters in which Our said ambassadors may require your interference, as well as your valuable help and assistance, to grant it to them

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[*] "Au regart de cellui qui a este detenu à Utrecht, les gens de guerre pour leur debvoir ne povoient moins faire que le arrester considere quil prennoit le droit chemin vers Geldres, ou on ne laisse passer personne; et pour ce que dissimuloit ou il vouloit aller sans monstrer enseignement (renseignement) quiconque, ou avoir coignoissance de personne, les gens del (*sic*) guerre prindrent suspicion contre lui que cestoit ung espia (*sic*)."

[†] "Ainsy soit que envoyons presentement nous (*sic*) feaulx et bien aymes conseilliers Messrs. *Thomas Saintmour*, chevalier gentilhomme de nre. chambre, et Nicolas Wotton, docteur et doyen de Canturberye." Saintmour, or Sayntmour, as elsewhere written, is here meant for Sir Thomas *Seymour*, brother of the earl of Hertford (Edward). It is remarkable that in an original document, as this one is, emanated too from the English Chancery, signed by king Henry, and bearing his royal great seal, the family name of an ambassador, brother of one of that King's wives, should be so differently spelt. Chapuys himself, as will be seen hereafter, writes *Semel.*

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as befits a good servant of the Emperor, and as the friendship and alliance by which We are united, demand.—De nostre pallays à Uvestmestre le 11me jour de Mai 1543.—" Your good friend, Henry."

Signed: " Henry," with the great seal of England.

Addressed: " To Our dearest and most beloved Monsieur Scors,* president of the Great Council in the Emperor's Low Countries."

French. Original. p. 1.

2 May. **134.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

Promises to do all he can in favour of a certain Florentine who has come to England on business, and begs at the same time to introduce and recommend the bearer.†—London, 2 May 1543.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A Monsieur Score, president du Grand Conseil."

French. Original. p. 1.

2 May. **135.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

" Madame,"—Although I might have been excused from writing in favour and commendation of Mons. de Semel, ‡ bearer of this, yet, both out of respect for the King, who sends him to reside at Your Majesty's court, as on account of that gentleman's qualifications and honorable parts, for this king's satisfaction, and the many obligations under which I stand towards him and his brother, the earl of Hertford, lord high chamberlain of this king,§ I could not do less than beg Your Majesty most humbly to let it be understood that his own personal merits being set aside, it is to my own recommendation that he owes the reception which I have no doubt Your Majesty will give him. And as both from Mons. de Semel, present bearer, and from his colleague,|| (a really worthy person), Your Majesty will hear the latest news of this country, I shall be brief, and bring this letter to a

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* Scors is here for Schore (Dr. Lewis), chancellor of Brabant, and president of the Council of State in the Low Countries. *See* Vol. V., Part II., p. 63 *n*, and 506.

† The name of the bearer is not stated; but as Sir Thomas Seymour, appointed English ambassador to the Low Countries, was introduced by king Henry to President Schore (*see* above, No. 131), it is natural to conclude that Chapuys himself, after recommending him to the Queen, should also give him a private letter for the President. The name of the Florentine recommended by Dr. Schore is nowhere given; but most likely he was the agent in London of the Guicciardini, merchants and bankers of Florence, about whom and their ships, laden with wine and biscuit (*pastel*), so much has been said in the preceding pages.

‡ Sir Thomas Seymour, as last note p. 323.

§ " Et lobligation que jai envers le dit sieur Semel et le conte darfort, grand chamberlain de ce royaulme, son frere."

|| Dr. Nicolas Wotton.

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close; indeed I could not, even if I were tempted, prolong it any further owing to my usual indisposition.—London, 2 May 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "En recommendation de Mons. Semel, ambassadeur en Flandre."

French. Original. p. 1.

7 May. **136.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—We send you, together with this letter, the powers and instructions received from the Emperor, Our brother, to guide you in your negociation.

We have delayed sending on Thoison d'Or, because Mr. de Granvelle * has written to say that he is now considering what the said herald had better do in order to execute the Emperor's orders. As soon as We receive a letter from him explaining his views on the subject, We shall not fail to communicate the intelligence. Meanwhile, you may request the King to ratify the treaty, and swear to it, as the Emperor, Our brother, has already done, and, above all, answer Our letter of the 1st inst. †

Mr. de Granvelle, at his departure from the Nuremberg diet, did, at the pressing solicitude of the deputies of the States of the Empire, and most urgent request of those of Clèves, grant the Duke a truce until the Emperor's arrival in Germany, and for two months after, as you will see by the copy of the agreement appended. ‡ You will inform the King thereof, and should the Duke send in his ratification, and show any desire of observing the truce, which his own deputies have applied for in his name, We will also let you know of it, that you may apprize Our ally, the king of England, who, after perusing the enclosed draft, cannot fail to agree with you that the whole transaction has been carried out to the Emperor's honor, credit, and reputation.

The duke of Holstein, who a long time back expressed a wish that a meeting should be held, whereat the differences existing between these Low Countries and Denmark should be adjusted, but who, nevertheless, resisted as long as he could sending his deputies to any town of the Emperor's dominions, has at last consented to their going to the town of Campon, under the governorship of count de Buren. We have, therefore, sent Our own thither; and they are actually sitting and discussing together their mutual affairs. Of whatever may be enacted there We shall not fail to apprize you, that you may acquaint the King with it.

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* Here written Grantvelle.

† No. 132, p. 318.

‡ The treaty is not appended, but may be found in Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V.*, Vol. II., pp. 455–7.

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The French in the Arthois have pulled down and demolished some churches and small fortresses (*petits fors*) not susceptible of defence; and lastly, taken the town of Lillers (in Flanders), which they abandoned soon after, owing to its having no defences at all. What they will do next, what direction they will take, or what their hostile plans are, We cannot say,* but of this you may be sure, that We will oppose them as strenuously as possible.—Brussels, 7 May 1543.

Signed: "Mary, the Regent."

Addressed: "To the Emperor's ambassador in England"

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

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12 May. **137.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Your Majesty's letter of the 1st inst. came to hand a few days ago, and since then, on the 11th, that which Your Majesty caused to be addressed to me in date of the 6th. This king being now much engaged with business of all kinds, and chiefly with the closure of Parliament, I have hitherto been unable to communicate with him or with his privy councillors. Yet I must say, that after appointing a day of these present festivities for an audience, he sent me the kindest of messages to say that he wishes very much to see me, and intends to receive me at Hampton Court.† Meanwhile, he has sent to ask me to recommend to Your Majesty that his subjects may be exempted from the duty of one per cent. on all English goods imported into Flanders and the Low Countries, and although I made at first some difficulty to write to Your Majesty concerning that affair, until I had fully demonstrated to this king and to his privy councillors the immense importance and convenience of that fiscal measure, the messenger sent by the King on this occasion pressed me so hard that I could not help promising to do so, and to recommend to Your Majesty the exemption applied for; at the same time hinting that, in my opinion, there would be no difficulty on Your Majesty's part, provided the English traders with Flanders behaved liberally, and paid a larger sum than that to which the duty was calculated to amount. Should that be done, it will please the King, and all those here who trade with the Low Countries, who are moreover daily offering their services, and saying that should Your Majesty want money, they will lend You any amount on better terms than other nations. That is why I would beg Your Majesty to attend to their request. Expecting, as I do, in two or three days to write to Your Majesty more fully the news of this country, and what has been decided respecting the duty, I will end this letter. — London, 12 May 1543.

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* "Larmee des franchois qui est en Arthois a abbatu aulcunes eglises et petis fort (*sic*) non tenables, et finablement prins la ville de Lillers, et [lont] apres abandonne parce quelle nest fortifie[e] ne fortifiable, et ne sçavons encoires ou elle vouldra tirer."

† "Me remectant avec tres humaine et gracieuse excuse à ces festes, [et] menvoyant dire par son humanite quil desiroit me veoir, et que il voulloit luy mesme avoir la charge de me louger (loger) à Hamptoncourt."

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 2.

11 May. **138.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—My letter of the 7th inst. was for the purpose of informing you of the truce concluded between Mr. de Granvelle, in the Emperor's name,* and the deputies of Clèves at Nüremberg, on the 28th ult., which truce the Duke was to ratify before the 10th inst. But though the instrument was then and there sealed with the ducal seal [of Burgundy], and was besides signed by the deputies of the States of the Empire, and by those of the Duke himself, five of his chief councillors, all of whom had promised that their master would without fail sincerely and completely ratify the same—yet at the present hour no ratification has come from the Duke, who, as his deputies have informed Us in writing, has refused to approve of it. The enclosed copy of the deputies' report to the Duke, and of their letter to Us, received at Maëstricht on the 10th inst., about eight o'clock of the afternoon, will inform you of the Duke's refusal, as well as of his dishonourable and unfaithful behaviour on this occasion; since, without any sort of regard for the Imperial dignity, with which he has contracted, nor for the States of the Empire, at whose request and interposition the said truce was granted, nor, indeed, for his own honour and reputation, he has resolutely contravened a treaty sealed with his own ducal seal, and signed by five of his principal councillors sufficiently empowered to treat of it!! We cannot imagine what sort of excuse the duke of Clèves can, and will, offer to the States of the Empire, which must naturally resent the outrage done to their supreme authority; but of this We are fully convinced, namely, that the whole affair will turn out in the end to the Emperor's advantage and the success of his affairs in Germany, for We find that the Duke, since his visit to France, has become such an adept in French manners and ways, that he will soon surpass the people of that country in intrigue, calumny and unfaithful dealing, so that it will be impossible in future to believe in any promises or engagements of his, or of his deputies in his name. The king of England will no longer attach faith to the reports of those who tried to persuade him that the duke of Clèves had no other wish than to come to terms with His Imperial Majesty, but that the conditions offered to him were quite inadmissible.

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* *See* above, p. 325.

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Long ago We were under the impression that no reliance could be placed on the Duke's promises, and that if he seemed desirous of coming to terms with the Emperor, it was merely for the purpose of gaining time. We are now fully convinced of this; We firmly believe that unless We have a sufficient pledge in Our hands, it will be imprudent to treat with him, since whatever oaths he may take no reliance can be placed on his words or promises. The Duke has been, and is still, in the habit of making for his own justification great complaints as well as honourable offers with the sole view of by that means deceiving and abusing the World. We trust, however, that in the end everyone will know what the Duke's unfaithfulness is, and what amount of reliance is to be placed on him.

You, Chapuys, will do well whenever an opportunity offers, to make that king understand, in the most gracious terms possible, how very unreasonable the Duke has been, and is, and try to remove from his mind the strange idea—very contrary, indeed, to Our sentiments and convictions—that the Duke did not come to reasonable terms with the Emperor on account of Us. You will tell him that if We had not guessed beforehand what would probably happen, owing to the Duke's condition and temper, We would willingly have accepted the interview offered by him. We request you again to answer Our letter of the 1st inst.

The English ambassadors, We hear, have crossed the Channel, but have not yet arrived here. We have sent the sieur de Joetelande to receive them.—[Maëstricht], 11 May 1543.

Indorsed: "To the Emperor's ambassador in England."

French. Original draft. pp. 2½.

17 May. **139.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—On the 11th inst. Your Majesty's letter of the 1st came to hand, two or three days after I received that of the 7th: the King being then very much engaged with sundry government affairs, and with the closing of Parliament, I could not then communicate to him or to his Privy Council the contents of the said letters, besides which a message came from the King himself, begging me to put off my visit until after the festivities, when he would be more disengaged and have time and leisure to speak to me. He wished very much (said the messenger) to talk to me of certain affairs, and would see that I was well lodged (*vouloit estre mon fourrier*) at Hampton Court. As I was, however, preparing to go thither for the said festivities, I was suddenly seized with a nasty cold (*flux*), which confined me to the house for four consecutive days without my being able to stir out of doors. I would willingly have gone to Court to-day, had I not thought that the King might perhaps

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prefer seeing me on Sunday. I, therefore, sent to ask when it would be agreeable and convenient for him to see me. I expect the messenger back in a couple of hours, and, according as the answer may be, will either depart for Hampton Court immediately, or postpone my visit till next Sunday.

Meanwhile, and that your Majesty be not disappointed or annoyed by the delay and the want of news from this country, I sit down to write this letter, were it for no other purpose than to send back one of the two couriers now here, lest he should be wanted on that side of the Channel.

Respecting the first paragraph of the letter of the 1st May, giving an account of the battle of Zitard (Sittart), I shall conform entirely with your Majesty's instructions.* *With regard to the second, it would be, in my opinion, very desirable that the King should tell us his mind more openly than he has done hitherto on certain particulars, but though I have missed no opportunity of inducing him to be frank, I have always found him more or less impracticable on that point. Indeed, the little he told me the last time I saw him was said, as there is every reason to conjecture, unwillingly, and as if he did much dislike to be interrogated on such matters. That is why I then refrained from going deeper into the question, lest he should get angry and his good will towards us should abate. I thought it far preferable not to touch at all on certain details until he himself had incurred considerable expenses in warlike preparations, for then, in my opinion, rather than lose the money already laid out, he would be more amenable to reason.*† *However that may be, there can be no doubt that on the two chief points the King has been open and explicit enough; he wishes the invasion of French territory to take place at the appointed time and season, and he wishes also that it be undertaken separately, as I have already stated in two of my last despatches.*‡ *True is it (if Your Majesty wishes to know my opinion in this matter) that it seems to me as if these people were not so active and earnest in their military preparations as they ought to be, for, although the privy councillors keep saying and assuring me daily that men and provisions will soon be sent across the Channel, though twelve days ago they even begged me to write and ask for four or five hulks* (huez) *for the transport of ammunition and artillery to Calais, yet I see no real signs of their getting ready for the enterprize. There is still another matter which might possibly mar, or at least delay, the undertaking, namely, that the Scotch, as it appears, refuse to*

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* *See* above, No. 132, p. 318.

† "Et quil viendroit mieulx à propos de laisser lez ditez particularitez jusques à ce que le dit Sieur Roy se fust mis en quelques frais et notable despense pour faire ses preparatoires (*sic*), car à l'heure pour non perdre les dits fraiz se contenteroit de plustot prendre raison en payement."

‡ *See* pp. 295, 312–3.

deliver the Princess (Mary) within the term of two years, as this king demands, but only when she has attained the age of ten, and that the Scotch not only regret the alliance and confederacy of this country, but will not renounce altogether the treaties they have with France, wishing to remain, as they say, neutral for the present, with option to decide for the one or the other of the belligerents, as may please them. This King then, on the other hand, would rather go to war now than wait for the accomplishment of his political views in that respect, for fear the Scotch should, in the meantime, procure friends, ammunition, and other necessaries of war elsewhere. I think, nevertheless, that the King will not decide on war for many mighty considerations which I shall not fail to submit to him whenever I find a fit opportunity for it; besides which I do not think he can possibly attend at the same time to the two wars, that of Scotland and that of France. At any rate, should I perceive that he still insists upon declaring war on the Scots, I will most certainly remonstrate, and show him the danger of a collision with Scotland at this juncture; and if I cannot dissuade him, will ask him to contribute half the Emperor's expenses in the war against France. However this may be, I will take care that Your Majesty be informed as soon as possible of his intentions in the matter, as well as of his final declaration on the two important points mentioned in Your letters, without omitting to interrogate him on a third one, no less important, of which I will speak hereafter.

With regard to the assistance to be furnished by the Low Countries of 2,000 horse and 2,000 infantry, in case of a common invasion of French territory, not otherwise, the point has been so expressly mentioned in the treaty that I am really astonished at Your Majesty's councillors making a difficulty about it.[*] *Your Majesty, it is true, will not be obliged to help with that number of men against the Scots—though this king, no doubt out of gratitude for the promise we made to him by the treaty of Windsor respecting his pensions from France,*[†] *has many a time tried to make it obligatory in any case; but on the other hand, Your Majesty is bound, in case of an invasion of France by the allied armies, to furnish the above-mentioned contingent.*

Respecting provisions, I have already written that this king intends sending to Calais what may be deemed necessary for the support of his troops; and besides that, as the

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[*] A note on the margin, probably in the handwriting of the president or secretary of the Queen's Council, has the following: "Toutesfois la charge est grande."

[†] "Et n'estre Sa Majeste de l'Empereur obligee à la dite assistence en nul aultre cas, oultre la quelle assistence le dit seigneur Roy vouloit toutelement (*sic*) que luy fust promist en ung mesme temps lassistence deffensive contre les Escossois, et ce en recompense de la promesse que luy avoit este faicte par le traicte de Vinesor touchant ses pensions."

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English army will not operate far away from the coast, it will be easy for the English fleet in the Channel to furnish provisions, ammunition, and so forth, when wanted.

As to any delay in fitting out the fleet (navieres), *I see no danger at all; I feel confident that it will be ready to put to sea at the time fixed upon.*

As to requesting the King to bestow his assistance according to the letter of the treaty, Your Majesty may, if You please, address him on the subject; but I see no necessity for it, inasmuch as the King, before next Sunday, will certainly swear to and ratify the treaty. He heard with great pleasure and contentment that His Imperial Majesty had already done the same—which news came on Ascension Day, by one of the messengers he himself sent with the treaty, though of the other courier, or of my own man, nothing is yet known. I shall, however, not fail to mention the assistance, and request him also to give up at once the duke of Clèves and his subjects, and declare himself their enemy, to which, I daresay, he will be more inclined now that he has witnessed the Duke's malignity and dishonesty in refusing to observe the truce, as Your Majesty has been pleased to inform me.

Respecting the duty of 1°/₀, *I shall try all manner of arguments to persuade these people of its expediency under present circumstances.*

With regard to the wine, the King founds his refusal of the pass or licence on the ground that the application seems to have come entirely from foreign merchants having importuned Your Majesty under false pretences, and likewise because he finds that a considerable sum of money will thus pass into the hands of the French, our common enemies. He still alleges another reason, which is, that a number of his own subjects who, with his permission, have fitted out privateer vessels against the French, in order to recover the losses they have sustained at their hands, will naturally be displeased at the grant of such licences to export. He (the King) does not pretend to say that French goods cannot go out of Flanders; what he wants to avoid is their being transported in vessels belonging to other nations, so much so that when the other day his war-ships at sea captured three or four Portuguese vessels, chartered by the Whyciardini (Guicciardini) and bound for France, where they were to lade wine and biscuit (pastels), *the moment he (the King) heard of it, he caused them to be released. As the King was then on the eve of declaring war against France, and he believes that the merchants of Flanders will be able to procure other vessels than the French, I do not see the necessity of pressing him more on the subject. Yet according to what I may hear from the correspondence of the merchants themselves, if I see the opportunity, I shall not fail to speak to this king's ministers about it.*

Out of the three Scotch ambassadors who were here, two have left, and from hour to hour one earl, and the brother of

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the earl of Douglas, are expected to come in representation of the Scotch Parliament. The Cardinal [of St. Andrew's] has been liberated from prison, and remains in his archbishopric* (benefice) *without going to Court. He has many a time wished to speak to the ambassador this king has there, in order to exculpate himself from the charge brought against him of opposing this king's views; but in order not to lay himself open to suspicion from the men now governing Scotland, and who follow this king's party, he has not been allowed to communicate with the English ambassador.*

I hear, moreover, that certain ambassadors from France have arrived in Scotland, and with them the nephew of the late Mons. d'Aubigny, who in France has the command of 50 *lances, and pretends to belong to the house of the Stuarts. If so, with the help of the Cardinal and ecclesiastical party—very strong in Scotland—he may cause annoyance to the governors, who just now, as I have been told, in order to diminish and undermine the power and influence of the ecclesiastics, are allowing preachers all over the land to speak in favour of the new sects.*

The duke Philip of Bavaria arrived here ten or twelve days ago. The King and his Privy Council were very much astonished at his coming, and also at his having resided in London so many days without their being aware of it. The Duke spoke to the King on Tuesday last at his coming from mass. He had a long parley with him, and was pretty well received, as well as a count he has with him, and who, with four or five more servants, constitute all his suite. Two Italian captains, one of whom is count of Saint Boniface, have also arrived; having quitted the service of France, they have come to offer theirs to this king.

A week ago two of this king's ships captured a French one bound to Scotland with a cargo of wine. Very luckily the English were not far from each other, otherwise the French might have captured the one who attacked them first, unless the other had come up to the rescue. For a long time so stout a defence was made by the French ship against the English two, that out of the thirty men who composed her crew, no less than eighteen were slain and the remainder dangerously wounded, as not one of them would surrender; at which the French ambassador here has shown, as may be imagined, great discontent, and had he not been rather unwell at the time, would have gone to the King to complain.—London, 17 April † 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Almost entirely in cipher. pp. 5.

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* Archibald, earl of Angus.

† At the end of the letter, which is almost entirely in cipher, is a note, not in the same hand as the one already alluded to, but most likely by some clerk, purporting that instead of 17th of April, which is really the date of Chapuys' original letter, 17th of May ought to be substituted, "car (says the note) l'ambassadeur repond aux lettres de la roine de i^{er} et vii. de May."

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29 May. **140.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—Some time ago Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 12th April, by way of Flanders, came to hand.* Since then my secretary has brought me the duplicate of the same, together with the powers therein mentioned, in virtue of which, the day before yesterday, that is, on the 29th inst., the ratification was passed and the oaths were taken with the very same words, writings, and solemnities which passed at the ratification of the treaty by Your Imperial Majesty, all of which will appear from the papers and documents, which I will, in pursuance of Your Majesty's orders, forward immediately to the Queen dowager, regent in Flanders, as well as the treaty itself, signed by Your Majesty and sealed with your grand seal.

With respect to the mutual pretensions and disputed points, not specified in the treaty, this king has been glad to accept those contained in Your Majesty's letter, and likewise those which Mr. de Granvelle has since added and pointed out, as appears from the copy of his instructions to me, which the Imperial king-at-arms brought here. This king fancies that it will be better for Your Majesty to declare war in writing by means of the king-at-arms, as if it were a continuation and sequence of that which is now being carried on between the Empire and the French, rather than have recourse to a fresh challenge and defiance.

As to getting from this king his express and specific declaration that the two dukes of Holstein and Clèves are henceforth to be considered as common enemies, the Privy Council's advice and desire has been that I should for a time refrain from pressing them in that particular, inasmuch as the declaration of war against France once made, and hostilities having begun, they say that the King, their master, will do more willingly and with greater pleasure what we demand of him, though, as the councillors themselves affirm, there is no necessity whatever of such a declaration, since the two dukes are evidently and notoriously comprised in the general article of the treaty announcing the common enemies of both Emperor and King. If I may say what I think of this matter it strikes me that this king's wish is, owing to some complaint or other of his own, to send first the said dukes notice that they must not offend or displease Your Majesty, or else he will be obliged to make the declaration demanded of him.†

Respecting the invasion in common of French territory, Your Imperial Majesty must have already learnt what this king's intentions and wishes are as to that, for I have repeatedly written to Mr. de Granvelle on the subject. For the

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* *See* No. 127, p. 307.

† "Et à ce quil me semble le dict sieur roy pense premierement pour quelque complaint envoyer particulierement devers les dictz ducz pour les advertir quil conviendra quil se declaire."

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present I cannot say more than refer Your Imperial Majesty to the enclosed copy of my letter to the queen Regent.

The Cardinal's release from prison and other events in Scotland must likewise have reached Your Majesty's ears. Nothing new worthy of mention has occurred in that country since my last despatch, except perhaps the few details contained in the enclosed copy of my letter to the Queen.*—London, 29 May 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England," of the 29th of May. Received at Cremona the 15th of June.

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

20 May. **141.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Madame,"—Yesterday on my arrival here [at Hampton Court] I met near the royal palace the King, who received me most graciously.† This morning, as he was going to mass, he again commenced to greet me with such thorough cordiality that nothing more could be desired on his part,† at the same time shewing great satisfaction and joy at the kind reception of his ambassadors by Your Majesty. As it was then nearly 11 o'clock, and the King had not yet heard mass, as he had, moreover, to receive the Scotch ambassadors, who, as I wrote in my last despatch, had only arrived in this city a few days before, I would not speak long to him of our political affairs in common. Yet, not to lose altogether the opportunity, I touched on the most substantial points, such as the breaking of the truce by the duke of Clèves, whom the King at once begun to abuse and blame, calling his conduct abominable, and saying that the Duke must have been out of his senses, and that he had lost all honor and credit on the occasion.‡ And upon my remarking that the Duke would have soon to repent of his inconsiderate behaviour, for I had no doubt that he (the King) would no longer defend him, but would, on the contrary, declare him his enemy, he suddenly replied to me that if I chose he would immediately send for the Duke's agent, and tell him in my very presence the great error his master had committed in thus breaking the truce with the Emperor, and at once declare him the enemy of both. The King said more; he told me that if I chose and approved of it, he would despatch an express messenger to the Duke, summoning him in the strongest terms to

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* A paragraph has here been omitted, in which Chapuys, after thanking the Emperor for the acknowledgment of his services on the occasion, begs for a proof of his approval in the way of some pension or gratuity in cash.

† "Hier venant en ce lieu jencontray tout auprez de la maison le roy, qui me fist merveillement bon recuyl (recueil)."

‡ "Et pour non perdre temps je luy entray au plus substancial (*sic*) à sçavoir de la roupture de la tresve du duc de Clèves, le quel a ce le dit sieur roy abhominast le plus fort du monde, disant que le dit duc sa vouloit entierement affolle[r], ayant par ce, oultre aultrez inconveniens, perdu tout honneur et credit."

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keep to the truce, and saying that if he did not, he would henceforwards consider him as his enemy.

Doubting whether His Imperial Majesty would not prefer matters to remain as they are than otherwise, and fearing lest the King, who had hitherto taken the lead in this affair, should be sorry at his losing the chance of becoming, as it were, the arbiter of it, I did not press him to adopt either one of the measures proposed, but contented myself with saying that I would refer the matter to the Privy Council.

And so it was arranged, for on the afternoon of the same day the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Winchester, and secretary Wristley (Wriothesley), called on me, and I made them understand, as graciously as I could, that the King, their master, would do well to summon to his presence the Duke's agent, and speak to him about the affair, but that I myself should not dare to advise such a step without having first received Your Majesty's instructions, and that I fully intended to consult You by the first post.

The above-mentioned personages declared more definitely and expressly than the King himself had done to me in the morning, that their master desired above all things that his heralds should go to France and declare war to king Francis. *He particularly wished that to be done before Mr. du Rœulx withdrew from the field into winter quarters, in order that the captain (governor) of Guisnes might join him with* 2,500 *archers of the garrison of that place, and with all the cavalry he has already received from England, and that which will shortly join him under the command of Mr. de Chenay,* and that in the event of the said Mr. du Roeulx having to retreat before the French, as he was most likely to do, he (the King) was of opinion that his forces ought to join those under Mr. du Rœulx, and together invade the county of Arthois, where, if necessary, he himself would be in a situation to help the enterprize. "That is why (said the privy councillors) the King, our master, desires before all things that the heralds should be sent out at once."*

After this, the King's deputies begged me in the King's name to write to Your Majesty for Toison d'Or to be despatched forthwith, and an immediate answer to be returned on the subject without waiting for the memorandum respecting the challenge, and the form and manner of the defiance, which Mr. de Granvelle promised to send; since (said they) there could be no great mistake (erreur) *about it, assuring me at the same time that the King, their master, would be glad of the summons and declaration of war being supplemented and reformed in any way His Imperial Majesty wishes.*

Besides this, the above-named privy councillors have given me to understand that the King's affairs in Scotland are going on prosperously just now, and that the French am-

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* Elsewhere Cheney (Sir Thomas Cheyne).

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bassadors lately sent to that country have been badly received by the people; scarcely had the governor deigned to speak to them. All the fortresses and castles of Scotland are in the hands of the said governor, except one on the coast and its port, whereat the French landed; but that on the departure of the said ambassadors, the governor of the place had been warned that unless he surrendered his command within twenty-four hours he would be declared traitor.

In consequence of the royal secretary, in whose hands are all the papers and documents relating to the treaty, being out of town, the ratification and oath will be put off until next Thursday, and its solemn festival.

As I am writing this, Monsieurs de Winchester and Vrisley* come to announce to me in the King's name that he has just sent an express to the captain of Guisnes (Wallop), ordering him to keep his men in readiness, and that in any case, should the French attempt to invade on that side, he is to help with the forces under his command, though the heralds may not have executed their commission.—Antoncourt (Hampton-Court), 20th May 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

n. d. **142.** The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to FRANCHOIS DE PHALAIX, councillor [in Flanders], and his Chief King-at-Arms, of what he will have to do, conjointly with the English herald whom the king of England and France † may be pleased to send along with him.

P. Arch. Nat.
Olun. Simancas,
B. M. *Add.* 28,592.
f. 58.

Firstly: Mons. de Phalaix will go to Calais and there wait for the English herald, that they both may travel together to the court of France.

At Calais, and before departing on his mission, together with his colleague, the English herald,‡ Mons. de Phalaix will despatch a trumpeter to the next large town on the frontier of France, to ask for a safe conduct; and, when obtained, will proceed with his colleague, the English herald, to the town of France wherein king Francis may happen to hold his court at the time. On his arrival there, he will apply for an audience from him.

Once in the Royal presence, after making due reverence, though without any complimentary salutation whatever, Mons. de Phalaix will ask for permission to speak freely, and state, without hindrance, what his master, the Emperor, has charged him to say in his name. The permission being granted, and under the security which all princes are in the habit of giving to kings-at-arms, or heralds, Mons. de Phallaix will proceed to say:—

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* That is, Stephen Gardiner and Thomas Wriothesley.

† It is remarkable that in an almost similar paper preserved in Paris, Henry is always designated as King of France and England, whereas in this one, which appears to be an amended draft of the same document, he is entitled king of England and France.

‡ The English herald was Jarretière, whose name was Sir Christopher Barker, *alias* Garter.

That, owing to the troubles and divisions now existing throughout Christendom, which have chiefly their origin in and emanate from the king of France, inasmuch as since the commencement of the present war—of which he (king Francis) was and is the principal author, having begun the same in direct contravention to the treaties existing between the Emperor and France, or without any previous formal challenge or defiance—the Turk, that cruel and inveterate enemy of Our holy religion, has been daily advancing into Europe in order to invade and crush Christendom. In consequence of which His Imperial Majesty, considering that the dignity to which God by His divine clemency has raised him has imposed upon him the obligation of putting a stop to that approaching calamity, he has therefore now, by the counsel and advice of his good brother, and perpetual friend and ally, the king of England and France [Henry], decided to send him (Mons. de Phallaix) to remonstrate with, admonish, and request king Francis to consider and bear in mind that the infidel Turk—that sworn enemy of all catholic princes—has never ceased for some years past to molest and harrass with all his power, and to invade Christian countries in the hope of gaining his wicked purpose by attacking the inhabitants thereof, and subjecting them to his rule; perhaps, too, making them swerve from their faith and religion to the immeasurable regret of all good Christians.

Owing to which, and other reasons equally potent, His Imperial Majesty requests and summons king Francis, since he bears the title of "Most Christian king of France," to refrain altogether and desist from any friendship and alliance with the said Turk; also to recall the ambassadors and agents he has, or may have at his court, and consider him henceforwards as his enemy. To pay to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) and to other Christian princes, as well as to the States depending from the Empire, the damages and losses they may have sustained through the attacks of the Infidel, as well as interest on all the sums spent by them in defending themselves against Turkish invasions made and carried on entirely at his (king Francis') instigation and request. Also to make restitution to the said king of the Romans (Ferdinand) of the town of Maran, in Frioul, which he (king Francis) still retains in his possession.

To pay likewise to the king of England and France (Henry) all the pensions and arrears he owes him in virtue of the treaties existing between them, as the English king-at-arms himself will more fully expound and declare.

To abstain in future from waging war against His Imperial Majesty's kingdoms, countries, subjects and allies; to restore

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and indemnify him and them for all expenses incurred, as well as for all damages, with interest, which he (the Emperor) and his kingdoms, subjects and allies may have suffered since the commencement of this last war up to the present time.

To restore likewise all the countries, provinces and territories that he (king Francis) and his predecessors on the throne have taken and usurped from the Holy Empire, or from its vassals, to the great disregard and in contempt of the rights of the said Empire, such as those snatched from the duke of Savoy (Carlo), his own uncle, whom he has violently despoiled and robbed. All the places and territories taken in Piedmont, and elsewhere from the said Duke, king Francis is bound and is hereby summoned to return, besides indemnifying their owner for his expenses, damages and interest.

On the terms above specified, and with the consent of the king of England and France (Henry), His Imperial Majesty will be glad again to receive and admit king Francis as a friend, and make peace with him on reasonable conditions, and with proper securities on both sides.

An answer to the above is earnestly requested.

The above being complied with, Mons. de Phallaix will wait until the king-at-arms of the king of England has equally declared his charge according to the Instructions and in the form and manner prescribed to him in England.

Should the king of France desire to have the above in writing, Mons. de Phallaix will give him a copy of his Instructions; but should the King delay his answer on the plea of having them carefully examined and reported upon in his Council in order to make a suitable reply to them; then, in that case, Mons. de Phallaix will beg the King to let him have a written answer within the term of ten days at the utmost, that being the longest period of time that he can wait in France, according to orders.

Should king Francis ask, or cause Mons. de Phallaix to be asked, whether in case of the various points in his Instructions being granted, he has sufficient mandate from the Emperor to agree to the peace, the Imperial king-at-arms will answer without hesitation that should the proposed conditions be accepted as a whole at once, His Imperial Majesty will be glad during the next ten days after the delivery of his message, to appoint commissioners, who, conjointly with the deputation of the king of England and France (Henry), will be furnished with sufficient powers to arrange a peace under reasonable conditions convenient for all parties. But should king Francis refuse to give an answer; should he make excuses, as most likely he will, or should he delay it beyond the ten days prefixed, and order the Imperial king-at-arms to quit France; then, in any of the cases above specified, Mons. de Phallaix will tell the King that since he will not accede to so just a demand and requisition on the part of His Imperial Majesty, he, the Imperial king-at-arms, has charge to make the following declaration:—

The Emperor requests and summons king Francis to effect and accomplish the above, and besides that to restore to him and to his successors the duchy of Burgundy, the counties of Charolois, Auxerrois, Maconnais, viscounty of Auxonne and lordships of Noyers, Chastelchinon, Bar sur Saine (*sic*), and the resort of St. Leu, Amyens, Abbeville, Corbye, Peronne and St. Quentin, with their territories, bailiwicks and jurisdictions, besides a sum of money to indemnify the Emperor for the loss of taxes and dues during the occupation of those towns and countries by the French.

To restore also to the king of England and France (Henry) all and every one of the provinces and towns formerly belonging to him, and which king Francis still retains, as he will hear more in detail from the lips of the English king-at-arms.*

In a like manner to restore to His Imperial Majesty the town, castle, and bailiwick of Hesdin, as well as the town and castle of Athenay†, the towns of Ivoix and Danvilliers, with their respective territories, and in short all he has occupied in the duchy of Luxemburg and its vicinity belonging to the Empire.

Also the whole of the province called Dauphiné, and its adjacent territories, which Francis' predecessors took from the Emperor's ancestors, and he, the King, still occupies and retains. In addition to that, king Francis is summoned to fulfil in all its parts the convention of Madrid and subsequent treaty of Cambray, and pay, besides costs and interest, the sums of money which His Imperial Majesty or his subjects have been obliged to spend through his wilful contravention of the said convention and treaty.

To reimburse the archbishop of Valencia ‡ (George of Austria) the 30,000 gold crowns, which, owing to his very unjust detention, he was obliged to pay in order to obtain

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* By way of a note to this paragraph, I find the following:—"This article is couched in general terms, and without any specification whatsoever, because the king of England, in his great wisdom, cannot fail to give to his own king-at-arms a far more detailed account and fuller instructions than We Ourselves could furnish him from Spain."

† Thus written, but there can be no doubt that Astenay or Stenay in Lorraine is meant. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 436, where the cession by the duke Antoine to Francis is mentioned.

‡ About this archbishop, whose name was George of Austria, and his imprisonment in France, *see* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 280, 361, 369–70. He was the natural son of emperor Maximilian, and, therefore, the uncle of Charles. Having succeeded Erard de la Mark in the archbishopric of Valencia in Spain, he was in 1541 promoted to the co-adjutorship of Liège in Flanders.

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his release from prison, and to pay him besides damages and interest for his long and unjust imprisonment and captivity.

Otherwise, and should the king of France refuse to make the above restitution, His Imperial Majesty, with the help of God, Who alone gives victory to those He pleases to favor, and with the assistance of the king of England and France (Henry), his good brother, and perpetual friend and ally, intends not only to prosecute against the said king of France this present war, so wilfully and unreasonably commenced by him, but to prosecute it most vigorously by land and sea, rejecting any and all proposals of peace and friendship he (the King) may eventually make, unless it be with the knowledge of the king of England and France (Henry).

This formal declaration, once made in the Emperor's name, Mons. de Phallaix will wait until the king-at-arms of the king of England has delivered and declared his charge according to his Instructions. Mons. de Phallaix, however, will listen attentively, so as to understand and retain in his memory whatever may be said to him on the matter, and be able to make his report in writing.

Should he, whilst at Calais, or on his road to the French court and back, hear any remarks touching this present war, or the differences between king Francis or the Emperor, he (Mons. de Phallaix) is to take no notice at all of them. Should he be pressed to state his own private opinion in the matter, he will excuse himself by saying that he has been sent to France for the sole purpose of delivering a message to king Francis, and nothing more. In short, he (Mons. de Phallaix) is carefully to avoid all occasions and means of arousing the jealousy of the English herald, and, above all, never to speak to Frenchmen except in the presence of his colleague.

Whilst drawing out the present Instructions, it has been deliberated in Council whether the Emperor's herald ought to speak in the name of both princes, or whether the king of England ought to make separate and individual declaration to the same effect. It was decided that the latter mode was a far more fit and convenient one of doing the thing—that each of the kings-at-arms or heralds should speak for himself, and express his master's wish and intentions. If so, should the king of England wish to address the Most Christian king of France in words indicating that he (king Henry) had lately assumed the title of "Sovereign Chief and Supreme Head of the Anglican Church," and so forth, all discussion on that point might be avoided, and be a further proof that both princes, and each of them, have the thing at heart. Otherwise people might imagine that all this was entirely the Emperor's doing, and that the king of England went for nothing in the affair, save sending one of his own heralds to be present at the requisition. In short, the opinion of the councillors is that the French will be too much disposed, as it is, to dispute the affair for us to afford them willingly any more grounds for contention.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 5.*

22 May. **143.** The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—We send you, together with this letter, a memorandum drawn up by Mr. de Granvelle † respecting the Instructions to be given to the respective kings-at-arms from England and these Low Countries, who are to go to France as heralds, in order to challenge king Francis in pursuance of the treaty of closer friendship and alliance, and in conformity with the rules and prescriptions contained in the Emperor's letter to you, dated the 12th April. In view, therefore, of Mr. de Granvelle's memorandum, We have caused a draft of Instructions to be made, which We enclose, that you may show it to the King, to whom We write a holograph letter informing him of Our earnest desire for the observation of the said treaty, and telling him that the Emperor, Our good sire and brother, has charged us to send Our king-at-arms into France, as he will hear more particularly from you. Such is the substance of Our letter to the King, of which a duplicate is also inclosed. You will put it into his hands with the most gracious words that can come to your mind, and according as you may perceive the King's intention to be.

As to the Instruction itself, We have caused it to be drawn in the strictest accord possible with the treaty of closer alliance between the Emperor and the king of England. It contains to that effect two demands: one to be, as it were, the foundation of the requisition according to Art. xviii. of the treaty, and the other to comply with the prescriptions of Art. xx. We leave you to show to the King, or to those of his Privy Councillors whom he may depute to that effect, the draft of the Instruction, and, should they approve of it, request them to draw up at once a similar one for the

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* As observed in Vol. VI., Part I., p. 577 of this Calendar, the document here translated is at Paris, in the Archives Nationaux. It has no date, and was erroneously included by Bergenroth among papers of the year 1539. *See* Catalogue of Spanish MSS. in the Library of the British Museum, Vol. II., pp. 628–30, No. 28,591. That these instructions to Mons. de Phallaix could not have been given previously to the year 1543, shortly after the ratification of the treaty of closer alliance, is a point which has been elucidated in Vol. VI., Part I., p. 57, as well as in the Introduction to this Part II. The paper itself has no date, and must have been prepared towards the middle of May, for on the 20th Chapuys wrote to the Queen Regent that both Jarretière and Toison d'Or had already started on their commission. I need scarcely observe that Phallaix or Fallaix and Toison d'Or are the same person. He was the herald of the Order of the Golden Fleece, such as Jarretière (Garter king-at-arms) was of the Garter.

† Written Grantuelle.

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English king-at-arms, that he may on his side make the requisition first and the challenge afterwards, according to the letter of the treaty.

This being done, We will take care that the English king-at-arms leaves at the same time as the Emperor's, that both may together go to France for the accomplishment of their charge. We request you to make all possible haste in this, and so procure that the king of England send his own king-at-arms, that both together may make the declaration of war and challenge, *which under present circumstances might be very convenient and advantageous for His Imperial Majesty's service in these parts.*

Should the King or his Privy Councillors raise any difficulty as to the draft of the Instruction which We now send you, you will try and persuade them through good reasoning to accept it, such as it is. You will tell them that the Instruction to Our king-at-arms has been drawn up merely with regard to the Emperor's own concernings, and that the king of England is at liberty to give to his own such Instructions as he may deem fit and convenient on the occasion. On this point We make no difficulty at all; We wish only that since the Emperor's king-at-arms is to refer in his challenge to what the English one may have said before, or will have to say after him, in a similar manner the latter do make reference to the words uttered by the Imperial king-at-arms in his challenge, so as to make it manifest that both the declaration of war and the challenge are things agreed to, and made in common. Pray pay particular attention to this point, which in Our opinion is a very important one. For the same reasons We have considered it best for each of the king-at-arms to declare separately their commission, lest the French should think that the whole is a feint on the part of the king of England. Should, however, this latter have a scruple or raise an objection on this point, you will try, as far as you can, to convince him of the expediency of such a course, and do your best towards the adoption of a measure which We consider almost indispensable; but pray let this be done in such a manner and in such words as to give complete satisfaction to the King or his ministers.

And whereas Mr. de Granvelle has his doubts that some of the points touched upon in his Memorandum may possibly not be readily accepted, owing to the English ambassadors at the Imperial court not having been informed thereof at the time that the Emperor ratified the treaty in their very presence, you will do your best to ascertain what the King's intention may be with regard to them, and should you find that he is unwilling to approve of them, you will try, without pressing him too much, to convince him of their expediency, and let Us know what objection he raises against their adoption.

The King's ambassadors arrived on the eve of Pentecost. We find them to be very honorable personages indeed, and We request you to thank the King in Our name for the high honor he has done Us in sending men so distinguished by their rank and qualities. We shall, for the sake of the King, their master, grant them audience whenever and as many times as they ask for it, and will treat them with the respect and consideration due to the King, their master, Our friend and ally. They have already presented their credentials on Pentecost day, when, after expressing the good will and affection we desire of their master, and his full determination to observe and keep, in all its parts, the treaty of closer friendship and alliance lately concluded between their master and His Imperial Majesty, they made, among others, the following declaration:—*They said that the King, their master, would immediately have acceded to your urgent request by taking the field and commencing the war against France before the end of this season had he been sure of the promise made by you that the Emperor would also help with a similar undertaking on his side on such point of the French frontier as would be equally convenient for him to attack.*

This last sentence the English ambassadors repeated twice in Our presence, adding that, as the season was advancing, the King wished to know whether We thought there was yet time to prepare for such an expedition or not, and whether We could or could not furnish transports (*navières*) for the passage of his army, and chariots for the carriage of provisions and war material. On Our asking the English ambassadors what number of vessels and waggons the King wanted, they answered that they could not answer Our question, unless they knew beforehand whether the Emperor was ready and willing or no to invade France this summer on such a point of the frontier as would be convenient for their master to join his forces to Ours. We replied in conformity with what the Privy Council in Spain said on the subject to the English ambassador, and the Emperor wrote to you on the 12th April. The ambassadors seemed satisfied and made no more remarks, which makes Us suspect that the King is not very much inclined to undertake anything against France this year.

As the English ambassadors have so often insisted on your having assured them *that the Emperor would invade France on any point of the frontier that suited or was convenient for that king,* which assertion of theirs We would not dispute, although We find nothing like it in your despatches, We earnestly request you to let Us know how the thing passed, and whether that king's ambassadors have not, as We presume, wilfully misconstrued your words.

Your despatch of the 17th inst. has just come to hand. We will answer it after communicating its contents to the

English ambassadors; but We pray you to let Us know if what We say to the English ambassadors here is fairly and truly communicated to you, that We may act reciprocally towards them, whom We have, up to the present moment, faithfully acquainted with every incident.

We hold as certain that the King has been apprized by the captains of Guisnes of the successful undertaking of Mr. du Rœulx against the enemy in the Boulonnais, who had lately demolished certain castles in that district. The English captain has sent him word that he hopes the King will soon send some force to his assistance, and if he does it would come very *à propos* to drive away the French from that county.—[Brussels] 23 May 1543.

French. Original draft, partly ciphered. pp. 4.

22 May. **144.** MR. DE GRANVELLE'S MEMORANDUM.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

On the declaration of war and challenge to be made to the king of France, in virtue of the treaty of closer friendship and alliance between the two Majesties [of the Emperor and the king of England], the following considerations ought to be taken into account:—

That the treaty expressly bears that the enterprize against France is to be carried out as soon as possible, and that since His Imperial Majesty is already in open war with the king of France, it is convenient and important for the former that the enterprize take place soon, in order that the king of England may become the declared enemy of that country. That will render king Francis anxious, and make him attend to the defence of his own kingdom, invaded, as it will be, at various points of his frontiers and provoke his indignation at hearing that the English have at last become his enemies, and will at once stop the intercourse of trade between the English and the French, to the great loss and injury of the latter.

By means of the said declaration of war and challenge, as well as several other reasons specified in the treaty, the king of France will lose reputation among Christian princes, who no longer will help and assist him in his personal quarrels; the foreigners serving under his banners will desert him; his own subjects and even his children will be scandalized and turn against him.

On the contrary, the declaration on the part of the king of England at this present juncture will materially increase the Emperor's reputation and authority, and that of his brother, the king of the Romans, not only at home in their own dominions, but likewise in Italy, Germany, Flanders, and the Low Countries, and contribute efficiently to the good issue of their public and private affairs.

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True it is that on His Imperial Majesty's side no such declaration of war and challenge are strictly required, inasmuch as the king of France has actually recommenced war—by breaking the truce once sworn to by him—and giving no intimation or notification whatever of his hostile intentions; and yet such declaration and challenge are still considered necessary, though couched in different terms from those of the king of England, stating in the preamble to it that the intimation is principally founded on the public interest of Christendom, troubled and afflicted, as it has been and is, by king Francis, and the necessity there is of making a confederacy and alliance against him.

It is also to be considered that, with regard to the taking of Castilnovo by the Turks, and the help given by the French galleys, there is no positive proof of the statement—though it might be alleged without fear of contradiction that the loss of that fortress was partly due to king Francis' friendship and alliance with the Infidel, and the intrigues and practices of his ministers, agents, and ambassadors.

And whereas it may be held as certain that the declaration of war will have no other result than a flat refusal on the part of king Francis to comply with the demands of the allies, or else dilatory excuses to gain time; and, moreover, that the intimation of war must be made sooner or later, it is important to know what demands the Emperor is to make for himself, independently of those which the king of England may make on his side. That king cannot honestly and in good faith oppose any declaration of this sort on the part of the Emperor, though made after the ratification of the treaty by the parties, especially after the great and substantial demands which he himself has made and is prepared to make again.

Two points seem to be of paramount importance for the Emperor; one is that he is bound by his Imperial dignity and his affinity to, and confederation with, the duke Carlo of Savoy, as well as by his own particular rights to the duchy, to attend to and procure his redress of the injuries and harm that king Francis has done him. The other is the indemnity in money for all the losses and expenses which the Emperor's brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, has had to sustain in consequence of the wars the king of France has indirectly promoted against him by the Turk and others.

As to the first demand, that is, the reinstatement of duke Carlo of Savoy, it would sound well if brought forward in connexion with the demand relating to the Holy Empire, and concerning not only His Imperial Majesty, but the king of England also. It ought, therefore, to be mentioned at the time of the intimation. And if in the challenge the king of France were summoned to surrender Provence, Dauphiné, and other countries, which he and his predecessors on the

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throne have usurped and substracted from the Holy Empire and incorporated in the crown of France, to the great prejudice, contempt, and discredit of the said Holy Empire, it would not be too much to ask and demand.

That the king of France has unjustly and with extreme impiety violently and by force occupied the estates and possessions of the duke Carlo of Savoy, his own uncle, on this and the other side of the Alps, though the duke is really the vassal, and his dominions a fief of the Holy Roman Empire, from which the king of France wilfully withdraws them, thus denying the superior authority of the said Emperor, cannot for a moment be denied.

As to the arrest and long imprisonment of the archbishop of Valencia,* and the harsh treatment to which he has been subjected — an arrest and imprisonment made against all divine and human laws and rights, since that ecclesiastic, besides being invested with the archiepiscopal dignity, is a prince of the Holy Roman Empire—there can be no doubt that the king of France is, and will be, obliged, in his case, to make reparation, as well as full restitution and indemnity for whatever loss he (the archbishop) may thereby have sustained, unless, however, previously to the intimation of war by the heralds, the King had already, of his own accord, released the said archbishop.

The other point is that regarding the restitution to be effected by king Francis of towns and districts unduly retained by him, particular mention is to be made in the challenge of Abbeville, Corbier, Peronne, and whatever other territories and towns fall under the scope of article xvi. of the treaty of Cambray, and afterwards confirmed by that of Madrid, as appertaining to the sovereignty of Flanders and Arthois, as well as of Navarre, Ghelders, Naples, Sicily, and other countries. And yet it is to be considered whether such particular mention and specification of such towns and territories would not be, in some way or other, derogatory to that treaty, owing to the cession of king Francis' pretended rights on Naples, Sicily, and other countries,† or whether it would not be better to stop at the treaty of Cambray, and insist upon the full and real observance of that treaty, demanding, in addition, full indemnity, with interest, of all damages and losses sustained by the Emperor through the non-observance of the truce by the king of France, the wars he has promoted on this and the other side of the Alps since that treaty, not omitting to say that whatever else may be occupied and gained by the Emperor during the present war, may be retained by him as a sort of compensation and indemnity.

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* George of Austria, natural son of emperor Maximilian I., and, therefore, uncle of Charles.

† "Lautre poinct est de ce que lon particularisera restitution de Abbeville, Corbier, Peronne, et ce en quoy fait (fault) considerer, si par ceste demande et expression lon prejudicer[a] au traicte de Cambray confermatif de cellui de Madril (*sic*) contenant quictance de la souverainete de Flandres et darthoiz (d'Arthois), Navarre et Gheldres, et autres droiz pretenduz tant sur Naples, Sicille que autres pieces."

Regard should be had to the fact that ever since the conclusion of the treaty of Cambray, and consequently of the Madrid convention, made in confirmation of the former, those two documents have always been considered as the only ones conveniently useful for the extinction of all quarrels between the contracting parties, as well as for the security of the particulars and stipulations contained in them, and, therefore, that they are exceedingly odious and offensive to the French, to whom no greater harm can be done, or injury inflicted, than to put those treaties forward on every occasion, as We have always done, and intend doing in future, in all Our diplomatic relations with them.*

It will also be important to mention the town of Hesdin, of which king Francis has retained possession ever since the signature of the treaty of Cambray, notwithstanding that by the letter of that treaty he was bound to restore it. Also Astenay,† which he occupied during the last truce, notwithstanding its being one of the Emperor's fiefs.

The same may be said of the violent arrest and imprisonment of the Emperor's gentlemen and servants, couriers, messengers, and so forth, during the last truce, which he himself had sworn to, and which he has faithlessly broken.

As to the summons and intimation of war, it seems as if it were the province and business of kings-at-arms or heralds rather than that of ambassadors, or people of quality and rank in the State, inasmuch as His Imperial Majesty is already at war against king Francis, to whom no one else could be sent on such an errand, and likewise because the enmity (*l'aygreur*) between the king of England and him is already so far advanced, that were any other but a herald sent to him at this present moment king Francis would most certainly refuse to give him audience, especially as the notification of war cannot be made by other people than by the heralds.‡

Indorsed: "Mons. de Granvelle's opinion on the challenge and intimation of war to be made to the king of France."

French. Original draft. pp. 5.

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* "Tenant regard que tousjours doiz le dict traicte de Cambray passe si est arresté, et par consequent à cellui de Madrid, quil confirme expressement comme estant seulx traictez utiles et convenables pour l'extinction de toutes querelles et asseurancez des particularitez avant dites, et pour ce tant odieux, les dits deux traictez aux dits franchois, aux quelz lon ne sest (sçauroit ?) faire plus grant crevecœur que de les mectre en avant comme l'on a tousjours faict en toutes communications."

† Stenany belonged to the duke of Lorraine (Antoine), who, in 1541, was persuaded to make the cession of it to king Francis; yet, as it was a fief of the Empire, the bargain was *nil* without the Emperor's consent.

‡ This memorandum of Mr. de Granvelle has no date, but as it is joined to the Queen's letter to Chapuys of the 22nd, I have not hesitated to calendar it here.

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27 May. **145.** The QUEEN of HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—By Our letters of the 22*nd inst. and the documents thereto annexed, which We hope have been duly received, We have sufficiently replied to your despatches of the* 17*th and* 20*th inst., and have accordingly sent Toison d'Or, the king-at-arms, to Calais, that he may there wait for the herald of the king of England, and conjointly with him cross the frontier into France, and act together with him according to the Instructions they may receive. We are glad to hear by your letters the good will of that king, and his readiness to comply with and observe each and every one of the conditions stipulated by the treaty of closer friendship and alliance, and We are also pleased to learn that he very wisely considers that the time has come for him to declare openly against the French, so as to throw them into greater perplexity and doubt as to the success of their present undertaking. We are sure that you (Chapuys) will know best how to make the King persevere in his intentions, will praise and commend his resolution, and warmly thank him in Our name.*

Since the receipt of your letter of the 18*th of March the count of Rœulx has raised his camp on the frontier and retreated into the interior,—which movement he has undertaken in order not to over-fatigue his men whilst there is still time to keep the field and procure forage for the horses. We hope that this incident will not influence the King's determination and good will towards Us, but that he will send orders to his captain of Guisnes to keep on good terms with the commander of Our army, so that both with their united forces may keep the French at bay, and do whatever they may think best for the annoyance and injury of Our common enemy. We request and order you to attend particularly to this point, and call the King's attention to it. We on Our part will do the same by writing to count de Rœulx to the same effect, and if by chance you found that the said captain of Guisnes has merely received orders from home to join his forces to count de Rœulx's army in the field, you will take care that more specific ones be sent, commanding him to help and assist Our general in any case and wherever he may be. And whereas the King shows so good a disposition and will to send a number of men across the Channel, We will for the present refrain from insisting on his help unless the French make a further movement in advance, although, to say the truth, the news We have from various parts is that king Francis is massing troops on this side of Paris, and intends to make all possible efforts against the provinces subject to Our government.*

As to the Clèves affair, you did right in impressing on that king's mind the unreasonable and blameable conduct of the Duke in refusing to abide by the truce agreed upon by his deputies and friends. We are glad to hear that the king of England acknowledges that in doing so the Duke has *acted dishonourably, and certainly all sovereigns and princes ought to be indignant at his absolutely refusing to ratify a truce which his own deputies, sufficiently empowered by him, had accepted in his name, with a most solemn and binding promise that it would be faithfully observed. Yet as We wrote to you last, the said Duke has profited so much by his French lessons that he feels always rather inclined to yield to his passion than listen to the dictates of reason. You did very wisely for the very urgent considerations set forth in your despatch of the* 10*th of March, to stop the declaration which the King proposed to make to the Duke's agent in that country, which declaration added to the warning to his master to mend his errors, and repair the fault he has committed, would under present circumstances bring disrepute on the Emperor as well as on the King himself, inasmuch as by again summoning the Duke to the observance of the truce, after having expressly refused to abide by it, should he persist in his refusal, as most likely he will,—the Duke being so unbridled and self-willed that he has no respect for the Imperial States, to the authority of which he is bound to submit in all matters—the French and the people of Clèves together might profit thereby, and attribute that king's request and the consent on the Emperor's part to nothing short of fear and doubt as to the good issue of the campaign. For these reasons, and others that We need not point out, since they must be similarly clear and palpable to you, We should think that the best way of obviating the difficulty in this matter would be for the King to make the Duke's agent understand that in compliance with Article vi. of his last treaty with the Emperor, Our lord and brother, he must declare himself his master's enemy, and that being done, give the agent his passports, so that the Duke may not allege hereafter that his agent was dismissed for any other cause but that. Should this not be done, the people of Clèves will try to persuade their friends and allies that the king of England is not really and truly the Duke's enemy, as they have done hitherto. I therefore beg you to employ your usual tact and dexterity in persuading that king to declare himself at once the Duke's enemy, for in doing so his German friends will lose courage, and his favour with them—already greatly diminished, owing to his refusal to abide by the truce,—will degenerate into indifference and disgust, almost approaching hostility, since after all the Duke's refusal to ratify the truce granted to him by the States of the Empire, and which the latter considered as certain on the part of Clèves, has been greatly resented by several German princes and electors, who for their own particular interest, and considering the Duke's temerity and presumption, are now afraid that fresh troubles may spring up in Germany.*

With regard to the particular enterprize against France, you must have seen by Our last letter that the English

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ambassadors residing here [at Brussels], before proceeding to the explanation of the ways and means to be adopted in common to carry it out, wish to know what is His Imperial Majesty's intention respecting that point, and what he can and will do before the present season is over. This (the ambassadors said) was very important in order that the King, their master, might prepare for it, especially as being totally ignorant of the Emperor's plans, they themselves had made no provision thereupon, which question of the English ambassadors We answered by saying that as there was no news yet of Our brother's arrival in Italy, and that We knew not what resolution he would take after informing himself of the state of public affairs in Christendom, We were at present altogether unable to enlighten them as to his future plans and movements. This, however, We could tell them, namely, that We expected from day to day to hear of his landing in Italy, and that as soon as We received news of his arrival, We would not fail to advise the King. But that since the season was fast advancing, and We knew that both his Imperial Majesty and the king of England were fully prepared to carry on some mighty undertaking against king Francis, Our common enemy, at the time and on the day appointed by their master, We had no doubt that the thing could be done before the end of the season.

Now, it is for you, Chapuys, in view of the said statements by Us made to the English ambassadors, to call on the King and tell him that although We are uncertain as to what the Emperor's plans, after his landing in Italy, will be, yet We beg him to assist Us unconditionally in the war with France, with men or with money, according to the articles of the treaty, in order that the French may in the meantime be weakened and lose their own, whilst the Emperor's next movement is being ascertained.

The Duke of Clèves is still laying siege to Heinsberge, notwithstanding that he has already lost a good number of men through the stout defence of its inhabitants. We have sent thither Our cousin, the prince of Orange, with 3,000 horse and a considerable infantry force, with orders to encamp between the enemy and the town of Maëstricht, and give daily alarms to the enemy's camp, and in fact do the utmost harm he can to the army of Clèves.

The English ambassadors here resident have presented to Us your letter of the 12th inst. requesting Us to exempt altogether the merchants of their nation from the payment of 1% duty, according (they said) to your advice in the matter. We have ordered those of Our Privy Council to communicate with the ambassadors, and try to induce them to desist from their demand, telling them that We will not dispute for the present whether the merchants of their nation are, or are not, obliged by the commercial treaties to pay the said duty, but that taking into account that the said duty has only *been imposed temporarily in consequence of the present war, and the need in which We are, We sincerely hope that the king of England will not consent, through his refusal, to the Emperor being hampered for want of funds to carry on the war against the French, and defend his own dominions. The profit to be gained by the exemption is so small, when compared with the losses which the Emperor himself will have to sustain through its abrogation, that We cannot accede to the demands of the English merchants; besides which it is evident that the English merchants once exempted from payment, We shall be obliged to do the same with all foreigners, who, naturally enough, will claim the same privileges, the more so that the duty of 1% has only been laid on for the sake of raising money for the expenses of this war, and the better to defend this country against the common enemy. And, therefore, that We hope that the King, being sufficiently informed of the said causes, and of the circumstances under which We have acted, will allow the aforesaid tax, if it can be so called, to be levied on his subjects for a limited period of time, which We are willing to specify in common with the said merchants, giving them letters patent to that effect, and promising that at the expiration of the period fixed We will suppress the duty altogether. That in acting thus We only look out for the King's pleasure and satisfaction rather than enter into altercation with them. The ambassadors' answer was that by the letter of the commercial treaty it was evident that it was illegal for Us to levy the said tax, and that since the articles of the last treaty of closer friendship and alliance were confirmatory of those in the commercial ones, We were not authorized to make any change whatever. The King, their master (said they), had absolutely declared that he would never consent to a tax of the sort being levied on his subjects. We made no reply to that declaration, save to say that you had not informed Us that such was their master's intention, and that considering that by the exemption of the English merchants from that tax His Imperial Majesty will be a great loser, and that the English merchants will gain little, or nothing, through it, We have again requested you to remonstrate with the King as persuasively as you can, and beg him to accede to Our request, to consent to his subjects paying the aforesaid duty, at least during one year, owing to the above considerations, and others which you (Chapuys) have from time to time laid before his Privy Council. We beg you to advise Us of the King's answer to this Our request, intending, as We intend, to levy that tax anyhow. Should, however, any acrimony or misunderstanding arise therefrom, We beg you to let Us know as soon as possible, for if the King of England still persists in his refusal, and wants Us to revoke Our ordinance as far as his subjects are concerned, it would be equitable and just that he himself should relieve Ours from the payment*

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of the many taxes which he and his predecessors on the throne have imposed ever since the year 1445, inasmuch as by the commercial treaty of the year 1520, confirmatory of those of the years 1404 and 1415, it is stipulated that the inhabitants of these Low Countries shall pay more taxes than those stipulated in the treaty of 1445, since which time the English have, as it is known, imposed duties on several articles not mentioned in preceding treaties, and which they have exacted from the subjects of these provinces under Our government, in defiance of and contravention to the treaties on the intercourse of trade. We have not yet made use of this last argument in Our discussion with the English ambassadors, because We are waiting to hear what the King will answer to Our repeated requests, and what his final resolution will be with regard to the said duty of 1%.

Whilst this letter was being written, a despatch has been received from Count Du Rœulx, inclosing a letter from the captain of Guisnes (Wallop) to him, saying that he has orders from the King, his master, to the effect that after the landing at Calais of the 2,500 archers, and 200 horse whom the King is about to send over, he is to help and assist the said count Du Rœulx in resisting the French, should these latter invade these countries by the frontiers, close to the English possessions [in Picardy], or in case of the said Du Rœulx entering the Boulonnaix (district of Boulogne-sur-mer) with a view to batter and demolish the small castles (chatellets) *of that district, and laying waste the fields in the immediate neighbourhood thereof; so that in point of fact the orders sent to the captain of Guisnes seem to be conditional. We would not omit the mention of this that you may try and see if you can have the orders altered.**

French. Original draft, entirely ciphered. pp. 4.

29 May. **146.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Madame,"—Since my last of the 20th inst.,† Your Majesty's letter of the 22nd has come to hand, together with the Instructions thereto appended, which, having been shewn by me to this king, and to his privy councillors, have been found good and correct. Nothing in them has been added to or

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* "En escripvant cestes nous avons reçeu lettres du conte de Rœulx, avec une lettre à lui escripte par le capitaine de Guysnes, qui luy mande avoir charge du roy, son maistre, apres que les ii^{m}v^{c} archiers et ii^{c} chevaulx, que le dict s^{r} roy doibt envoyer par de la, seront arrivez, de assister avecq içeulx le dit conte de Rœulx pour resister contre les franchois, si faisoient envasion contre les pays de par decha es frontieres voisines au pays dEngles (*sic*) en cas que le dit de Rœulx vuelle (*veuille*) perachever de abatre les chastellez et detruire les villaiges du Boulenoix. De sorte que lordonnance que le dit capitaine a est entierement condicionelle, dont navons voulu laisser vous advertir afin que regardiez si pourez obtenir que le dit capitaine ayt aultre ordonnance."

† *See* above, No. 141, p. 334. Mary's letter of the 22nd is under No. 143. *See* above, p. 341.

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retrenched by the King, save what Your Majesty will see by the annexed copy of the note I myself have received from the Privy Council, in which, however, no important innovation or change has, as far as I can see, been introduced. The privy councillors, nevertheless, have supplemented the paragraph purporting "*that should the king of France offer to comply within the term of ten days with the demands of the allies, the following words tender sufficient pledge and guarantee that he will do so within the specified time,*" which addition after all does not seem to me an important one, inasmuch as matters, in my opinion, are not sufficiently advanced to render it necessary, much less indispensable, to add such a clause.*

The King was glad to hear that Your Majesty is of the same opinion as himself respecting the heralds; they ought to refer mutually one to the other in their joint intimation to king Francis, avowing and approving reciprocally whatever either of them may say and declare on the subject. I dare say that Toison d'Or is by this time in Calais, but I must say also that his delay in starting for that place has been very unpleasing to this king, who had immediately sent thither Garter, his chief king-at-arms. Should Toison d'Or not yet have taken his departure, it will please Your Majesty to give orders that he may hasten to Calais as quickly as possible.

If Your Majesty wishes to know what passed lately between the King and myself on the subject of the undertaking against France this year, I beg Your Majesty to believe that I have not exceeded in the least Mr. de Granvelle's Instructions. On the contrary I have followed them most strictly, and it never crossed my mind to say the things which the King's ambassadors have related to Your Majesty. True is it that treating of this affair with the King and his privy councillors, I happened to suggest among other ideas of my own that once the invasion in common of French territory is decided upon, I had no doubt that the Emperor would consult the King and ask his advice respecting the place of the French frontier whereat the blow is to be struck.† Neither on this suggestion of mine, nor on any other I may have made in conversation with the King, can the report of his ambassadors rest when they said to You that the propositions originated entirely with me, and that I supposed the Emperor would approve of them, and much less that I thought he would have soon an opportunity at hand to commence war on that side. Your

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* It is quite clear, though Chapuys does not positively say so, that the amended Instructions are those given to Mons. de Phallaix, *alias* Toison d'Or, which most probably were prepared in Flanders.

† "Bien ai-je dict parlant de moij (*sic*) mesme, comme faisoye tout le surplus, que croyez (croyois) que venant en termes de la commune invasion sa ma^{te} useroit du conseil et advis du dict sieur roy touchant le lieu par ou il seroit bon dentrer."

Majesty knows too well the cause which gave rise to such an incident. It is no other than the King's disinclination to commence hostilities this year, which disinclination I have suspected ever since the 18th inst., when I wrote about the want of goodwill on this particular,* though I must say that all the time both the King and his privy councillors wish to make it appear that they are quite ready, and that it will not be their fault if the invasion of France does not take place this year. For on my remonstrating with them a few days ago upon their delay in not having yet thought of laying in stores of provisions, they answered me that they had already stored in casks no less than one thousand quarters of wheat, and four thousand more [of barley] for brewing beer. As to meat, they fancy that they will not, perhaps, be able, to get at home the quantity that is wanted, but hope that once in France they will procure it in the enemy's territory. Regarding waggons and transports for the carriage of victuals across the Channel, or by land, the King has given special orders to his ambassadors near Your Majesty to ascertain what assistance he can get from that country; but when I told them that the horses wanted for the waggons and so forth ought to have been applied for long ago, as much time would be required to collect them, they became perplexed and did not know what to answer, even when I had told them that in any case they must look out for them elsewhere, for Your Majesty had none to spare, the Emperor wanting them to remount his men-at-arms and light cavalry. The councillors ended by telling me that it did not matter, for after all, if they were in want of horses, they would always have the means of procuring them. I really believe that what makes them so cool in the matter is their having no news of the Emperor's departure from Spain at this advanced season of the year.†

Owing to a slight indisposition on Corpus Christi day, the day fixed for swearing to the treaty, the ceremony was postponed until last Sunday,‡ on which day the whole was accomplished with the usual solemnities and forms as Your Majesty will see by the papers and documents that will go by next post, some of which are still in the hands of the King's secretaries.

After the oath I presented Your Majesty's letter in my credence to the King, who was pleased with it. The King said to me, with a deep sigh, that it was a wonder that no news had yet come of the Emperor's departure from Barcelona; that the season was already so far advanced that it would be very difficult to prepare for the concerted undertaking against France; that the enterprise against Montreuil, of which I had spoken to him months ago, seemed to him more feasible, and at the same time very important, but that great vigilance and secrecy were required; as to himself he would be awake and watchful. He then said to me that he had news that Mons. de Vendosme (Vendôme) was at Montreuil with a considerable force, and was waiting for more men, and that king Francis had affirmed and sworn that he would not withdraw from Arthois until he had conquered the whole of it. Such obstinate resolution, the King observed, might prove to be the cause of King Francis' ruin, inasmuch as should he remain long in that county he would be easily defeated; for, said he, provided the Emperor's army was not engaged elsewhere he (the King) might join his forces to those of the latter in any number that might seem good,* and both fall suddenly upon the French. On this occasion the King again asked me to write to Your Majesty and inquire whether it would not be possible to prorogue the truce with the duke of Clèves, who, having once lost the assistance of France, would soon be reduced to obedience. As to the Scotch, perceiving that Francis was abandoned by his friends and allies, they would soon become awake to a sense of their political interests, whilst king Francis himself would lose their support.

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* *See* No. 137, p. 329, but the ambassador's letter is dated the 17th, not the 18th.

† "Et croys bien que lune des causes et la principale aussi avecque daultres que les refroydy[ssent] est la tardance du passaige de sa ma^{te} considerant lavancement de la saison."

‡ "Pour me trouver indispostz (indispose) le jour du Saint Sacrement le jurement se dilatast jusques à dimanche dernier."

As far as I can hear from the King's privy councillors, the affairs of Scotland are at present on a very favourable footing as regards England. Four of the ambassadors [who came here last April] are still in London, treated with great consideration. The fifth, that is George Douglas, the brother of the earl [of Angus] returned quickly to Scotland, and is expected to be back soon with some good resolutions favourable to the King.†

The duke Philip, on pretence of offering his personal services to the King, if he should stand in need of them, has lately arrived and renewed the application he once made for the hand of the Princess, giving it also to be understood, among other things, that he has a promise from the Lutheran League that upon the death of the Palatine Elector he will be preferred to his uncle, the duke Frederic, and to Otto Henric, his own elder brother. All this, however, has been of very little use to him, and he has gone away without obtaining what he wished for, though with a present from this king amounting to 2,000 crs.‡

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* "Car il seroit ayse de deferre (aisé à defaire) au dit cartier pourveu mesmes que les gens de guerre de sa ma^{te} ne fussent occupez ailleurs, avec lesquels se joindroient les siens en tel nombre que bon sembleroit."

† "Les quatre ambassadeurs qui vinrent içy en . . . . y sont encoires. Le v^e, à sçavoir George Douglaz, frere du conte, est retourne en diligence au dit Escosse, et sera içy en brief avec quelque bonne resoulution."

‡ "Le duc Philippe, soubz umbre de presenter sa personne et gens de guerre au service de ce roy en cas de necessité, venant içy pour reprendre les anciennes du marriaige avec la princesse, donnant entre aultres choses à entendre quil avoit promesse de la ligue lutherienne que en cas de trespas de lelecteur Palatin il seroit prefere au duc Fredericque, son oncle, et à Otto Henrique (*sic*) son hayne (aisné) frere, mais tout cela peu luy a servy, et sen est alle presente de la valeur de deux mille escuz."

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With regard to the duty of 1°/₀, I have tried all I could to persuade these privy councillors that it is a necessity with which they must put up, and that it is not in the least onerous to the English manufacturers and merchants, since, after all, it is the inhabitants of those Low Countries who will have to pay the duty. But no, they will not agree to it; and they have again requested me to write to Your Majesty and propose that, instead of the duty, You be pleased to accept the gift which these merchants are prepared to offer.

As I am continually writing to Your Majesty, and in addition to that the English ambassadors, now residing near Your Majesty, cannot fail to report home, Your Majesty will be able to judge if their despatches are communicated to me or not. According to that, Your Majesty may write in reciprocal terms to me.—London, 29th of May 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the queen of Hungary, Regent in Flanders and the Low Countries."

French. Original. pp. 3.

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n. d. **143.** [KING HENRY'S PRIVY COUNCIL to the ENGLISH AMBASSADORS in the Low Countries.]

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 11.

The following questions are to be addressed as soon as possible to Mons. du Rœulx:—

1stly. To know if the Emperor's ambassador in England has written home in conformity with what he himself said to His Majesty, the king of England, respecting the enterprize against France, and whether the said Imperial ambassador has, or has not, received an answer from the Emperor, and if so, what that answer has been. To ascertain, at the same time, whether His Imperial Majesty has, or has not, since alluded in some manner to the matter in question.

2ndly. To ascertain whether the said Imperial ambassador is of opinion that the enterprize can be carried out with some chance of success; and, in case of its taking effect, how many foot and horse can be collected [in Flanders] and be got ready within two or three days' time, without making much noise and stir about it.

3rdly. How many pieces of ordnance, both for siege and for defence of a town taken from the enemy, can be furnished by that country, and for how long.

4thly. What carriage can be prepared and made ready, should the enterprize take effect, for the transport of ammunition and provisions; in which way and by what means we (the English) shall get what is requisite for such an expedition; with what number of horse and foot the dowager queen of Hungary can help our operations in the field, as well as escort the said waggons of provision and ammunition.

5thly. In case of the expedition taking place, in what part or road [of Picardy] the junction of the two armies is to be

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effected, that both armies may march together for greater security; what number of infantry soldiers is wanted to accompany and escort the waggons as well as the ordnance; and whether Flanders will furnish us with sufficient carriage for our wants.

6thly. It is also important to know whether the Queen will have provisions in store enough to feed entirely both camps, hers and our own, for it must be considered that out of the pale of our fortresses we (the English) can procure nothing but what is absolutely required for the food of our own garrisons, and the considerable force we shall have to keep beyond the Channel.

7thly. In case of the town [of Montreuil ?] being taken by force of arms, how the garrison that may be left inside is to be supplied with provisions; for that town, being within the enemy's country, a considerable force of men-at-arms (*gendarmerie*) will be required to escort the waggons of ammunition, provisions, and so forth.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.*

n. d. **144.** MONS. DU RŒULX' ANSWER.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

Mr. du Rœulx' answer to the above interrogatory:—

Respecting the first point, whether the Imperial ambassador in England has or has not informed the Emperor, the ambassador has repeatedly assured me [du Rœulx] that he has written to Spain about it and reported the conversation we have had together, as well as all that passed between him and the king of England when they spoke on the subject.

As to whether the enterprize can or cannot be easily carried out, I think that it can, and also that the town taken may be easily defended from the enemy, provided secrecy be kept and diligence displayed, without which no enterprize of the kind can possibly succeed. The success of all warlike enterprizes depends not so much on men themselves as on good fortune, yet people experienced in warfare can easily conjecture whether a military undertaking is likely to succeed or not, and my opinion of this one is that it can.

With regard to the ordnance, I cannot positively answer the question, because I do not know what agreement the Emperor and the king of England will come to.

As far as the frontier of Flanders and Arthois (Artois) are concerned, I am sure that in four or five days' time I could procure 20 pieces of light artillery for the field.

As to cavalry, I can dispose of and have ready in about eight or ten days' time at the most between 700 and 800

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* This paper has no heading, and is undated. It was most likely forwarded by the English ambassador in Brussels to the president of the Council in the Low Countries, some time before the expedition of the combined armies against Montreuil.

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horse. Waggons may also be found and procured for a tolerably large army.

Likewise, within a week, 6,000 infantry from Flanders and Arthois.

If a junction is to be effected on any spot of the frontier of France, Guisnes is by far preferable to any other for the meeting of the two camps. Fiennes ought at once be taken, whilst our army concentrates at Tournehem.

From Montreuil, if taken, which seems to me easy enough, unless a considerable army be sent for its defence, provisions may be sent by way of St. Omer, Tournehem, and La Montoire.

To prevent the French from collecting in time too large a force in that locality, it would be advisable to lay waste all the Bouillonais, as well as the country between Montreuil and Abbeville, take Sainct Ricquier, a town of no consequence at all, and raze it to the ground.

It would also be advisable to lay waste the baillage (*bailiwick*) of Hesdin, on the side of France, for fear of that strong place preventing us from revictualling in the adjoining district, otherwise we should have to keep and defend all the villages in that bailiwick if we are to carry away provisions.

In the same manner one good league of country round Theue ought to be completely wasted to prevent the French from keeping much cavalry there.

For the safe carriage of provisions and ammunition coming from the said St. Omer, the castles of La Motte, Acquen, Acquenbrount, Francquemberghe, Renty, Fressin, and my own of Coules, in case I can recover it from the French, of which I have good hope, may be of use, as they can help and assist the waggons. All the above-mentioned villages are equidistant one from the other, about one hour's journey on horseback, except the latter, which is two leagues from Montreuil.

As to enlisting some companies (*ensaignes*) of German infantry, it would be necessary to know first from the Queen Regent whether the Emperor can spare any of those he has in the duchy of Brabant or in the Luxemburg, and in case he cannot, see how they can be procured in Germany.

Should the Emperor and the king of England decide to carry on the proposed undertaking, or any other, against France, and should His Imperial Majesty give me the command of his army in these Low Countries, I hope to conduct myself to his satisfaction and that of his allies and friends, the king of England being the principal of them.

As to the question asked by the captain (governor) of Guisnes (Wallop), namely, whether in case of king Francis, now in the Luxemburg, turning his forces on this side [of Flanders] the men-at-arms (*gendarmerie*) serving in Brabant could come down here and effect their junction

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with us and the English, my answer is that I see no difficulty as to that, for the Queen Regent has those men for her service wherever it may be required, and if king Francis withdraws his forces from that quarter they are no longer wanted there.

All the above answers to the interrogatory received are of course given subject to the Emperor's and the Queen Regent's correction, for let it be understood that without their permission I can say or absolutely do nothing in the matter.

French. Original. pp. 2.

30 May. **145.** The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

" Venerable, chier et feal,"—At Our landing at this port We received your despatches of the 2nd, 9th, and 18th ult., to which, for the present, We shall not return a full answer, this present being only intended to apprize you of Our arrival [in Genoa], which took place on the 20th inst., after five and twenty days passed at sea owing to contrary winds, without, however, any other inconvenience or danger to Our person.* We propose to leave next Saturday, the 2nd of June, and go straight to Mantua without stopping at any place whatever on the road, except perhaps two or three days, and no more, at Cremona, there to hold a conference with the Pope. Thence We will go to Trent, having first ordered Mr. de Granvelle to meet Us at Mantua, to confer with him, and will then take Our final determination on all matters concerning Our march to Flanders and the Low Countries. This being done, We will then inform you of Our future movements and of what We intend to do. In the meantime We have caused these few words to be written to you that you may use the information as you may deem fit and convenient.—Jennes (Genoa), 30 of May 1543.

French. Original. p. 1.

1 June. **146.** Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

" Madame,"—These privy councillors having requested and urged me to dispatch in all haste this present courier with the enclosed letter for the English ambassadors at that court —the letter itself referring to the matter contained in one of the councillors' to me,† also enclosed—I shall be brief, delaying to answer Your Majesty's own of the 18th [of May] until

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* The Emperor sailed from Barcelona on the 1st of May. After touching at Palamos, where he stayed till the 12th, and spending the day at Rosas, to inspect the fortifications of that place, he went to Cadaques on the 18th. After remaining a couple of hours before Marseilles, he sailed for Savona, whereat he landed on the 24th, Corpus Christi Day. Again taking to his galley, he arrived at Genoa on the 25th. There he remained until the 2nd according to *Vandenesse's Itinerary,* published by Bradford in English, and by Gachard in its original French.

† *See* above, No. 143, p. 356.

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the departure of Mr. de Chantonnay, which I hope will take place soon, with a very favorable answer on the part of this king; for, if I am to judge from the handsome and very courteous manner in which the said ambassador has been received, and the satisfaction and joy which the King has manifested at his having been sent in preference to any other —to which may be added that he certainly has most discreetly and wisely fulfilled his commission, and deeply impressed the King with the importance of the affair—I have no doubt, I repeat, that the answer will be favorable, and Your Majesty's wishes accomplished. Indeed the King has been so much pleased with the Emperor and with Your Majesty for having sent to him such an ambassador as Mr. de Chantonnay* that, on his very arrival in this kingdom, one point was gained, which might otherwise have proved difficult, namely, that the very man † who started so many difficulties should not have the command of the English forces on the opposite side of the Channel; but that the good captain of Guisnes (Wallop), the very officer proposed by me, and one, I am sure, as devoted to Your Majesty's service as Mr. du Rœulx himself, should be appointed. In fact, this king's ministers are already attending to the embarcation of troops, and calculate that in about a week's time the whole force will be landed at Calais.

I expect that this king will shortly help the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) with forty or fifty thousand crs.; at least, such is the information just received from one of the most influential privy councillors, although I will not believe it until I see the money out of the Royal treasury being remitted to Augsburg.

Owing to the absence from the town of the notary or clerk, in whose hand the attested instrument of the oath was, I have been unable to remit it sooner. The remaining documents Mr. de Chantonnay will take with him when he goes.

The courier sent by the French ambassador to his master, conveying the declaration and intimation of war on the part of England, returned yesterday, the 31st of May. It appears that king Francis asks for the prolongation of the term in order to be able to reply to the various demands specified in the said declaration.

Whilst writing the above, the King's privy councillors have sent me a further message requesting me to hasten the departure of this courier in order to beg Your Majesty not to delay the provision and delivery of the "*materiel*" which they want, and I have reasons to believe that the person

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* The ambassador, that is, Thomas Perrenot, sieur de Chantonnay, was the second son of Nicolas; Antoine, the bishop of Arras, and afterwards cardinal Granvelle, was the eldest. *See* above.

† Sir Thomas Cheyne. *See* above.

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deputed by this king to receive the same will only ask for, and take, what is absolutely necessary for the undertaking.—London, June 1, 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 2.

3 June. **147.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—For want of a courier to take this my letter, as well as the papers herein enclosed for Thoison d'Or, the herald—the one I had engaged being unable to cross over to Dover, and having returned after four days' journey—I have been obliged to dispatch in haste the present express messenger. That will serve me as an excuse for not answering Your Majesty's letter of the 27th ult. as fully as I might otherwise have wished, for time presses and Thoison d'Or must anyhow get his papers, and be instructed as to what he is to do. My next letter will be longer and fuller.

With regard to my taking care *that this king do expressly declare himself against the duke of Clèves, I must say that lately at Anton Court (Hampton Court) these privy councillors were of opinion that I had better not speak to the King about it, but wait until the challenge* (défiance) *and declaration of war was made, and matters looked a little more stirring and earnest. That, they said, would be the proper time and opportunity to solicit the article relating to the Duke* [*of Clèves*], *and two more, namely, that of the duke of Holstein, and that of the assistance against the Turk. I thought then that I ought to conform with the councillors' advice, as I have done, for after all, if the letter of Art. VI. of the treaty is to be observed, the king of England is not bound to make the required declaration unless one of the princes above named invades, or causes to be invaded, the dominions or territories of one of the contracting parties, or otherwise gives favor or assistance to the invaders.*

Respecting the duke of Clèves' agent resident here, the King has not sent him back, as reported, to solicit that a truce be re-made between the Emperor and him; what the King has done is simply to send him back to remonstrate against the non-observance of that truce, and declare to his master, the Duke, that should he persist in his rebellion against His Imperial Majesty, he (*the King*) *will consider him as his enemy. This is actually the message which the agent has received through the privy councillors.*

As to persuading this king to afford assistance to the Emperor in men or money in case of his being unable to take part in the undertaking against France, I will do my best to forward Your Majesty's wishes in that respect, but, in my opinion, it is not yet time to make such an application, for the whole affair might be spoilt through it. Instead of

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that, I think it would be more opportune, under present circumstances, to induce him to attempt Montreuil by himself.[*]

The governor of Guisnes (Sir John Wallop), may have added the condition mentioned in Your Majesty's letter, in order to feel and ascertain whether Mr. du Rœulx agrees or not to it; but, as these privy councillors give me to understand that the orders he (the governor) had received from this king are absolutely to assist "in case of defence," I have not considered it necessary to ask for an explanation on that point, because once the challenge and intimation of war made, the King's men will be ready to join for the mutual defence as well as for the offence.[†]

With regard to the duty of 1°/o, I have made, and am still making, fresh representations, all the time defending the measure as convenient and necessary, and by no means injurious to the English merchants. Among other arguments of mine, one has been, and is still, that there is no treaty or convention between two parties or nations which can legally prevent one of them from levying taxes (*imposts*) or duties at a moment of extreme national emergency, in which case it would be always allowable to procure money anyhow,[‡] wherever it could be found; that they ought to consider and bear in mind that the Emperor had lately relieved the English from the duty of 2 °/o upon all goods landed at Cadiz from England. *And whereas these privy councillors keep telling me that they do not object so much to the payment of the duty in question as they do to the declaration and manifestation of goods [before the custom house officers] which their merchants will be obliged to make, I have told them that since they will have to submit and pay in the end, they ought to accept the following proposition as the utmost the Emperor can grant them, if regard be had to his own interest, to that of the Low Countries and of the English nation also, namely, that the duty be levied during one whole year, at the expiration of which the English will be repaid the sum disbursed, deducting, however, from it the money now offered as a gift, whatever its amount may be. This expedient seems to me, under correction, the most equitable and at the same time most convenient that could be thought of under present circumstances, and I think ought to be adopted*

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[*] "Quant à persuader à dit sieur Roy de donner assistance à Sa M^{te} en gens ou argent, en cas quil ne peust entendre en la generale emprinse, j'auray soing de y faire tenir la main de tout mon pouvoir; mais ce nest encores temps den tenir propos, qui ne vouldroit tout y gaster, et au deffault de ça, il ne sera mal besoingne luy persuader lemprinse de Montreuil."

[†] "Mais à ce que mont donne à entendre ceulx cy, absolument luy est commande dassister le dit sieur Roy en cas de deffense." Such is the reading in the deciphering; but I suppose that the words *du dit sieur Roy* are badly placed in the paragraph, and that the correct reading ought to be: "Mais à ce que m'ont donne à entendre ceulx-çy, ce que luy a esté commandé de la part du dit sieur Roy absolument est d'assister en cas de deffense. Et ne m'a semblé dy faire aultre instance pour aultant qu'estant faict la desfiement, les gens du dit sieur Roy seront prestz à soy joindre pour deffense et offense."

[‡] "Par *fas* ou par *nephas*" is the expression used.

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to solve the present difficulty. I have again submitted this plan of mine to the privy councillors, and am in hopes that to-morrow, or after, an answer will come from them. However that may be, I shall not fail to let Your Majesty know the result as soon as possible.

For the present I have no other news to communicate, save that the French ambassador went yesterday to Court to complain that his couriers were detained at Dover. The only answer he got to his complaint was that he must have patience, and wait still for a fortnight.

Four or five of the principal lords of Ireland, accompanied by some bishops of their own nation, have arrived here, and this very morning have taken the oath of fealty and homage to the King.—London, 3 June 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 2.

6 June. **148.** The King of the Romans' Instructions to his Inter-nuncio Tranquillus Andronicus.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Ferdinand, king of the Romans, &c.,"—What you, Our honourable, learned, faithful, and beloved secretary, Tranquillus Andronicus, Our inter-nuncio, whom We now send to the court of the most serene prince Henry, king of England and France, &c., lord of Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Our dearest brother and relative, are to do and say in England, is as follows:—

Immediately after your landing in England, wherever the King holds his court, you shall call on the resident ambassador of Our brother the Emperor, and with his advice and co-operation ask for an audience from the King. This being obtained, you will go to the King's palace alone by yourself, or in company with your colleague the Imperial ambassador (as both of you may think proper and convenient), and when in the Royal presence, will exhibit your credentials, as well as Our own particular letter to the King. After assuring the King of Our constant love and affection for his Royal person, as well as of the unalterable friendship of Our brother the Emperor, you will proceed with due reverence and in appropriate terms to explain the purpose and object of your mission as follows:—

You will tell him at once that you are sent by Us for the express purpose of asking his powerful and prompt aid and assistance against the Infidel Turk. You will explain to him how powerful and strong Christendom's most inveterate enemy is, and declare that should he be able to get possession of Buda and Pesth, there is no saying in what danger Our own patrimonial dominions, and indeed the whole of Christian Europe, would inevitably be placed. For if the news We have from the Levant be authentic—and We are afraid it is so—Solyman in person will presently come down upon Hungary

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at the head of an innumerable host, and after reducing that part of the country, which still acknowledges Our rule, will push on towards Vienna and penetrate into Germany, burn the crops, devastate the country, put the inhabitants to the sword, and extinguish if he can the very name of Christian.

You will represent to him in Our name that, exhausted and fatigued as Our subjects, nay, the whole of Germany, have been by past wars, they are scarcely in a condition to contend efficiently with the Turk. That the States of the Empire on this emergency have already voted a considerable sum of money and a large contingent of men to help Us in the impending war; that We have no doubt that all Christian powers will do the same, and that it is for him, who bears the title of Defender of the Faith, to lead the way and give the example.

Should you and your colleague, the Imperial ambassador, perceive that the King is inclined to help Us in Our present critical situation, and willing to contribute with a body of men, you will tell him that as the season is so far advanced, and the distance so great, his succour in men would hardly arrive in time to be of use, and that it would be more convenient for Us if his help should consist of money.

This being obtained, Our inter-nuncio will take care that the sum of money which the king of England may thus grant Us by way of help and assistance against the Turk be, by him or his ministers, sent in bills of exchange upon some town of Germany where Our own treasurers, or bankers deputed to that effect, may receive it, &c.[*]—Prague, 6 June 1543.

Latin. Original draft, pp. 11.

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6 June. **149.** The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—The continual reports from the French frontier of the concentration and massing of troops which by king Francis' order is being made at Noyon and its neighbourhood for the purpose of invading these countries under Our government, compel Us to request the king of England to give Us assistance and help according to Article VII. of the treaty of closer friendship and alliance. The reports that come to Us from various parts of France all agree that the King is journeying towards La Fere[†] and Gouffy, where he is actually collecting an army of upwards of 30,000 foot and 8,000 horse, besides 40 pieces of ordnance, with the ammunition and provisions necessary for such a large

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[*] "Pecuniario vero subsidio obtento internuntius noster curet ut istius modi pecuniarum suma, quam nobis daturus est ipse rex Angliæ, per cambium seu commutationem sub levi tamen et tolerabili fenore in aliqua Germaniæ civitate quantocies deponatur, nobisque deinde sine cunctatione et exceptione aliqua vel iis personis quas derignavimus fideliter numeretur."

[†] "Car selon les rappors que avons de divers costes le roy de France qui est vers La Fere et Couffy (*sic*) a prestz plus di xxx^{m} hommes de pied et viii^{m} chevaulx avecq xl. grosses pieces dartillerie et aultres munitions et equippaiges."

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force, and that he is determined to invade personally these countries under Our government, and do therein as much mischief as he possibly can before the arrival of His Imperial Majesty. These news, We have no doubt, the King of England must have already received from other quarters, and therefore, though We have refrained until now from applying to him for help and assistance, yet, considering the great stress in which We are placed, and the inconveniences that might result from Our silence, We have now changed Our opinion, and decided to ask for help. You, Chapuys, shall go and tell him the great military preparations the king of France is making, and how his army of 10,000 men, exclusive of foreigners, is ready to take the field, and therefore that We request his aid and assistance according to the letter of the treaty between him and the Emperor, Our lord and brother. Though We have no doubt that the King of England will comply with Our request, it is for you to employ all the arguments and persuasions you may think of to persuade him to grant Us the said assistance, at the same time assuring him that the Emperor, who is already on the road to come to these parts, will see with singular pleasure that during his absence the king of England has taken the task of resisting the progress of the common enemy. You will also inform the King, that although by one of the conditions of the treaty We are empowered to apply for succour of money instead of men, yet such is Our trust in him, and Our conviction that he looks to the affairs of these countries under Our government with no less care and attention than if they were his own, and also in order that the soldiers of these parts should make acquaintance with and imitate the English, and be in future in closer intelligence and friendship with them, We have decided not to ask him for money, but for men only, all, or at least the greater part of them, to be foot *(piétons)*.

There are two reasons more for Us to desire the help to be in English men rather than English money; one is, the greater satisfaction the King and his subjects will receive thereby; the other, that if the treaty is carefully examined, it will be found that he is bound to supply men rather than money.

If the King, as We hope, shows a desire to grant the said assistance, you (Chapuys) will beg him in Our name to afford it as soon as possible, since the enemy, as above stated, is ready, and will do his utmost to invade these countries under Our charge before the arrival of the English. The King, therefore, is not to stop at the period of time specified in the treaty, for, after all, the four months of which the article speaks will not begin to run until the men he is sending over have set their foot in these Low Countries.

According to the calculations made here, 700 crs. of 40 sols. each per day are sufficient for the pay of 7,000 infantry or 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse, that of the captains and

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“*doubles payes*” all included.* If whilst treating of this with the King’s ministers, another and a different calculation should be made, you will take care to let Us know.

Even if the enemy had not yet penetrated into Our territory to lay siege to some town or other, or encamp somewhere, yet considering the need in which We are of help and assistance, and that the enemy is close upon Our frontier, and may invade it whenever he likes, We hope that the King will not delay the promised succour, especially during the Emperor’s absence, when it is most needed. You will tell the King that in demanding his succour at the present time—should there be no urgent cause for such a demand—the Emperor and We consider Ourselves obliged by the treaty to refund all the money the King may have spent in the preparation of the said succour in men, and We earnestly recommend you to do your best to induce the King to assist Us as soon as possible.

We have no news of Toison d’Or, who, We hope, has arrived in Calais before that King’s herald, and are glad that the instruction forwarded to him has met with the King’s approval, and that the amendments introduced therein by Us have passed without difficulty as unimportant, as in effect they are. But We wish to know what alterations, if any, have been made in the instructions of Garter, that king’s chief herald, about whom you say nothing in your letter of the 29th ult.,† just received.

As to the King’s ambassadors residing here with Us urging that on being asked as to where and by which frontier the Emperor intended to invade France, your answer was “*wherever the king of England considers it most convenient*,” We must observe that if the King understood your words as conveying absolutely that meaning, he must have taken for an obligatory engagement what was only meant as a “*courtoisie*.” That voluntary error on the part of the King or his ministers you will take care to correct when the time comes. We will do the same here with the English ambassadors, from whom, however, We have not yet heard that their master really intends, and is ready, to invade France next season.

The King, as We see, considers it very prudent and convenient, in order to resist more efficiently the attack of the French, that a truce should be made with the duke of Clèves, in order that all the forces of the allies should take the field. We have done all that was in Our power to attain that object, but such is the Duke’s obstinacy that We do not see how We can treat with him, or take pledges for the observance of a truce, which most likely he would break as soon as he found it profitable or convenient. That We could never do without harm to Our reputation, and, therefore, it is very important for the success of the Emperor's affairs that the king of England should at once declare himself to be the Duke's enemy according to the letter of the treaty.

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* “Et selon la calculation que on a faict icy les vii^{c} escus de xl. sols. piece par jour debvroient sallarier vii^{m} pietons ou v^{m} hommes de pied et M. chevaulx y compris le traictement des capitaines et doubles payes.”

† *See* above, No. 147 p. 361.

Our letter of the 27th ult. must have informed you of the great pressure which the English ambassadors have put upon Us respecting the exemption of their merchants from the duty of one per cent., and the answer We have made to their pressing request, without their having spoken or said anything on their side with regard to the gift promised by the parties to be exempted. We, therefore, order you to speak to the King, and request him to consent to the English merchants paying that duty in the manner described in Our said letter of the 27th.

The sieur de Grantvelle has written to Us that the Pope is resenting much the conclusion of the treaty lately made between the Emperor and the king of England.

P.S. [added in Her Majesty's hand].—* We beg you to do your best to obtain from that king the succour applied for. We are now in great need of it, owing to the enemy assailing Us on every side. At any rate let Us have news as often as you can, that We may know as soon as possible if We are to expect, and at what time, help from that country.—6 June 1543.

French. Original draft. pp. 3.

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7 June. **150.** MR. D'ASPREMONT to KING FRANCIS.

S. E. L. 806., f. 67.
B. M. *Add.* 2859 f. 184.

"Sire,"—Not being able to obtain from the King, Your brother, free passage for my couriers, I am literally obliged to have recourse to strangers, and even those who bear the name of Your enemies,† if I am to inform You and report on affairs connected with the Royal service. A drawing (*dessaing*) of that wretch Lartigue's, intended for the treacherous purpose of letting these English know the weak points of our coast, whereat most harm can be done, having accidentally fallen into my hands, I could not do less than send Your Most Christian Majesty a copy of it, that You may, in case of there being any truth in that man's report, and that the places are really so defenceless and accessible as described, give competent orders for their being put in a state of defence. I have the more hastened to forward this despatch, as well as the man's original paper—of the reception of which I should like to be advised—that I doubt whether these people are not planning now some secret attack upon the coast of France. Indeed, I believe that trusting more to surprise than to

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* The postscript seems to be holograph.

† "Je suis contrainct [h]azarder les pacquestz entre les mains des estrangiers, et qui mesmement portent le nom de vos enemys."

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industry or force, they will attempt to make some invasion or other, though, to say the truth, they have a much better opinion of themselves in military affairs than they really deserve.

The King left last Monday for Harwich, one of the English ports, where the whole of his fleets (*armée de mer*) is to assemble and then put out to sea, according to his commands. After that the King will return to this city. The duke Philip of Bavaria went away three days ago, in disgust, as they say. Count Bernardino di Sanct Bonifacio and another Italian captain have obtained leave to return home; the former having received from the king of England 200 crs. and the latter only 100.—London, 7 June 1543.

Signed: "Daspremont."

French. Original. p. 1.

n. d. **151.** LARTIGUE'S REPORT.

S. E., L. 806, f. 68.

It seems to me that it will be advantageous to go straight to the *rade* of the Conquest (Conquet), and there cast anchor and land, and take the said Conquest (Conquet) and the abbey of Sainct Malie (St. Malo), if possible. According as the weather may be, the landing might be effected at Blanc Sablon (Blanc Sablons), or at Premanquest. The Conquest and St. Malie (Malo) once taken, the army might march upon Brest and lay siege to it, the castle of which is six leagues distant from Conquest, whilst the fleet might sail to Crandon, in the bay (*rade*) of Berteaulx. After that the land force will be able to enter the abbey of Brest, and take up a position at the Old Crandon. It will be necessary to have at hand a good number of small barges for the purpose of landing men, provisions, and ammunition, also a considerable body of pioneers, for in Bretagne (Brittany) ditches and hedges (*hayes*) abound, and I should think that if Brest is as badly defended as it was when Mr. de Norfoeq (the duke of Norfolk) was at Morles (Morlaix) * it will be easy to take possession of it. Within the park of the abbey of Brest are three rivers, one of which passes by Landernau, a nice little town four leagues from Brest, the river itself forming there a sort of harbour, where large ships may commodiously anchor, though the castle with its artillery might perhaps defend the entrance to it. Another river is that which comes from Dufou and Doullens, two considerable villages [of Brittany]. The third river runs towards Landernau † and Chasteaulong, where there is a very commodious harbour (*fort bon lieu*) for a good number of large ships. The castle of Brest could not prevent the ships from anchoring in the three above-mentioned rivers, for it is seven leagues from [Du] Fou, as many from Chasteau Lin (chateau-Lin), and five from Doullens. From Chasteaulin to Inpercorantin (Quimper) the distance is seven leagues by land. Inpercorantin is one of the most populous towns in Bretagne, but it is not fortified, and would be easy to take provided the invading army did not stop before Brest. If, however, it pleased God that Brest was taken or that it surrendered, one could occupy in the space of a fortnight a whole province beyond the sea, and Brest itself, its capital, surrounded as it is on all sides by sea, would be almost impregnable.

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* "Quand le duc fust au Morles."

† Landerneau

The three above-named rivers, which cross the abbey of Brest, water a number of good-sized villages distant two or three leagues from each other at the most, none of which will offer any resistance, for they have no fortifications of any sort. It must also be considered that in order to defend Bretagne (Brittany) against an invasion, considerable forces and much time are required, for the country is large and has nine bishoprics, that is, Nantes and Rennes, each distant 50 leagues from Brest; St. Malo, 40; Vanens (Vannes), 30; Thoull (Dol), 40; Lautriana (Treguier), 24; St. Brion, 24; St. Paul (Pol) de Leon, 15; Inpercorantin (Quimper), 17; and that the said bishoprics can raise 8,000 men, called Les Franz-archiers et les Esleuz,* paid monthly at the rate of one hundred sous per month, which amounts to two crowns and one "teston,"† defrayed by the said bishoprics. Each man is bound to serve six weeks for the defence of his country, and after that, should the King [of France] want their services, he must pay them for their time. So all gentlemen holding noble fiefs (*qui tiennent fiefs nobles*) are bound to serve with horse and arms for the space of six weeks as above said. In this manner the nobles of the country and their retinue make up a number of 3,000 horse, more or less. Of these about 300 may be reckoned as really efficient men-at-arms, well mounted and armed; the remainder are worth little or nothing. The Bretons are not accustomed to go to war out of their own duchy, besides which they are just now discontented—first of all owing to king Francis having broken through the marriage contract of king Louis [XII.] and queen Anne [de Bretagne], by which contract it was stipulated that the second son or daughter born of their marriage should be lord and duke [of Bretagne], whereas now the Duchy has been annexed to the crown of France. This misappropriation several gentlemen of La Basse Bretagne would never acknowledge or agree to, that being the reason why some of them have been long kept in prison; besides which, the King since then has imposed upon the inhabitants the salt-tax (*gabelle*), which has been the destruction and ruin of Bretagne, and the cause of the many revolts and risings against the royal commissioners. Since the beginning of the present war king Francis has pardoned the Bretons, on condition that they deliver to him at Rouen, in Normandy, a quantity of salt within three years' time. Whence it is to be concluded that never, at any time, were the Bretons more discontented or in despair than they are at present. That is why I think that their country would now be easy to conquer, as it would be long before any help or succour could come to them from the heart of France; for the nearest force under the King's command at the present moment is upwards of 150 leagues from the Basse Bretagne. I have therefore no doubt whatever that, if undertaken with vigour and at the proper time, the conquest of that country may be effected without great difficulty, for the Bretons themselves are not people to engage in battles; perhaps, too, owing to the general discontent above alluded to, a portion of the inhabitants might, after all, be gained over on friendly terms. In case of need, I could designate the personages to whom overtures of that kind might be addressed.

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* "Les francs archers et les Esleus" is the only acceptable reading in the document, which seems original, though the copy in the B. M. (*Add.* 28,593, fol. 635) is so full of errors that it is very difficult, not to say impossible, to fix upon the true reading of some of the places mentioned. For instance, *Impercorantin*, which is said to be the see of a bishop, is undoubtedly meant for Quimper and its cathedral dedicated to St. Coreuton; as to *Lautriana*, which is also said to be a bishopric, it is probably Tregnier (Trecorcensis); St. Brion appears to be St. Brieu.

† Silver coin struck in France under the reign of Lewis XII.

There are only four strong places in the whole of the duchy of Bretagne where garrisons are kept. One is Brest, the other St. Malo; the third Nantes, and the fourth Conquernau (Concarneau). This last place would be easier to take than Brest itself, but on the other hand it would be harder to keep, and yet it might be isolated with greater facility, and also blockaded by sea much more efficiently than Brest itself. It seems to me that His Majesty, the king of England, ought to be as strong as possible on the sea, and if it were possible to attack at the same time La Rochelle and Bretagne, it would be an excellent plan, for the inhabitants of the former province are likewise very much discontented at that salt-tax of which I spoke above, as ripe for revolt as those of the Basse Bretagne, and as much incensed against the Royal commissioners; so much so that king Francis has sent for the principal inhabitants of La Rochelle, has made them come to his presence with a rope round their necks (*la corde au cou*), and has only pardoned them on condition of their taking to Rouen the 25,000 bushels (*muys*) of salt which they owe king Francis for the period of three years, which tax is so exorbitant that it will be the ruin of the people. The Rochelans are still more discontented than the Bretons, and, therefore, if a fleet appears before that port, I have no doubt that the island Dorise,* which is on the coast, may be easily taken, as well as those of Oilleron † and Brouge,‡ from which upwards of 100,000 tons of salt, a good deal of wheat, and a large quantity of wine may

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* "Lisle Dorise (de Ré?), qui est sur la coste."

† Oleron.

‡ Brouage (?) is not an island, but a small town in the neighbourhood of Marennes (Charente Inférieure).

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be got. There is no castle or fortress in the immediate neighbourhood of La Rochelle, so that I am sure the town can be carried without difficulty. If so, it can be isolated and blockaded by sea. Should the Emperor join his forces to those of the king of England, he can easily send a number of Biscayan hackbutiers from Spain. The Venetian ships now in the Thames might also be of use for the transport of troops and ammunition, as well as of provisions, for the English army. Between La Rochelle and Paris there is no castle or fortress to detain an army on its march. If necessary, I can put down in writing all the towns and villages on the road, none of which, as I say, is worthy of notice in point of arresting the progress of an enemy's army. It would be desirable to retain the services of thirty or forty seamen, Bretons or Normans, to serve as pilots; they must be chosen as soon as possible among the mariners of St. Ouen, or La Rochelle, or ———*, in which places there are no francs archers nor other military men obliged to serve without pay, but only the *arrière-ban* or reserve, nor are there either in that part of France many people fit for war.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2½.

n. d. **152.** NAMES OF STRONG PLACES in FRANCE where are CAPTAINS or GOVERNORS and "MORTES PAYES."

Wien, Imp. Arch. Varia, Engl., 4.

First of all, in Picardy.

The sieur de Biez, captain of Bollongne (Boulogne-sur-Mer).
The sieur de St. Cheuail,† captain of Ardres.
The sieur de Villebon, captain of Terouannes (*sic*).
The sieur de Camaples, captain of Montreuil.
The sieur Destrea (d'Estrées), captain and bailli of Amiens.
The sieur de Criqui (Crequi), captain of Abbeville.
The sieur de Helly (Heilli), captain of Heding (Hesdin ?).

In Normandy.

Jehan Ango, viscount and captain of Diepe (Dieppe).
The sieur de [La] Meilleraye, captain of Hableneuf (Le Havre) and of Honfleur.
Le sieur de Marbonne, captain of Can (Caen).
The count of Turnde (Tende ?), captain of Mont St. Michel.
The sieur de Trassa (?), captain of Tombeilleux.

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* The original being torn at this place, and the rest of the passage being full of faults, I am not sure of having understood its right meaning. It stands thus in the Simancas copy, which I suppose is the same which Mr. d'Aspremont procured: "et ny a point de fanczarchiers (*francs archers?*) ni aultres gens quilz (qui) soient tenuz de servir, silz ne sont payez forz larrierban, et ny a gueres bonnes gens de guerre de ce coste-la." Lartigue's confidential report, as it has been seen, was addressed to king Henry; how it fell into the hands of the French ambassador, who denounces it as the work of that wretch Lartigue (*ce miserable Lartigue*), and how it afterwards found its way to Simancas, and was not purloined, like most of the papers relating to France, by French authorities during the Peninsular war, are mysteries which it is not easy to unravel.

† Elsewhere St. Seval and St. Cheval; his full name appears to have been Jean de Sèvicourt.

Potton Vefin (Ursin ?), captain of Cherborch (Cherbourg).

The sieur de Boysy (Boissy), captain of Grantville.

In Brittany.

The count de La Vall, captain of Pontorsor (?).

The Constable of France (Anne de Montmorency), captain of St. Maló.

The Admiral of France (Brion-Chabot), captain of Brest.

The same, also captain of Conquernau.

The Constable of France (Anne de Montmorency), also captain of Nantes.

Count de La Vall, also captain of Vennes (Vannes).

The sieur de Chasteau Briant, captain of Foguères (Fougères).

In the duchy of Gynne (Guyenne).

The sieur de Jarnac, captain and mayor (*mere*) of La Rochelle.

Le sieur d'Archiac, captain of Blaye.*

Le sieur de Jarnac, also captain and mayor (*mere*) of the town of Bordeaux, and captain besides of the castle or citadel of that town.

The king of Navarre, captain of Chasteau Trompette within the said town of Bordeaux.

Le sieur de Freschillon, captain of Aix.

Le sieur de Burie, captain and governor of the town of Baione, as well as of the new castle (*chasteau neuf*) in the said town of Baione.

Le sieur de Vostye, captain of the Old Castle in the aforesaid town of Baionne.

The same, captain also of Mauleon de Soule.

In Languedoc.

Le sieur de Sainct Aman (St. Amand), governor and captain of Narbonne.

Le sieur de Marguerites, captain of Laucate.†

Le sieur de Cleremont, captain of Aigues-Mortes.

In the county of Provence.

Count de Tainde (Tende), captain of Marseilles.

Le sieur de Madolon (Magdolon ?), captain of Toulon.

Le sieur de Antilo (Antibes ?), captain of Bugantson (Beaugency ?).

In the Daulfinnes (Dauphinois).

There are no strong places therein, save those in which there are *morte-payes.*

In Bourgoingne (Burgundy).

Le sieur de Unfe (?), captain of Beaunne (Beaune).

Le sieur de Pignau, captain of Digon (Dijon).

Le sieur de Godfroy, captain d'Ossonne (Auxonne).

Le sieur de Nagu (?), captain of Talaneg (?).

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* Blaye on the river La Gironde.

† Leocate in the Roussillon.

In Champagne.

Le sieur de Lotrec, captain of Langres.

Le sieur de Bourissant, captain of Murson.

The Bastard of Olfy (Dolfy ?), captain of Meusieres-sur-Meuse (Mezières).

Le sieur de Longueval, captain of Vaings (?).

The NAMES of the CAPTAINS of MEN-AT-ARMS of the "ORDENANCES" of FRANCE, and a LIST of them presented to the MAJESTY of the KING [OF ENGLAND] by L'ARTIGUE.*

	Men-at-arms.
Monsieur the Daulfin, governor of Normandy -	100
The duke of Orleans - - - -	100
The king of Navarre (Henri d'Albret), governor of Guyenne - - - - -	100
The duke of Lorraine - - - -	100
The duke of Sainct Pol, governor of the Daulfine (Dauphinois) - - - - -	100
The duke of Vendôme, governor of Picardy -	100
The duke of Guize (Guise), governor of Champaigne - - - - - -	100
The Constable of France governor of Languedoc	100
The Admiral of France, governor of Bourgoyngne (Burgundy) - - - - -	100
The marshal d'Aubigny from Scotland - -	100
Le sieur de Chasteau-Briant, governor of Britanny	100
Le sieur Sanpaolo, Italian - - -	100
The marshal de Hannebault, governor of Piedmont	100
The count of Nevers - - - -	50
The count d'Aumale, son of the duke of Guize (Guise) - - - - - -	50
The count of Lainginang (?), brother of the duke of Vendôme - - - - -	50
The marshal de Biez, governor of Boulogne -	50
The prince of La Roche-sur-Yon - -	50
The count of Tande (Tende), governor of Provence - - - - - -	50
The count of Montreuil, governor of Bresse -	50
The count of Pontyuers (Pontivy ?), husband of Mme. the duchess of Estampes † - - -	50
The count of Boissy, first gentleman of the King's Chamber - - - - -	50
The prince of Melphi (Amalphi), Neapolitan -	50
Robert de la Marche (de la Mark), sieur de Sedan	50
The marshal de Tholon, governor of Narbonne -	50
Le sieur de Montpezat, marshal of Poitou -	50

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* This paper, the original of which is preserved in Vienna, not in Simanca, as the preceding, is also without date. Though furnished by the same Lartigue, here called L'Artigue, it does not appear to have fallen, like the other, into the hands of Mr. d'Aspremont, the French ambassador, who does not allude to it in his despatch to king Francis.

† That is, Anne de Pisseleu, married to Jean de Brosse.

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	Men-at-arms.
Villebon, provost of Paris, governor of Terouanne -	50
Le sieur de Burie, governor of Bayonne - -	50
Le sieur de Criqui (Crequi) - - -	50
Le sieur de Boursault, governor of Monsor.*	
Lancelot du Lac, governor of Orleans.	
La Roche de Mayne, marshall of the county of Mayne	c.
Bonnevalle (Bonneval), governor of the Limousin	c.
Routiers (?), lieutenant-governor of Piedmont during the absence of marshal d'Annebaut (Hannebault) -	c.
Le sieur de Sainct Andre, governor of Lyon -	c.
Le jeune Mouy, vice-admiral of France † - -	c.
Maugiron (?), marshal of Savoy - - -	c.
Le sieur de Cursot, marshal of Beauguers - -	c.
Lesuyer (L'Escuyer) d'Assiel, marshal of Carsse (?).	
Martin de Lange (Langeais ?), captain of Turin.	
The baron of Curton.	
Lafaiette.	
Le sieur de Bermolis (Bernay).	
Le sieur de Heylli,‡ bailli of Amiens, captain of Hesdin.	
Longueval, baylly de Vermandoys.	

The King's household and Royal body-guard.

Loys, Mons. de Nevers, captain of one hundred gentlemen of the Old Guard.

Le sieur de Canaples,§ captain of another one hundred gentlemen of the same Old Guard.

Marshal d'Aubigny, captain of one hundred archers of the King's Scotch guard.

Chauigny, captain of one hundred archers of the Royal French guard.

La Naudie, captain of another one hundred archers of the same French guard.

Le sieur de Sedan, captain of one hundred Swiss foot.

Item; one company of one hundred men-at-arms, two hundred archers, and one hundred "conseilleurs" (*sic*); without the servants of the one hundred men-at-arms, there may be in all one hundred men, and six hundred horses at least.||

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9 June. **153.** The Emperor to the Prince of Spain, his son.

S. E., L. 59, ff. 10–4.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593.

"Most Serene Highness, my dearest and most beloved son,"—From San Remo, in the Riviera of Genoa, We wrote to you on the 23rd ult., giving you an account of Our journey thither, and informing you of Our intention to enter

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* Montfort in the Roussillon (?).

† Charle de Mouy, seigneur de la Meilleraye in Normandy. *See* above, p. 371.

‡ Adrien de Pisseleu, sieur de Heilli, brother of Madame d'Estampes, the mistress of Francis I.

§ At p. 371 Camaples.

|| That the reader may judge of Lartigue's style and orthography, I here transcribe the last paragraph of his report. It stands thus :—"Item lune compagnie des cent Sveizers (*sic*) qui vont à pie et deux cents harchiers, et cent conseilleurs (corseillers, corseletiers ?). Sans [conter les] serviteurs des dix (dits) cent hommes darmes on peult avoyr [en tout] cent hommes et six cent chevaulx pour le moins."

that city on the morning of the following day [the 24th]. Yet finding in the morning that We were in sight of Saona (Savona), We decided to land and pass the whole of the day there owing to the next being Corpus Christi, and also because We wished to wait for the remainder of Our fleet which had stayed behind. Thence We again set sail, and after hovering for some hours in sight of Genoa, We entered that port almost at the same time as the rest of Our fleet. There We found the marquis del Gasto, and various others of Our own servants and friends (*aficionados*), who were waiting for Our arrival, among others the duke of Castro, who had arrived by land the day before, and had a long conversation with Us on political affairs. Though the Duke, on his being admitted to Our presence, said that he had come to Genoa for the sole purpose of paying his respects and hearing how he could be of service to Us—an offer which he made with every possible show of affection and good will—he evidently wished to hold a conference with Us, for he began to say that he had been at Bologna with his father, the Pope, and had spoken to him about the interview which the latter wished to hold with Us. The Pope (he said) had signified to him how desirous he was that We should not leave Italy without meeting him somewhere, because (said the Pope) should an interview be effected, many mutual suspicions and misapprehensions now existing in political matters might be removed or cleared up. Our answer to the Duke was that We were as desirous as His Holiness of such an interview; though respecting the city where the meeting was to take place there might be much difference of opinion between Us and His Holiness, and so it happened, for there was much contention between Us and the Duke, he pretending that the interview ought to take place at Bologna according to His Holiness' wishes, whereas We insisted on its being held either in Pavia or in Mantua, the two cities proposed and designated before We quitted Barcelona, or in Castil de San Juan,* a town close to Piacenza.

Many potent reasons were given by Us in support of Our refusal of going to Bologna. First of all We alleged the haste in which We were of going to Flanders; 2ndly, that if We penetrated far into Italy We should require a more considerable escort for the guard of Our person and to support the Imperial authority; and 3rdly, the time that would be lost, and various other considerations. It was at last decided that the Duke himself would return to Rome and inform the Pope of these objections of Ours, he promising at the same time to do everything in his power to persuade His Holiness to agree to Our wishes. Two or three days after Cardinal Fernés (Alessandro Farnese) arrived, sent by His Holiness to visit Us, with whom the question of the interview and place of meeting was again debated, until, on the third day after Our departure from Genoa, the Pope's answer came still insisting on Our repairing to Bologna, and excusing himself from going to any other of the cities designated by Us on account of the catarrh he was suffering from, and his consequent debility, at the same time signifying that if We could not go as far as Bologna, he himself, notwithstanding his ailments, would try to leave Bologna 12 or 13 miles behind, and meet Us somewhere in the neighbourhood. This We again refused, alleging several potent reasons why We could not go to Bologna or anywhere else in the neighbourhood of that city, nor deviate too much from the road [to Flanders], begging and entreating him at the same time to look out for some fit place for Us to hold the interview, so that We Ourselves should not be obliged to go out of Our way and lose too much time. At last His Holiness, having sent Us word that should he be strong enough to undertake the journey he would do his best to meet Us at Parma, close to Carmona (Cremona), in this State of Milan, not far from the road We intend following, nor very distant either from this place where We now are, which is secure enough considering the armed escort We intend taking, We wrote to him that if he went to Parma We on Our side would try to go thither also.

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* Castel San Giovan.

With this answer of Ours Cardinal Farnese went away on the 6th, and We came to Pavia to wait three or four days, during which His Holiness' final resolution might perhaps come to hand So it did, with the intimation that four or five days after he would be at Parma. Meanwhile, We Ourselves have come to Cremona; orders for the approaching interview have been issued, and you shall be informed of what takes place.

At Genoa, besides the proposal of an interview (*advocacion*) with his father, the duke of Castro made another one through the marquis del Gasto, namely, that if We agreed to give the investiture of the duchy of Milan to his son, the duke of Camarino (Ottavio Farnese), his grandfather, the Pope, would be glad to give Us two millions of gold in ready money with which to defray the expenses of the present war, and altogether relieve Our Treasury, besides paying Us an annual rent (*censo*) for the Duchy, adding, that if this were done the cities of Parma and Piacenza might easily be incorporated with the duchy of Milan, on condition, moreover, of all the fortresses of the Duchy remaining in Our hands, and other terms equally advantageous for Us as well as for the welfare of Italy. After carefully examining the Duke's proposal, and consulting on the affair with the marquis del Gasto and others of Our ministers and councillors here, We have caused an answer to be returned to the Duke in these terms: "That the affair is of such importance, and the reasons for Our not disposing now of the state of Milan are so potent, though there might be others equally strong in favor of its alienation—that, not having thought of it before, We naturally should have to consult thereupon Our brother, the king of the Romans, and Our sister, the Regent of the Low Countries, and likewise the members of Our Council of State in Spain, the majority of whom have always been of opinion that one of these days the peace with France might be ensured somehow or other by means of that duchy." Such has been Our answer to the Duke's proposal, and yet We should like to hear more particularly what His Holiness' views are in that respect and what his offers are, in order to have the affair properly investigated and reported upon.

We must add that the Duke himself, having heard of Our answer, came and thanked Us most warmly, protesting that, whatever might be done for the Farnese family, any honor, dignity or power conferred upon it would increase the debt of gratitude of the Farnese towards Us, and that the whole of the Papal family would for ever be devoted to Our service. The Duke then asked Us, "What message am I to take to the Pope on the part of Your Imperial Majesty?" He also begged Us to think that the proposal did not proceed from His Holiness, but from himself, who had ventured upon it. To which We replied, "At any rate it must have been with His Holiness' knowledge"; after which he went away. As to the Cardinal, though he has not talked with Us about this affair, it would be seen by the report of others, to whom he has opened his heart on the subject, that His Holiness is very glad at the proposal having been made, as well as at the answer returned by Us, and that, being aware of the importance and magnitude of the affair, he avoids speaking about it until he can do so in Our presence.

This is in the abstract what has hitherto been done in this affair of Milan. We have entered into these details that you may, in the Council of State, deliberate upon the whole, and tell Us what the Councillors' opinion is on the matter.

But in order that the councillors may better do their work, We will subjoin here a summary of the principal reasons there are for or against the alienation of the Duchy. We shall begin by those in favor of the proposed alienation. One of them is undoubtedly the immense burden, labor and expense which We are obliged to sustain continually for the preservation of the said State; its perilous condition at the present moment, which may in future become still graver and more complicated should the provision of money required for its defence and support fail, owing to the strait in which We are placed for want of funds.

The sum of money offered, which, considering the various undertakings We have in hand just now, will, as you may judge, be the more opportune, will enable Us to materially increase Our reputation with all Our friends and allies, and at the same time overawe Our enemies, who on that account, and having lost all hope of getting the investiture of Milan, might perhaps be induced to make peace, and if We only could reserve a portion of the sum paid We might redeem

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a considerable part of Our patrimonial estate actually mortgaged or sold. On the other hand, if compelled to go to war, We might, with the help of God and the aid of that money, bring Our enemy to reason, and perhaps, too, apply Our attention and means to other affairs of greater importance to Us than the possession of the duchy of Milan, such as adjusting the differences between the German princes, and compelling them to obey the laws of the Empire and so forth.

Another reason in favor of the alienation is that the investiture of the Duchy would be according to the nature and quality of the fief itself, and, therefore, that if given to the duke of Camarino (Ottavio Farnese), already married to Our daughter,* the king of the Romans, Our brother, and all the rest of the princes will offer no opposition, and so if Our daughter, the Duchess, has sons the State will virtually remain in Our family.

That the Italian powers will also agree to the alienation cannot be doubted, for it is well known that all of them wish for a duke of Milan who is an Italian by birth, not over rich or powerful, and, therefore, that if the investiture is given to Our son-in-law and the fortresses of the Duchy remain in Our hands—and this last point will be properly attended to—it will be equivalent to Our possessing the Duchy.

The aggregation of the two cities of Parma and Piacenza might also prove a source of strength and security for the State of Milan, and afford ample means for its defence in future, because the territory of those cities is known to be rich and the rental thereof considerable, besides which, a league would be made with the Italian powers for its defence on equitable conditions, and if so, the security of Milan and the rest of Italy from French attacks would be permanent, since it is to be hoped that the above state of things would last as long as the present Pope's life, and perhaps also after his death. Meanwhile matters might be adjusted, and many things done which at present would be altogether unattainable. We should find Ourselves relieved from the heavy expenses which We are put to at present, and be thereby enabled to devote Our attention to other matters and countries.

Another reason is the regard to be paid to the negociations (*platicas*) now going on between the Pope and the French, and, if possible, to put a stop to them, thus removing the suspicions and mistrust (*sospechat y desconfianzas*) which have been raised, and preserving His Holiness' friendship by means of a manifest desire on Our part of increasing the prosperity and welfare of his family.

These are in abstract the reasons and arguments adduced in favor of the alienation; you, my Son, will presently hear those of some of Our councillors who hold a contrary opinion.

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* That is Margaret, married to Ottavio Farnese, duke of Camarino, since November 1538. *See* Vol. V., Part II., pp. 167, 375.

It is argued by them that the quality, the greatness and importance of this State of Milan,* the authority which—the Duchy being in Our hands together with the Imperial dignity—it affords Us for the affairs of the Empire and of Italy itself, and likewise its great utility for the security and preservation of Our kingdom of Naples, are to be taken into consideration. For (they argue) should We alienate the duchy of Milan, and leave it, as it were, in other hands and at Our back, the enemy might easily invade that kingdom, for the defence of which considerable forces would be required; whereas if the Duchy remains in Our hands, the defence of Naples would be comparatively easier and more effective with than without Milan.

As to the consideration so frequently brought forward by some of Our councillors that by disposing of this Duchy peace with France might perhaps be secured, and that if We dispose of it in favor of his (king Francis') son, the duke of Orleans, We may thereby be benefited, inasmuch as all causes for war, with which the former is continually threatening Us, will thus be removed, it is certainly a strong argument against its alienation. But, on the other hand (Our councillors allege), were We for the sake of peace to dispose of the Duchy and give the investiture of it to king Francis' son, what securities can We demand sufficiently strong and firm for the observance of the peace and the fulfilment of the conditions stipulated? Besides which, they allege, were We to part with the Duchy in that manner We should be the loser, both in authority and in the profit to be derived from that source, all of which We should pass over to the king of France. Indeed, it may be presumed, nay, asserted, that once the master of Milan, and finding himself with much greater forces and ampler means than before, king Francis will lose no opportunity of extending the limits of the Duchy and occupying any part of Italy that he may fix upon, which attempt, if he made it, could not be defeated save with great difficulty and at considerable expense, so much so that if Milan remains at the mercy, as it were, of king Francis, it cannot be otherwise than highly injurious to Our authority and reputation at all times, and especially now, under present circumstances, when the truce has been broken, war has commenced, and king Francis is prosecuting it with ardour.

To this may be added that if We give the investiture to another party, king Francis may think that he has thereby a greater chance of obtaining it for himself than if it were to remain in Our hands, for surely, whoever got the investiture, could not defend it as well as We Ourselves can. That the Pope, by the laws of Nature, cannot live many years, and that after his death no great trust could be placed in any league or confederacy made for the security of Italy, and thus the whole weight and responsibility would fall on Us.

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* The Emperor was then at Cremona.

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The bad odour of a transaction of this kind, or rather the the sale of a State like the duchy of Milan, for a sum of money paid by the Pope, which money ought to be spent for the defence and welfare of Christendom, is another of the objections brought forward by those who are opposed to the alienation. Last, not least, the suspicion which the king of England and the German Protestants might conceive at hearing of this negociation of Ours for the establishment of closer friendship between His Holiness and Ourselves, might also be highly impolitic under present circumstances, and ought to be avoided.

It is for Our councillors in Spain to weigh and examine the above considerations, and others that might be adduced for or against the alienation of the duchy of Milan. It is for you, Our Son, to cause the Council of State to assemble, deliberate, and report upon the whole, so that We may have their opinion, and let the result of their deliberations come to Us as soon as possible, for His Holinesss will naturally be anxious to know what Our resolution in the matter is.

The duke of Florence (Cosmo de' Medici) has come here [to Cremona]. Having begged and entreated Us most urgently, as he did in 1541, before Our departure for the Algiers expedition, to give orders for the fortresses of his State—such as the castles of Florence, Liorna (Leghorn), and others still in Our hands—to be delivered up to him, alleging that this act of Ours will materially increase his reputation with his own vassals as well as with the Italian powers in general, who will thereby learn the trust We place in him, and that We fully acknowledge the services he has rendered Us, as otherwise, by keeping the said fortresses in Our possession, it might be presumed that We had no confidence in him. After mature deliberation and previous consultation with prince Doria, marquis del Gasto, viceroy of Sicily, and others of Our ministers in these parts, We have decided to make over the said fortresses to him on condition of his paying Us one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand ducats for the expenses of the war We are now carrying on against France. In this manner We shall be able to leave in the hands of the marquis del Gasto a sufficient sum of money to spend in military preparations, and should the barons of the kingdom of Naples be persuaded to grant Us an equal sum, We have no doubt that Our affairs in Italy will go on prosperously, and the French invasion of Flanders and the Luxemburg averted. As stated above, some of Our councillors here have advised Us to part with the said fortresses; a message to that effect has been sent to the Duke, and We have no doubt that the bargain will soon be closed.*

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* A marginal note has the following:—"After the above was written the bargain was concluded for a sum of 150,000 ducats."

Our escort from this place to Parma will consist of the Spanish infantry of the Sicilian regiment (*tercio*) * besides 1,000 more who came with Us from Spain, and those who were here in Italy under the command of field-marshal Luis Perez de Vargas, making in all about 4,000 men, so inconsiderable a number altogether that We have ordered a levy of 4,000 Italians more, besides 600 light horse. With this escort We will proceed to Parma, and there meet His Holiness.

From Flanders the news is that king Francis and his confederates have bodies of men on the frontiers here and there, but Our forces in that country resist them, so that they gain little or no ground at all. We will journey thither as quickly as possible to do whatever appears fit and suitable according to time and circumstances.

At the Imperial diet a good sum of money was voted for the defence against the Turk, and the king of the Romans, Our brother, will do in that matter all that he possibly can.

From Turkey and the Levant the intelligence varies. Some say that the Grand Signior has already left Constantinople, and is coming towards Hungary; that Barbarossa had left Constantinople on the 15th of April with about 30 galleys; and that he was to be joined by 80 or 90 more, besides those of corsairs, which might be in all 120 sail or thereabouts. He himself was at Negroponte careening and caulking his galleys, and preparing to go forward.† If so it is necessary to have an eye on him and provide for the defence of the coast both of Africa and Spain, and that Bugia be strengthened and well provisioned, taking care that the works We ordered for the further strengthening of the castle be completed, because it is to be feared the Turkish fleet will first sail in that direction, owing to the commodiousness of its harbour. That is why We request you to attend as quickly as possible to the fortification and provisioning of the said town and port, taking care to make some provision for the islands of Majorca, Minorca, Iviza and Sardinia, all of which, We hear, are insufficiently provided with artillery and ammunition.

Prince Doria, with his own galleys and those of Naples and Sicily, will soon sail for Messina to scour that sea, and do what he can against the Turk. Don Bernaldino de Mendoza has received orders from Us to return to Spain with his, those of Antonio Doria, Monaco, Cigala, and the marquis de Terranova, and scour the Mediterranean as far as Cartágena. From thence he is to sail for the Balears, and since the 1,500 foot ordered from Oran to Perpignan will no longer be wanted on that frontier, since out of the garrison of Perpignan 2,000 more may easily be drawn—especially if the Germans remain there, and no signs of war are visible in the Roussillon—Don

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* "Maese de Campo de tercio" are the words. *Tercio* meant then a regiment of infantry composed of three battalions.

† "Y en Negroponte las despalmaba y se ponia en orden para pasar adelante."

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Bernaldino has been ordered to take on board his galleys the said infantry and bring them to Genoa, and let them march to Lombardy that they may replace those whom We are now taking as escort, unless he considers that they will be more needed in Sicily, in which case Don Bernaldino is to sail for that island and land them thereat. Should the 1,500 men from Oran not have gone to Perpignan or to Cartagena as ordered, Don Bernaldino is to return [to the Balears], for if it be true, as reported, that Barbarossa's naval force is destined for those seas, it is needful that all Our galleys be together to meet the enemy as may be fit and convenient. We, therefore, beg you to see that on the arrival of the 1,500 Spaniards from Oran, and of the 2,000 from the garrison of Perpignan, you may without loss of time have them provided with money, food, and anything else they may want for their passage, and let Don Bernaldino bring them to Genoa, as above said. Should the infantry from Oran not arrive before Don Bernaldino's departure, then the galleys and vessels on board of which they are shall convey them to Genoa, at the same time bringing the complement of the 2,000 men from the garrison of Perpignan, if all of them had not sailed off in Don Bernaldino's galleys. Of this force on landing field-marshal Varaez * will take charge, as he has received orders to that effect, as well as respecting what he is to do with them. The men, of course, are to be provided with anything they may want in the shape of biscuit and other provisions out of the stores at Barcelona and the coast of Catalonia, without forgetting to give them their pay in one way or other.

The marquis de Aguilar has been appointed viceroy and captain-general of the principality of Catalonia by Us with a salary of 8,000 ducats every year, 6,000 as viceroy, and 2,000 for the officer who is to act as his lieutenant at Perpignan, the 6,000 ducats to be paid to him in specie, as the duke of Gandia, the former governor, had them, and payable at Barcelona, the remaining 2,000 to be paid by Castillian treasuries as hitherto. The Marquis, however, is to hold his captainship as an additional office,† with this proviso, that should there be 12 or 15 captainships vacant among the forces under his command, he may appoint to them as many relatives or familiar servants of his own as he chooses, as was offered before him to the duke of Alba.‡ We have purposely apprized you of the Marquis' appointment and nomination that you may know of it, and attend to his wants for the defence of Catalonia. You are to provide also that the right of nomination and appointment of captains under him remain to the Marquis as long as he may serve Us in the charge of

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* So in the original. Should it be Vargas?

† "Y que tenga su capitania para su accompañamiento."

‡ The original has conde de Alba, but it is a mistake, for although there was at this time a *count* of Alba de Liste or Aliste, there can be no doubt that the *duke* is here meant, that is Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba de Tormes, in the province of Salamanca. His letter to the Emperor, complaining of the promotion of Aguilar to that post, will come hereafter.

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viceroy of Catalonia, taking also care that the person whom the Marquis may depute for the command at Perpignan be a fit one, so that the frontier may be well governed and defended against the enemy.

Being at Barcelona, it was debated whether it would be expedient to recruit a small body of cavalry for the defence of its territory in case of an attack from the enemy. It was resolved to have as many as 100 light-horse to guard the frontier of Perpignan. So on Our arrival in Italy, We ordered the marquis del Gasto to raise that number of men under an experienced captain. We hear that he has already done so. Don Bernaldino de Mendoza is to take the men in his galleys under his command, and the horses may go in the two old ones which came in this late voyage of Ours, though taken in tow by others of the fleet. That the galleys should be fitted out at once, the Marquis has given the crews one month's pay. We have written to Our ambassador in Genoa (Gomez Suarez de Figueroa) to give the men another month's pay at their going on board, that is to say, to each light horse five crs. every month, forty to the captain, fifteen to the lieutenant, and ten to the ensigns (*alferez*), and as, if not paid exactly every month, the men might serve badly or refuse to serve at all, it will be necessary to provide that they have their regular pay.—Cremona, 9 June 1543.

P.S.—Since writing the above We have received a letter from prince Doria, whose opinion is, that if the news We have of the Turkish fleet turn out true, it is urgent to concentrate Our naval forces somewhere. That obliges Us to change Our plans as follows:—The Spanish galleys and the others that were to join them and sail all together to Messina for the purpose of watching the movements of the Turkish fleet, and preventing the landing of forces on the coast of Naples or Sicily, are no longer to go to Spain; and although it had been resolved for the greater security of our coasts and ports in the Mediterranean that, after doing their work in these parts, the said galleys should go thither, take on board the 2,000 Spaniards, convey to Spain the marquis de Aguilar, and take the one hundred light horse, yet, following prince Doria's advice, and in consequence of letters very lately received from Our viceroy of Naples, purporting that the Turkish fleet has really and truly made its appearance at Lepanto, We have written to the Prince that We will follow his advice and will change entirely Our plans of campaign. As it is but just that We should give the first attention to whichever point is in the greater danger, We have issued peremptory orders for all the galleys of Our fleet to sail at once for Naples and Sicily, telling the Prince to do whatever he considers best for the defence and security of Our dominions in this part of the Mediterranean Sea, and for preventing any harm the Turks may intend doing. In any event, should Barbarossa make his appearance on the coast of Naples or Sicily, or should he go to La Goleta, Bugia, or any other port on the

African or Spanish Coast, he (Doria) is to follow the enemy wherever he goes, and closely watch him, so that he may not have time to take in water and provisions, &c.

As to La Goleta there is no danger; the viceroy of Sicily (Ferrante Gonzaga) writes that the fort is well provided, for he (the viceroy) has letters saying that a vessel laden with provisions had lately arrived there. We have written to prince Doria that immediately after his arrival at Messina he is to send a messenger to Francisco de Tobar, the governor of Tunis, informing him of the enemy's movements, and where he is likely to go next. Should Barbarossa determine to attack La Goleta or Bugia, if the Prince's fleet is collected in some port of Sicily or Naples, those places might easily be succoured with transport vessels escorted by galleys, as his naval and military experience may dictate. In case of emergency he is to place under embargo in Naples or Sicily, or wherever they can be found, any vessels and transport ships that may be wanted for the carriage of men or provisions; he is to raise money on bills on Our treasury, and, in fact, do whatever else he considers fit for Our service. This, however, to be done as economically as possible and without incurring unnecessary expense, considering the state of Our treasury. Should the Turkish fleet not come to these seas, nor to that coast, and should Doria think that the galleys of Spain had better return home, they may do so. It is for the Prince to consider whether they ought not to be escorted by some of the Neapolitan or Sicilian troops, as was decided in the first instance, for fear of the French fleet, if it should happen to be superior in numbers. We have no doubt that the Prince will carefully look to this, and take such measures as he may deem necessary for the security of Our fleet. We have likewise written to him to procure a passage for the marquis de Aguilar, who will be the bearer of this despatch. Should he think that another galley is required for the security of the Marquis' person, another one is to be sent along as an escort, for it would not do for him to fall into the hands of French privateers. The Prince has also been ordered to fit out transports for the passage of the one hundred light horse for the frontier of Perpignan, for as no galleys can be spared to tow the two old ones (*las viêjas*) on board of which the men were to go, there is no other mode of conveyance for them.*

The Prince is also to think about the means of bringing here, to Italy, the 2,000 Spanish infantry who were to have come in the said galleys, either to land in Genoa and do service in the State of Milan and in Piedmont, or to go straight to Sicily, whichever it may be; though, considering the state to which that island may possibly be reduced through the Turkish fleet sailing to its coast, it might perhaps be more advisable that the said infantry should go straight to

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* "Assi mismo que provea de algunas naves en que vayan los cient cavallos ligeros que alla embiamos, pues no yendo las galeras para remolcar las viejas, en que han de passar, no se podran llevar de otra manera."

Sicily in such transports as might be procured there, in Spain, and making their voyage by way of Majorca, Minorca, Iviza and Cerdeña (Sardinia). In this manner, should they hear of Our fleet having already sailed for the coast of Africa and Spain, the infantry might remain in the aforesaid islands or wherever it might be most wanted.

It is for prince Doria to decide on all these points according to his long experience in naval affairs, and his knowledge of Barbarossa's tactics. He has been told to send along with these despatches his own advice on these matters, with such considerations as he may think proper in support of it. We therefore request you to have Doria's despatches and letters carefully examined in Council, and after due deliberation let a resolution be taken on these points, the best, the most prompt, and that which may offer most security, taking the greatest care, as We have already told you, and tell you again, to see that Bugia, as well as the most important towns on the coast of Spain, be properly attended to and provided with the means of defence.—*Datum ut supra.*

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Vazquez."

Addressed: "To the Prince, Our dearest and beloved son."

Indorsed: "From the Emperor to the Prince."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

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11 June. **154.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—Since my last, there has been no particular news to report from this country, save the few facts which I communicated to the queen dowager of Hungary on the 3rd, of which a copy is enclosed. From which facts Your Imperial Majesty cannot fail to gather that this king goes to work fairly and without dissimulation, and that there is every hope of his continuing in, and even improving on, the same line of conduct, *especially as those who enjoy most credit with him just now are evidently very partial to Your Imperial Majesty. Indeed, I can vouch for this king's privy councillors having been exceedingly displeased at the bishop of London (Boner) having written [from Spain] that Your Imperial Majesty on receiving intelligence of the treaty of closer friendship and alliance had not shown any very great satisfaction at it, and also that notwithstanding all his solicitations he (the Bishop) had made for its immediate ratification, Your Imperial Majesty had kept it back nine or ten days. And the privy councillors considering that such reports and bad offices on the part of the English ambassador* [in Spain] *might engender suspicion and ill-feeling between Your Imperial Majesty and this king, have decided to*

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apply for his recall, which is to take place as soon as Your Imperial Majesty approaches Flanders.[*]

In this last Parliament a bill (*livret*) for the extirpation of the heresies and errors that have hitherto prevailed in England has been framed, through which bill the accustomed ceremonies and rituals of the Christian religion have been restored to their primitive state, save in what relates to the authority of the Apostolic See.—London, 11 June 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador on the 11th of June. Received at Cremona on the 26th of the same month."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 1½.

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11 June. **155.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—On Friday the 8th inst., in the afternoon (*sur le tard*), Your Majesty's letter of the 6th † came duly to hand. On Friday the 10th, in the morning, I sent one of my men to the place where the King is still holding his court, a town fifty miles from this city, with letters for the Lord Privy Seal, the Grand Squire, ‡ and others, informing them of the contents of Your Majesty's letter, and begging them to communicate with their master to the same effect, which I must say they did in the kindest manner, as Your Majesty will hear hereafter.

On the same morning, some hours after the departure of my man, those among the privy councillors who had not accompanied the King into the country, and are now here, sent me word that they wanted to speak to me, and that, if I liked, they would call at this embassy. I told them not to take the trouble of coming to me, but that I would go to them, and so I did the next morning before noon. They then told me that they had orders from the King, their master, to consult me and ask my opinion respecting the answer which Mr. de Biez had made to the heralds, Toison d'Or and Garter,§ to which question, after some conversation on the subject, I replied that in my opinion it was only loss of time to wait for the said heralds to have access to the king of France, as the French will most likely dissemble and try to delay the departure of the heralds in order in the meantime to carry on some undertaking or other against His Imperial Majesty or against their master, the king of England. "And yet (I added) if your master persists in his opinion of the expediency of attempting that mode of intimation before any other, it seems to me as if the Debitis (Deputy) of Calais might write a letter in the King's name to the governor of Boulogne, telling him among other things that the mission of the two heralds is on business concerning the affairs of Christendom at large, in which, as His Imperial Majesty holds the first place, the King, their master, would not attempt to speak in his own name, even though being, as he is, the Emperor's friend and ally. And that it seemed very strange that, against all right and precedent, they (the French) should prevent the heralds, and especially Toison d'Or, from going to Francis' court, for although there was war between the king of France and the Emperor, yet by the heralds proceeding on their mission and explaining, means might be found of procuring peace, provided king Francis listened to reason and granted some of the demands of the allies. But, as I said before, it was time lost to insist any longer on the heralds going straight to the King's court. Should the above proposed expedient not be adopted there was still another, which, I had no doubt, would serve our purpose quite as well. It was for the King to summon the French ambassador to his presence, and there, in public, announce to him the charge which both the heralds had, fixing a term within which they were to make to his master the intimation of war, and obtain an answer, and if necessary, dismiss him (the ambassador) after that. This advice of mine, especially the last, the privy councillors approved of, and without loss of time wrote to the King, from whom they are expecting an answer from hour to hour.

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[*] "A cause de quoy les dits du Conseil considerans (*sic*) que par telz rapportz et maulvais office se pourroit engendrer quelque scrupule entre vre. ma^te^ et le dit sieur roy concluyrent souldainement de solliciter le dit sieur roy pour la revocation dicelluy evesque, ce que a este resolu par le dit sieur roy dois que vre. ma^te^ approchera Flandres."

† *See* above, No. 149, p. 364.

‡ That is Sir William FitzWilliam and Sir Anthony Browne.

§ Jarretière or Garter, the King's herald. See above, p. 336 *n*.

The privy councillors have again this morning sent me a message with the same offer as yesterday. They would call on me, or else if I chose I might go and find them in the Council Room. I did so, and they showed me a letter from their master, in answer to what my man had gone to solicit from him the other day. The purport of the King's letter was this: That considering that the danger of an invasion of French territory touched him as nearly as the Emperor, and considering also the friendly and fraternal ties by which both of you were united, he had no objection to gratify Your Majesty on the debated point. Should the Low Countries be invaded before the term stipulated in the treaty, he (the King) would send in haste any help that was deemed necessary; but he (the King) wished beforehand to hear from me what measures had been taken in the Low Countries to provide his army with food and so forth, and above all whether it was intended to shut up his men in fortresses, and not employ them out in the field. That (he said) was to him a most important point to know, inasmuch as English soldiers mostly disliked it. Were he to send his army across the Channel, they would much prefer coming at once to blows with the enemy to living comfortably and in comparative security within the walls of a fortified town. That is why he wished very much to know what equipment and

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carriage we could furnish him, and what appearance there was of the wants of his army being supplied. I therefore beg Your Majesty to order that a letter be written to me on the subject that I may show it to his ministers.

The King wishes also to know whether Your Majesty would like him to send some artillery with his army, because if so, a number of carriage horses will be wanted. Also, where and how his men are to effect their junction with those of the Emperor, and which road they are to take to avoid falling into an ambush of the enemy. All these are points about which, after a long conversation with this king's ministers on the articles of the treaty, I have been requested to interrogate Your Majesty in order to obtain an answer to their questions as soon as possible. The King himself wanted to send an express of his own, and should the answer tarry, he will most certainly send him, for they (the English) seem to be in earnest this time and quite resolved. Meanwhile they are not slack in their war preparations. Every day troops are crossing the Channel to Calais, and within six days, at the most, no less than 1,500 foot and some cavalry will be landed there. They will soon be followed by 500 more, who are expected here from the army of the North, old soldiers experienced in warfare. Ships (*navières*) have sailed for Ulch (Hull), there to lade provisions for Calais, besides which, as they have in this city abundant stores of wheat and beer, there is no fear of the men on the continent being short of provisions. I have not forgotton to tell the privy councillors that corn is not very abundant with us in the Low Countries, and that owing to the smallness of the late harvest, the destruction of crops by the enemy, and the number of soldiers which the country people have had to feed, it will be quite impossible for us to supply the English, and that perhaps we ourselves may be obliged to ask for assistance in that line.

Respecting the duty of $1^{\circ}/_{o}$,* there has been great altercation, the privy councillors asserting that the King will never consent to it, and begging me to write and urge Your Majesty to be content with the sum of money which the merchants of this country are prepared to present to Your Majesty as a gift once for all, which sum, as they tell me, will be larger than the one likely to be collected. *On this point I have addressed to them all the remonstrances that would come to my mind, telling them, among other things, that Your Majesty could not possibly revoke the order without letting the Emperor know, owing to the great damage caused by the revocation, and moreover that, were Your Majesty to accept the gift of the merchants, and use the money, as I pointed out in my despatch of the 3rd inst., even that could not be done without first consulting the Emperor. But notwithstanding all the efforts I made on this occasion to persuade the privy councillors of the expediency and necessity of the said duty,*

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* "L'impost des cent pour ung."

I could not convince them. At last I asked them, "What harm can there be for the English merchants bartering in goods destined for this market to pay a duty of 1%?" Their answer was, "None at all; and yet that cannot be; our master the King will not consent to it." They were very much suprised when I told them that the exemption from duty could not possibly take place without visiting and searching the ships, and vexing the merchants, of which they would not hear. I fancy, however, that whatever resistance this king's ministers may offer to the measure, they will be unable to oppose it in virtue of the very treaty of commerce on which their arguments seem to rest, for there is certainly no clause in it forbidding any of the contracting parties to impose a duty on goods or merchandize exported from their respective kingdoms.

The haste in which my letter of the 29th ult.* was written made me forget to make some remarks concerning Garter's charge. After all, the omission was of little consequence, since that herald's commission consisted in making the demands specified in the treaty. True is it that this king's ministers allege several other causes and reasons for the declaration of war against France, such as that of their king having made an alliance with the Emperor, of king Francis refusing to pay the pensions and money they owe, and his being the sole cause of the war with Scotland by his intrigues in that country and elsewhere to the prejudice and harm of the King and others. Also that in the article of Thoyson d'Or's Instructions, where it is said that until the French have satisfied in full all the demands there will be no talk of friendship and peace between the allies and king Francis, they have added since the following sentence, *or giving sufficient pledge that all the demands of the allies will be complied with.* In a like manner they have added a clause stating that they are ready to ratify every proposal or demand made by the Emperor's herald, Thoyson d'Or.—London, 11 June 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 5.

15 June. **156.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—On the 12th inst. Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 30th of May, containing the very happy and much desired news of Your Imperial Majesty's prosperous voyage to Gennes (Genoa) † came to hand. I could never describe, if

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* That of the 29th of May, No. 146, p. 352.

† On the 1st of May 1543 the Emperor embarked at Barcelona, and sailed for Rosas, on the coast of Catalonia, where Doria's fleet, composed of 44 galleys and other vessels, already was. On the 24th, Corpus Christi Day, he landed at Savona, whence, on Friday, towards four o'clock in the afternoon, he set sail for Genoa with 150 vessels and transports in all. At Genoa he remained until the 2nd of June. Gachard, *Itineraire de Charles V.*, p. 54, and Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V.* (lib. xxv., pp. 432–3), though that bishop's account differs materially from that of Vandenesse.

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I attempted it, the immense pleasure and joy this king, as well as the whole of his court, and generally all the English, have felt at the news, never ceasing to praise and thank God for that happy event, as We Ourselves, Your Majesty's subjects and servants, are now doing.—London, 15 June 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

15 June. **157.** The Same to Mgr. de Granvelle.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monseigneur,"—Your Lordship will see by the copy herein enclosed of my last despatch to the Queen[*] the late occurrences in this country. For want, therefore, of a more important subject I will now trespass, as in past times, on Your Lordship's kindness and amiable disposition (*benignité et humanité*) by entering into one which concerns exclusively my humble person. I lament my bad luck, which was no doubt the cause of Your Lordship not being in Spain when the Emperor left that country,[†] for there must have been one or more meetings of the Council of State, wherein some resolution or other might have been passed in my favor, according to the verbal promises made by His Imperial Majesty to my man, and that which the High Commander of Leon (Francisco de los Cobos) himself confirmed in his letter to me. I daresay the Emperor, pre-occupied as he must have been at the time with political affairs of so much importance, did forget mine entirely, not indeed from want of good will—being, as he is, a Prince of incomparable kindness and virtue, and who knows so well how to remember and reward the services of his servants—but from want of influential ministers near his Imperial person ready to take my part, and remind him of his promise. However that may be, one must praise God and be contented with what Our Master, the Emperor, may decide, who might perhaps think that I myself had derived some individual gain and profit out of this peace and treaty just concluded between Him and the king of England, and yet I can assure Your Lordship I shall be able to prove, if necessary, that far from having derived any pecuniary benefit from the transaction, I am actually two hundred ducats out of pocket, without having received from him one single farthing or present of any value.—London, 15 June 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Monseigneur, Mons. le Chevalier de Granvelle, conseiller d'Estat, et Garde dez Sçaulx de l'Empereur."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

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[*] That of the 11th, No. 155, pp. 386–9.

[†] The Emperor's Privy Seal, as has been said (pp. 364–7), had left Spain for Germany in October.

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15 June. **158.** The Same to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—On the 12th inst. Your Majesty's letter of the 8th came to hand at the same time as that of the Emperor, with the happy news of his landing at Gennes (Genoa), at which this king and his ministers, nay, the whole of the English nation, have been particularly pleased and delighted.*

The day before yesterday, the 13th of this month, the King's privy councillors sent to request me, in the King's name, to write to Thoyson d'Or to withdraw from Your Majesty's court the moment that Jarretière (Garter), who has been recalled, should leave Calais† to come here. Yesterday, the 15th, another message came from them, inviting me to dinner, chiefly for the purpose of announcing to me that the King, their master, had approved of my advice concerning the heralds; he had consequently ordered that his own Jarretière should be recalled and his commission revoked, as the declaration and intimation of war was to be made here, in London, to the French resident ambassador, when it might seem fit, not to the King himself, as formerly intended. Such was the King's resolution in the matter (as the councillors told me), but owing to there not being now at court a sufficient number of notable personages for so solemn an act as a declaration of war, the ceremony (the King thought) might be delayed until his own return to town, which is to take place in five days. I entirely approved of the plan, but suggested that in order to add more solemnity to the act the King should attend it personally. The councillors were of my opinion, and promised to speak to the King; I myself will do my best in that line. It has not yet been decided whether the charge of the English king-at-arms will be the intimation of war pure and simple (*s'expliquera purement*) addressed to the French ambassador, or whether any word or words ought to be added to or changed in it. Should Your Majesty be of opinion that there is to be a change, I beg to be apprized of Your Majesty's pleasure as soon as possible.

This king having heard of the great number of war ships the French have at sea, chiefly in the Channel, has ordered his own fleet, 10 or 11 sail in all, to go out of port. Nothing could be better than this king's war ships, all of them being well manned and in very good condition, but as the enemy's fleet is more numerous, and it is to be feared that it will get larger and larger every day, the King could wish that the war ships of the Low Countries already equipped and armed should put to sea and join his, and that Your Majesty should likewise hasten the armament of the remainder with such crews and artillery as stipulated in the treaty of closer friendship.

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* *See* above, No. 153, p. 374.

† "D'escripre à Thoyson d'Or qu'il se deust retirer par devers vre. ma^{te} des que Jarretière, qu'estoit rapellé, deslougeroit de Callais."

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Every day parties of soldiers (*souldars*) leave this city to cross the Channel; yesterday no less than 4,000 hackbutiers, in pretty good order (*assez bien en ordre*), took their departure. *I do not think that this king will, for the present, send across a greater force than that which he is actually obliged by the treaty to furnish in case of assistance being needed for the Low Countries, but since he has a relish for the Montreuil undertaking, it will not be difficult hereafter to persuade him to send thither a larger number of men. As to any other general invasion or enterprise, I see no chance of it at all for this year, as the privy councillors give me to understand, owing to the season being already too far advanced for that. As to any calculation respecting the number of men to be furnished by this king as his contingent* [*for the undertaking against France*], *I have read to him what Your Majesty wrote to me respecting it, but neither the King himself nor his privy councillors have yet returned an answer on that subject; they have not yet mustered their forces, nor do I know that they will in future.*

The privy councillors have again pressed me with great insistence (*mont faict merveilleuse instance*) for the revocation of the 1°/o duty, to the levying of which by Your Majesty, they say, the King, their master, will in nowise consent. I myself cannot make them understand that the very moment the English are exempted from payment, all other nations will claim a similar exemption, and that it will be impossible to make them pay, though they have not the same privilege that the English claim; which privilege would not be, in point of fact, more valid and inviolable than that of ecclesiastics, which, as I alleged, had often been waived in times of urgency. The privy councillors, and the English merchants also, would be perfectly satisfied that the retailers (*venditeurs*) of goods in Flanders and in the Low Countries should pay the duty of 1°/o on the receipt of the goods, and add to it, if they will or can, the price of the merchandize, but the English merchants will by no means hear of allowing their ships to be visited, in order that it may be known and published who the salesman (*venditeur*) is, which could not be ascertained in any other way. Although I have contended with them that the measure of occasionally, and under certain circumstances only, visiting ships and examining their cargoes proceeding from the ports of the Low Countries does not jar in the least with the treaties of commercial intercourse of the two nations, and that the novelty, to which those treaties refer, must be understood to be a pecuniary and interested one—since otherwise they, the English, might protest against the new Exchange house (*bourse*) of Antwerp, because it happens, perhaps, to be further from the old one than their own English house of Exchange, or else setting up a new crane on the wharf of that port—yet they do still persist in their opinion.* In short, the privy councillors have again requested me to intercede with Your Majesty that the English, who are now showing so much affection—indeed, more than ever—for Your Majesty's service, should not be charged with such a duty, and that Your Majesty be pleased to order the immediate release of the goods and merchandize confiscated from their merchants, after which the Royal councillors will take care that a good present be made to Your Majesty equivalent to, if not exceeding in value, the sum proceeding from the 1°/$_{o}$ duty "*ad valorem.*" And certainly, if Your Majesty could grant this without much damage to the Royal treasury, I do not hesitate to say that it would be the best arrangement possible under the circumstances, especially at this time and season, and in the present condition of affairs, for this king's affection for Your Majesty and for the Low Countries will thereby increase twofold, as will also that of the English in general. Otherwise it is to be feared that the King himself will take the thing in bad part, and resent the affront and injury (for so he calls it) inflicted upon his subjects, of whom just now we stand in much need. Indeed, in my humble opinion, the tax (*impostz*) could not have been imposed at a worse conjuncture; these people are sure to murmur unless the cause of their complaint be promptly removed. That is why I humbly beseech Your Majesty to reconsider this matter maturely, and with Your great prudence and wisdom resolve what may seem most fit and convenient. I must, however, add *that, in reality, the English merchants have no occasion nor reason to complain of the examination of the goods they export to that country* (les pais d'embas), *and yet they find it a morsel harder to digest than the payment of the duty itself, and I do not hesitate to say that by exempting them from the one as well as from the other, we shall in the first place gain their hearts and secure their affection, and then Your Majesty will get from them a gift, most acceptable indeed under present circumstances.*

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* The passage is somewhat obscure, and perhaps deficient, owing, no doubt, to the deciphering not being correct. It stands thus: "Et ne leur peult lon donner à entendre que exemptant du dit impostz leur nation, que les aultrez doibgent (doibvent?) estre exemptez et excusez de le payer, n'ayant privilege comm'ilz avoient. Le quel privilege estant plus valide et indissoluble que celluy des ecclesiastiques, au quel comme je leur allegoys avoit este desrogué pour l'instante necessité. Et seroient bien contens les dits du Conseyl, et aussy lez marchans, que vre. ma^{te} mette ordre que les venditeurs paient le dit impostz, et quilz viendrent (vendent) tant plus chier leur marchandize silz veullent ou peullent (peulvent), mas yl[z] ne veuillent en sorte du monde ouyr parler que l'on voye et revisite leur marchandize affin de sçavoir deulx le venditeur, ce que bonnement netz (ne se) pourroit sçavoir aultrement. Et combien que leur ait este remonstre que ce n'est contre le traicte de l'entrecours de visiter pour quelque occasion survenante les marchandizes sortant des pais d'embaz, et que la novellete (*sic*) dont pourroit parler le dit traicte, se doibt entendre de nouvelleté pecuniaire et interessable, aultrement ylz pourroient reclamer de ce que l'on a faict la bourse nouvelle en Anvers plus lontaine (*sic*) par avanture de la maison de leur nation que n'estoit la vielle, aussy se pourroient oppouser que vouldroit faire nouvelle crane, toutesfois ylz ont tousjours persiste en leur opinion."

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The King wonders at so many safe conducts being granted by the Low Countries, alleging that the worst kind of war for the French would be to leave them their goods and merchandize on hand without their being able to dispose of them. He says that he has incessant complaints from those among his own subjects, who have lately equipped and armed privateer vessels against the French, and that whenever they happen to board and capture a merchant ship of that nation they are greatly disappointed to find that she has a safe conduct from the Low Countries. The other day the Lord Privy Seal sent me word that I ought openly, and without disguise, to write to Your Majesty to urge You to refrain in future from granting safe conducts to French vessels, as otherwise the owners of the vessels would be deceived, and the English privateers, finding they are baffled in their calculations, will not in future respect safe conducts, but will throw them into the sea, and board and capture any French vessel they meet with, whether she has one or not.*

The privy councillors told me yesterday that they were hourly expecting George Douglas, who, according to information received from their ambassador in Scotland, was the bearer of despatches, couched and worded in such terms as this king will approve, which is a very good piece of intelligence for the councillors and their friends, as well as a great blow (*bastonnade*) for the French.—Brussels, 15 of June 1543.†

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A l'ambassadeur Chapuys en Engleterre, du xix de Juing 1543, dois Bruxelles."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

16 June. **159.** The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—Our letter of the 6th inst.‡ must have apprized you of the last news from France, as well as of the great preparations this king is making in order to invade the countries subject to Our government. We are, indeed, in the receipt of letters from the duke of Aarschot and count of Rœulx advising that *the French army has been divided into two bodies; one very strong and numerous, with a considerable park of artillery, under the command of the duke of Vendôme, has already penetrated into the Arthois, and on the 12th, at midnight, laid siege to Baspames,§ which, We hope, is so well provided for that the*

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* "Et m'envoya dire l'autre jour le Privy Seel tout ouvertement qu'escripvisse que l'on n'en donnast poinct, et que d'aultre maniere les navigans seroient deçuz, car les leurs estoient desliberez de getter tant de sauf conduyt quilz trouveroient sur mer, et prendre tout ce quilz trouveroient venant de France."

† The same letter in cipher is also in the Imperial Archives, as well as another copy of the deciphering, dated the 19th.

‡ No. 153, p. 364.

§ Now Bapaume, in the department of Pas de Calais (France).

enemy will not easily make his way there. The other, commanded by the Dauphin of France (Henry), is now at Montrosuel (Montreuil) for the purpose of advancing either to Avernes or Cymay, and laying siege to one of those towns, and, if they can take it, reducing all the small forts in the neighbourhood, and then laying siege to some large and important place in that county, which siege king Francis himself intends to attend personally. Besides this, We are informed that a force of* 200 *men-at-arms and* 6,000 *infantry has entered the Luxemburg, with a view to besiege Thionville and then join the army of Clèves in front of Hainsberg.* The prince of Orange, however, with 4,800 horse and 14,000 foot, is encamped two miles from the latter town, and We shall soon hear what comes of it all. May God give him victory over the enemy!

Whilst this letter—the chief object of which is to ask you to go again to the king of England and request him to grant Us the promised aid—was being written, yours of the 11th was duly received, by which We have learnt the affectionate desire that king shows of complying as soon as possible with Our demand. We command you to thank him most affectionately in Our name, and in the meantime We will write to His Imperial Majesty, who must by this time be at Trent, to make haste and meet the enemy.†

The King, as you tell Us, does wisely consider that it is far better for him to send Us his auxiliary contingent at once than wait until the French have wasted the land and done more mischief. We hope, with God's help and the assistance of the English, to be able, should the French lay siege to any important town of Ours, not only to defeat their plans and cause them some annoyance, but—if Our army at Heinsberg holds its ground, and We find that We can dispose of a sufficient force—even approach the enemy and take the offensive. *We cannot say at present whether Our army will offer the enemy battle or not;* that depends entirely upon the generals in command, the spot, the circumstances, and, on the other hand, upon the more or less desire they and the French commanders may have of exposing their persons, and last, not least, upon the state of political affairs, which in war time changes almost daily, nay, every minute.

Not to conceal anything from the King, and that you may acquaint him with the amount and position of the forces We have for the defence of these countries, you will tell him that the duke of Aarschot and the count of Rœulx, who have to guard and defend the counties of Arthois and Haynnault, have under them, besides the division of Our army encamped close to Heinsberg, and 2,000 men lately recruited in Friezland, a force amounting altogether to 3,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, which is to be increased by 3,000 Spaniards

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* Avesnes and Chimay, in Hainault.

† The Emperor arrived at Trent on the 2nd of July.

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just landed at Lescluyse,* besides the English contingent, which, on its arrival at Calais, can, without inconvenience or danger of any sort, join the bulk of Our army, Our intention being not to employ them in the garrison of places, but in the field wherever they are needed.

As soon as the force now at Hainsberg under the prince of Orange † is disengaged, whether successful or not, We will send the greater part of it to the French frontier, hoping to have by that time a powerful army to do and accomplish that which in the opinion of allied military commanders and officers experienced in warfare may seem best for the defence of this country and repulse of the enemy.

With regard to provisions, We hope that the English who are to cross over will bring a sufficient quantity with them; if they should not, We promise that, if necessary, there will be no lack of them in their camp. At any rate, if the King will only send to Calais a good store of wheat so that We ourselves may have some portion of it in exchange for Our money, We shall be more sure of Our affair, and of fulfilling Our engagements.‡

As to the road the English are to take after their landing at Calais, We purpose writing to count de Rœulx to send two officers of his own army to guide them to the spot whereat he (the Count) may be encamped at the time of their passage.

It would be desirable that the English should bring some artillery with them. When We hear of their landing at Calais, We will take care that as many draft horses (*limoniers*) and chariots as may be wanted are provided forthwith; indeed, We have already given orders that a number of them be in readiness.

You did very well in remonstrating with that king's privy councillors respecting king Francis' dilatory excuses in the matter of the heralds. It is evident that by delaying to give them audience and not answering the challenge, he is only trying to gain time. We also approve of the overtures and proposals made by you in order to defeat the enemy's plans, and obviate the evil. Should the king of England adopt the last of the measures proposed, you will take care to advise Us of the fact that We may at once remit to Thoyson d'Or the form of the protest which he is to make in consequence of the king of France refusing to give him audience.

With respect to the duty of 1°/$_{o}$, We will deliberate as to what had better be done in the matter, and will let you know by the first post.—16 June 1543.

French. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 3.

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* Otherwise L'Ecluse (Schluys).

† René de Nassau, son of Henri, whose death at Breda in September 1538 has been recorded, Vol. V., Part II., p. 48 *n*.

‡ "Quant aux victuailles nous esperons que ceulx qui viennent d'Engleterre naveront (n'en auront) pas de faulte, et y mettrons si bon ordre quilz en seront sans ce souffisance, requerant neanmoins au dit sieur roy vouloir envoyer des bledz à Calais pour en pouvoir tirer quant il sera de besoing en les payant, ce qui sera plus sur."

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17 June. **160.** The Emperor's Instructions to Mr. de Chantonnay.*

B., Neg. d'Ang. f. 189.

You shall go with the greatest possible haste to England, and alight at the house of Our venerable, dear and well beloved councillor, master of Requests in ordinary, and Our resident ambassador in England, Messire Eustace Chappuys (*sic*), to whom you will show and communicate the contents of this letter, and according as the resolution may be that you two take together, repair personally to the King and present him Our letters of credence. After making him the most affectionate commendations in Our name, you will address him in the following terms and words, amplifying or restricting the same more or less, at one or more audiences, according to Chapuys' advice and what the Queen may have told you at your passage through Brussels.

You will tell him that We suppose he has already been informed by Our ambassador residing in that country of Our passage and arrival in the Low Countries, for We did write to announce the same immediately after Our landing at Genoa. You will also tell him that if We have delayed sending an express messenger to him to announce Our said landing, it was because We were waiting for news from England and Germany, as well as from the Low Countries, to be able to form a plan and let him know what Our intention and wishes were respecting the war with France.

Having since heard through Mr. de Granvelle, who came back to Us, what the state of affairs was in Germany, as well as in the Low Countries (*les pays d'embas*); having also perfectly understood by Our Privy Seal's verbal report, by his correspondence with the queen of Hungary, Our sister, and by what she herself has since written to Us through Mr. de Boss, Our Master of the Horse (*Grand Escuyer*), how matters stand both in the Low Countries and in England; having communicated and consulted with such of Our ministers and Councillors as are here [in Italy] with Us, We now send you (Chantonnay) to England, that you may in Our name declare confidentially to the King what Our resolution is, and what We intend doing whilst We await news from him, and at the same time ascertain what he himself proposes doing on his side in fulfilment of the treaty lately made and ratified by us two, and according to the true, perfect, and indissoluble friendship existing between Us.

For ever since the bishop of Westminster (Thirlby) was at Montçon (Monçon), it has always been Our intention and

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* Thomas Perrenot, sieur de Chantonnay, and count of Cantecroix, son of Nicolas Perrenot, sieur de Granvelle, the Emperor's Lord Privy Seal, about whom *see* Vol. VI., Part I., Int. p. xxii. His Instructions have been abstracted from the copy at Brussels. They are not at Vienna, as it was natural to suppose, especially as the following draft of the Emperor's letter to Chapuys (No. 161) is in the Imperial archives. Bergenroth saw the Instructions at Brussels, and had them transcribed for his collection. See *Catalogue of Spanish MSS. in the British Museum*, Vol. XXII., p. 630, No. 44.

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desire to terminate Our business [in Spain] so as to be able to repair as soon as possible to those parts, and with that king's co-operation employ all Our forces against the common enemy, the delay experienced in the execution of those plans being solely and exclusively due to the changes and unfitness of the weather, contrary winds, and so forth.

That since Our arrival here We have caused a levy of 4,000 Italian infantry and 600 light horse to be made, together with 3,000 Spaniards, besides those coming from Biscay, who by this time, We presume, must have already landed in the Low Countries. In addition to that force there are 16,000 German foot and 2,000 horse already enlisted and ready to march on Spires and meet Us there on Our arrival—all these forces, as well as the Spaniards and Italians, under able captains well experienced in warfare, to be employed wherever they may be wanted.

You will also tell the King that We Ourselves intend to follow the road [to Spires] without making a stay anywhere, with the full intention of being in that town on the 20th of July at the latest, surrounded by the aforesaid forces in infantry as well as cavalry. There will be already at Spires on Our arrival upwards of 100 pieces of heavy artillery, well equipped, mounted and provided with every necessary so as to be ready at a moment's notice either to join the army which the Queen, Our sister, has in the Low Countries, or to go elsewhere according as the news from the theatre of war, and the movements of the common enemy or of the duke of Clèves, his confederate and ally, may be, or wherever it suits the king of England best to have Our forces join his. In short, that We shall do his pleasure in every respect, and will try to gain time for the prompt execution of Our warlike plans.

That the King must know and understand the state of perplexity and straitened circumstances in which king Francis finds himself at present owing to the enormous expense he had to sustain through last year's campaign, which, instead of being profitable to him, brought nothing but shame and loss, besides destruction and ruin to his kingdom; that France is now divided; that there is much discontent among its inhabitants, and, in short, that there was never so fit an opportunity for an invasion. That is why he (king Francis) is doing all he can to avoid and prevent war, hoping that by doing so he will be able to get money next winter to fortify and strengthen himself against the king and against Us, and perhaps also promote war between the English and the Scotch, so as to have it out of his own kingdom.

It is therefore very important for the said king of England and for Us not to let this juncture and opportunity pass away, but to seize it at once and attack the common enemy before he has time to recover. For that purpose We have had the enclosed statement of Our disposable forces made and sent to you, as well those of which Our sister, the

Queen, can dispose in the Low Countries—which We have no doubt she has already sent—that the king of England may inspect them at his leisure, and decide how Our arms had better be employed, conjointly with his, for the humiliation and destruction of Our common enemy.

We also trust that the King will resolve, if he has not done so already, to acquaint Us, as sincerely and minutely as We have done, of what he himself proposes doing against the common enemy, since when Our ambassador (Eustace Chapuys) spoke to him last on the subject, he fully promised to do so as soon as he himself had heard from Us. And say that We now request and entreat him as warmly and affectionately as it is in Our power to do, to let Us know as soon as possible what he thinks will be the best mode of carrying on war against the common enemy, and sending to France the challenge (*sommation*) and intimation of the articles of the treaty, unless that has already been done on the arrival of Thoison d'Or, Our herald, whom We sent to England for the purpose.

Should the king of England make any difficulties respecting the invasion of France during the time that We Ourselves are at war with the duke of Clèves, not only on account of the duchy of Ghelders, which he has usurped, but owing also to the wickedness and malice of which he was guilty last year with regard to the undertaking of Martin van Rossen, his servant and subject, of which his own intercepted letters and pertinacious obstinacy are a proof; his having refused to accept the last truce which Mr. de Granvelle offered him, to which he had agreed at the request of the Estates of the Empire, and principally in consideration of the conversation which the King had had with Our ambassador (Chapuys), that being disengaged on that side We could the sooner fall on the king of France with Our joint forces, then you will tell him that We hope that when the duke of Clèves hears that We are approaching his dominions with all Our army, besides the forces We keep in the Low Countries, he cannot fail to acknowledge his fault, and ask Our forgiveness. Should he not do so, but persist in his rebellion, We hope to reduce him to submission and even more, considering that the forces which Our sister of the Low Countries has are quite sufficient for that purpose. The Duke once reduced one way or other, if the season and the disposition of affairs be suitable, We and the King may easily invade France.

Should the King speak to you of the help and assistance which We are bound by treaty to give him, you will answer in accordance with what the Queen, Our sister, may have told you at your passage through the Low Countries, as well as with the advice of Our ambassador (Chapuys), and the agreements entered into by the Queen herself with the English ambassador at her court; that is, of course, provided you see in the king real inclination and readiness to declare war against France, and also in accordance with

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the forces he himself may have prepared for the invasion of that country in this present year.

However that may be, you will take care to persuade the King to join Us, if possible, in the campaign against France, or at least to declare himself openly the enemy of that country, so that, if nothing better can be obtained from him, king Francis may at least be frightened and obliged to detach part of his army against the English of Calais and Guisnes. In this manner Francis' forces will be reduced in number precisely at those points of the frontier against which We Ourselves might direct an attack, so that neither he nor the duke of Clèves, his confederate, may join their forces and help each other.

You will also try that the King may have no loophole for excusing himself in case of the invasion of France not taking place this year. You are to represent to him the great warlike preparations already made by Us—much greater and indeed double those specified in the treaty, and quite sufficient to compose two different armies—and that the duke of Clèves being Francis' confederate and ally, it is quite natural that We should make war upon the two, since were the Duke not compelled into obedience, as most likely he will soon be, he would have helped king Francis.

There is still another argument to bring forward in favour of an invasion of French territory, namely, that king Francis has invaded the Low Countries (*les pays d'embas*), and so has the duke of Clèves, without either the one or the other (the King or the Duke) having asked the help and assistance of the king of England in virtue of the said treaty, and that during a whole year We have carried on war against these two enemies at considerable and even unbearable expense. All this the King ought to consider, and not offer any excuse for not joining in the war against France on his own side should We be unable to furnish him all his demands according to the letter of treaty, which if interpreted with good faith and true friendship must mean that "the mutual help and assistance to be bestowed must be measured by the power, wealth and circumstances of each party."

You will also tell the King that We have been requested and pressed by the Pope to hold an interview with him, or meet him at Bologna, as We did twice in the days of Pope Clement. For that purpose he has sent to Us, first of all his own son, the duke of Castro (Pier Luigi Farnese), and after that his grandson, Cardinal [Alessandro] Farnese, but that in order not to lose time and that Our journey may not be unduly prolonged, We refused his invitation. The Pope then condescended to come as far as Parma, which was only one day's journey from the place whereat We then were. It then seemed to Us, as well as to the rest of the Italian powers, that under present circumstances, and considering that the Turk is threatening to come down in person upon Hungary at the head of very considerable forces—indeed, much larger than he ever had in that country—and having besides sent a powerful fleet to the coasts of Naples and Sicily, We ought not to afford the Holy Father an excuse for not helping Us and Christendom on that side, by refusing any longer the proposed interview. Besides, We have been told by ministers and ambassadors of the Italian powers and others—and indeed We now know for certain by means of intercepted letters—that king Francis has bitterly complained more than once to the Holy Father of the treaty We have made with England, and that under colour of that complaint he has been intriguing both against that king and against Us, trying to make the Holy Father believe that the treaty in question has been made expressly for the purpose of causing him to lose the obedience of Scotland and France; all the time soliciting earnestly the assistance of the Holy See against England, and begging him to induce the Scotch to turn against that king and declare war to him, and therefore that in order to defeat personally king Francis' arguments We have accepted the interview. That the Pope besides, during Our absence from Italy, has done nothing but fan disturbances, as he was doing before Our arrival, for he was in close negociation with king Francis and the Italian powers; he had already made levies of men in favor of France, with the avowed purpose of declaring for him. On this point of the intrigues (*menées*) of the Holy Father and king Francis, in consequence of Our treaty with England, you may show to Our sister, the Queen, and to Our ambassador (Chapuys), the intercepted letter of the French ambassador residing with His Holiness, which letter, as you well know, contains the formal promise made by king Francis to His Holiness of aiding him against the king of England. Should Our ambassador there (Chapuys) deem it advisable you may show the letter to the King.

To end with this point of the interview which, as above said, We intend holding with His Holiness at Parma, We are in hopes of conducting matters in such a way as to prevent the plans and designs of king Francis in common with him. Indeed, We already perceive that His Holiness begins to be colder in the matter. However this may be, you may assure the king of England in Our name that neither directly nor indirectly shall We do anything inconsistent with, or contrary to, Our treaty, nor to the confederacy and sincere friendship existing between him and Us.

You may add that We have left a good provision of money in cash on this side * for the support of the forces We have here; that if necessary the sum can be increased, and that We can very easily persuade the Italian powers to help, should His Holiness make a stir, and declare against him [Henry], a sort of game at which His Holiness would gain nothing, and might perhaps be the loser, and repent.

You will make the King understand, as the opportunity may offer, how very important it is, especially for him, not to defer any longer the projected invasion of French territory on his own side of the frontier, so as to give king Francis a good brushing (*une bonne main*), which is the true course to prevent the Pope from helping him now or in future against him.

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* The Emperor was then in the Tyrol on his way to Spire, where he arrived on the 11th of July.

You can also say that the king of the Romans, Our brother, has a very heavy task to perform in his resistance against the Turk, and that it is incumbent upon Us to induce His Holiness by all possible means and persuasions to help him against the Infidel. That upon Our arrival in Germany We will endeavour to make all the estates of the Empire, Catholic as well as Protestant, assist against the Turk and towards the defence of the kingdom of Hungary. We have for the present advised him (the King) to be on the defensive, and so guard his own frontiers by land as well as sea that the Turk may not enter into Germany,* which would be a thing almost impossible for him to achieve single-handed. If the king of England would assist him promptly it would be a great and meritorious service to God and to the whole of Christendom, and a favor which Our said brother (Ferdinand), Ourselves and the whole of Germany would esteem beyond measure. You will add that if We have advised Our brother to be on the defensive it is owing to Our firm belief that at the present crisis he cannot do otherwise, and also because, as king Francis is throwing all sorts of impediments in his way, he (the king of the Romans) cannot attempt more. Were We not as desirous as We are of invading France at this juncture, We might easily have marched to Our brother's assistance. You, Chantonnay, shall go first to Our sister, the Queen, in Flanders, and communicate these present instructions in order that, as We are now writing to her, she may have them examined by her councillors, and then give you her orders in writing as to what you ought to do and represent, which orders you (Chantonnay) and Our ambassador (Chapuys) are to obey strictly and to the letter.

You will, moreover, do your best, conjointly with the abovementioned resident ambassador in England, to ascertain what the King's intention and resolution may be with regard to the contents of these instructions, and after learning the news of those countries (England and the Low Countries), shall return to Us as quickly as possible.—Nienove,† le xvii de Juing 1543.

French. Original minute. pp. 8.

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* "Et nous a semble quil se tint en termes de deffension et pourveut les places frontieres tant d'eau que de terre pour empescher le dit Turcq, qui est chose surmontant sa possibilité."

† If by Nienove Ninove in E. Flanders is meant, there must be some mistake in the date. According to Vandenesse's *Itinerary of Charles V.* (pp. 537–8), the Emperor arrived at Cremona on the 26th of June. The 27th and 28th he passed in the Mantuan territory. On the 29th he was at Peschiera, and on the 30th at Dolce (in the Veronese), where a triumphal arch had been erected on a bridge of boats across the Etsch. On the 1st of July he slept at Noveredo (?),

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17 June. **161.** The Same to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—In conformity with what We wrote from Gennes (Genoa) advising Our arrival and landing at that town, and Our intention to let you know, as soon as We possibly could, Our resolution and determination to attack either the duke of Clèves or king Francis, and what you would have to say on the subject to the king of England, Our ally, having for that purpose ordered Mr. de Granvelle to make haste and meet Us here as soon as possible, we have decided to despatch Mr. de Chantonnay,* gentleman of Our chamber, on a mission to that king, as you (Chapuys) will see by the Instructions he will show you. Mr. de Chantonnay is to go first to Our sister, the queen of Hungary, and exhibit his instructions in order that, if in view of the condition of affairs at his arrival she thinks that anything in them ought to be added to, retrenched or changed, she may, after communicating with the English ambassadors in Brussels, order such emendations and corrections to be made as she deems proper and convenient. With the Instructions thus modified or changed, as it may be, Mr. de Chantonnay shall return to Us as hastily as possible that We may send him on to England. Once there the ambassador will present his credentials to the King and make the *exposé* of his mission, according to the tenour of the Instructions of which he is bearer, and the state of affairs in England. For the better accomplishment of Mr. de Chantonnay's mission We command you to assist and help him with your experience of that country, advising and instructing him as to the manner in which he is to address the King and his privy councillors, in order to induce them to accept the proposal contained in his Instructions, or whatever else you (Chapuys) may think proper and fit under the circumstances. We also send you letters of commendation and of credence in favor of the said Mr. de Chantonnay for that king's ministers and privy councillors who enjoy most credit at Court and manage the King's affairs. The letters are not addressed, so that Mr. de Chantonnay may use and present them to the individuals you may designate, and you will take care that Our ambassador may speak to each of them in the terms recommended by you as most conclusive and suitable to the good issue of the mission entrusted to him.

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where the bishop of Trent (Christoforo Madrucci, 1539–67) came to meet him. After passing the night of the 2nd of July at Trent, where the General Council was to be held, and having a conference with the Papal Legate (Morone), the Emperor went to Brixen on the 7th; on the 8th to Stertzing; on the 9th to Innspruch; on the 15th to Kemptem (Kempten); on the 18th to Ulm. On the 27th he arrived at Spires, where he was met by the Elector of Mayence (Maintz) and the bishop of Arras (Antoine Perrenot).

* "Gentilhomme de la bouche (gentilhombre de la Boca)" are the words in the original. Chantonnay's name was Thomas Perrenot, sieur de Chantonnay and count of Cantecroix; he was the son of Nicolas. *See* above, p. 397.

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As the contents of the Instructions, and what Mr. de Chantonnay himself will explain verbally, must be enough for your guidance, We will add no more at present about Our determination and resolution.—Cremona, the 17 of June 1543.

P.S.—Since the above was written your letters of the 20th and 29th of May have come to hand. No further reply to them is needed than to refer you to the Instructions of Mr. de Chantonnay, whom We will not retain near Us longer than necessary.

*French. Original draft.** *pp.* 2.

19 June. **162.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

" Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—Since my last of the 15th inst. the King's ambassadors residing at this Our Court have earnestly requested Us to exempt the English merchants from the duty of 1$^{\circ}/_{\circ}$, saying that they have mandate from the King, their master, to maintain their request, trusting that at the outset of the alliance We would not contravene what has been stipulated and treated of between the two Majesties, the Emperor and himself. We answered them that We prize so highly their master's friendship that We could not believe for a moment that, unwilling as We are to accept the gift of the English merchants unless he himself gives his consent, he (the King) would still refuse Our request, and speak of the advantages We were likely to get by the exemption therefrom and the small profit to accrue to the English merchants through the proposed relief of the payment of that duty for a definite space of time.

Notwithstanding all Our arguments, however, the English ambassadors have persisted in their request, saying that their charge is to insist upon absolute and unconditional exemption from the duty in question, and that the King, their master, could in nowise persuade himself that We would persist in Our refusal of so just a request on his part. He (the King) rather thought it was the fault of some of Our councillors, who, regardless (as the ambassadors said) of the close friendship existing between the two princes, the Emperor and himself, did not advise Us in the matter as they ought to have done.

After this We asked the ambassadors whether the King, their master, had or had not been informed of Our request that the English merchants should pay the duty only for a time to be specified and determined beforehand. Their answer was that they had done so, but had received orders from home to insist on the total exemption from that duty to the end. They were then told that the King's privy councillors had certainly stated that should We consent to exempt

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* There are two in the same hand.

English merchants from the payment of the duty, they, the merchants, would be pleased to make Us a present more profitable to Us than the duty itself. The ambassadors' answer was that they had no orders or mandate as to that, and that they knew nothing of the affair, and although they were shown letters of yours wherein the promise was mentioned, they still maintained that they knew nothing about it. At last, seeing that they persisted on the absolute exemption from duty; considering also the present state of affairs, and fearing that if We went on refusing the application they (the English) might delay the settlement of matters of greater importance, the ambassadors have been told that We hope the King, their master, will take into consideration the great damage and loss We should have to sustain through the exemption, and the small profit the merchants are likely to get from it were Our request, through your medium, refused again. And yet that in order to show how unwilling We were to tax the King's subjects against his will, We will allow the English merchants to import free of duty into these Low Countries any goods whatever, provided the goods are their own, and likewise export from this country any sort of merchandize until some other agreement is entered into with the King.* In conformity with this proposal of Ours, if accepted, We have issued an ordinance commanding the clerks of the Customs charged with the collection of the said duty of 1°/$_0$ to let English [goods] pass free, taking care, however, that in the transport and carriage of the said goods and merchandize no fraud be committed. It is for you (Chapuys) to decide if it be wise or not to press again the King to consent to his subjects paying the duty for one year only, and if so remind the King's privy councillors of the offer and promise they once made you in the name of the English merchants, all the time declaring to them that it is not so much for the profit We may get from the promised gift in money—however acceptable under the present urgent circumstances—as to satisfy and content other foreign merchants who are actually paying the said duty on the goods they import. And as the ambassadors here resident have given Us to understand that the English merchants never made any offer at all, or at least that if they did they themselves have not been informed thereof, and therefore that they cannot agree to it unless they get fresh orders from home, you will take particular care to remind the King and his privy councillors of the offer and promise they once made to you.

Whilst this letter was being written yours of the 15th came to hand, informing Us that the King had unconditionally approved of your proposal of the challenge and intimation of war to king Francis being made there in London to the French ambassador, and his passports given him. And yet it would not be amiss to remind him of the charge or commission once given to Our respective heralds, and that since the French king has refused to listen to the very honest and christian admonitions and requests which the Emperor and the king of England purposed to address to him, both princes considered themselves bound by conscience, as well as the duty of their royal dignities—with which God has been pleased to endow them —to repute and hold him as the common enemy of Christendom and make incessant war upon him, without admitting any propositions of peace (*sans le recepvoir en traictie*) unless he complies with all the demands contained in the Instructions to the heralds.

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* "Et neanmoins pour demonstrer que ne voulons lever le dit impost de ses subiectz contre sa volonte, nous estions contente que les marchands dEngleterre pourroient mener leurs marchandises à eulx appartenans, et es quelles nulz autres ayent part, dycy en Engleterre sans payer le dit impost, tant que aultrement seroit accorde avecq le dit sieur Roy."

You did well in writing to Toison d'Or, the herald, to come back to Us, since that king ordered his (Garter) to return to England.

Orders have been forwarded to the ports of Flanders and Zeeland to fit out for sea all the war ships they have, that they may join the English fleet [in the Channel] and together repulse (*rebouter*) the enemy, and do him as much harm as they possibly can. You will tell the King that besides that We are actually at work to equip and arm more ships, according to the letter of the treaty.

As the French are becoming daily more powerful and numerous on the frontiers of Haynault and Arthois, laying waste the fields, destroying the crops and setting fire to the villages, without sparing even the inhabitants, We request and order you to solicit continually that king to send Us promptly the greatest succour and assistance he may now have at hand. If all the contingent, which he is bound to furnish by treaty, is not yet ready, let him at least send by small detachments (*fil à fil*) those he may have ready, and issue orders for the men who have already crossed [to Calais] to join the army under count de Rœulx, to whom We have written that should the French lay a formal siege to any town of Haynault or Arthois, he is, with the auxiliary forces from England, to make a diversion and invade the county of Boulogne sur Mer (le Boulonaix). Mons. du Rœulx has answered that should the enemy feel so disposed and lay formal siege to some town or other, he is quite ready, whilst the French are so engaged, to enter that county, and can easily take Montreuil, inasmuch as the bulk of the French are taking the direction of Cambray. Yet the same commander writes that until he has positive information as to the enemy's next movements, he cannot possibly abandon the frontiers of the Haynault. The French have lately raised the siege of Barpasmes (Bapaumes) and retreated also from Avesnes, which they intended to besiege, and they are now marching from

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one place to another, so that for the present it is almost impossible to say what their next movement will be, though they are spreading rumours that their intention is to lay siege to Valenchienes (Valenciennes).

With regard to the safe conducts which have been granted, We shall begin by telling you that Our principal object in doing so in very special cases has been that the intercourse of trade may not cease altogether, a measure of which German merchants would complain bitterly just now. Had We not granted some to Germany and other foreign nations that have nothing to do with the present war, their merchants would have sustained great losses, as would also the English and those of the Low Countries. This notwithstanding, in order to please the king of England, We will take care in future not to grant safe conducts unless the goods and merchandize be of that sort of which there is real need in those countries. We request and order you to remonstrate with the King and his privy councillors as to that, and tell them that were We to make use of such rigour and severity in the matter as that recommended to you by the Lord Privy Seal (Lord Russell), it would be highly detrimental to and against the letter of commercial treaties, and that We beg them to look to that and take care that no inconvenience of that kind arises therefrom. Besides which you must also consider and bear in mind that on no account could We willingly place Ourselves under such subjection [to the king of England] as to relinquish Our right to grant safe conducts to the merchants who might apply to Us for them without that king's consent, which would be tantamount to receiving the law from him. You must, therefore, endeavour to give the King satisfaction on this point without obliging Us to refuse granting safe conducts to merchants except with his consent.

Addressed: "To the ambassador in England, 19 June 1543."

Indorsed: "The queen of Hungary to Chapuys."

French. Original draft. pp. 5.

22 June. **163.** ARTICLES presented to the AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE by the DUKE OF NORFOLK, on behalf of the King of England.*

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl.

In the first place the King, our sovereign master, considering the troubles and divisions at present prevailing in Christendom, which troubles and divisions, it has been remarked, proceed entirely from the King, your master, by reason of this present war by him recommenced and prosecuted against the Emperor; considering also that the Turk, the common enemy

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* In a modern hand: "Articles presentés à l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre par le Duc de Norfolk de la part du Roy d'Angleterre."

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of our Holy Religion, is daily advancing more and more for the purpose of invading the countries and territories inhabited by Christians; and wishing, as he does, to do the office of a good prince according to the dignity which God by his divine clemency has been pleased to grant him on Earth, has, by the advice and counsel of the Emperor, his good brother and perpetual ally, requested the king of France, your master, to consider and bear in mind that the Turk, the sworn enemy of all Christian princes, has never ceased employing all his power to invade the countries and territories inhabited by Christians in order to subdue and bring them under his sway, that he may ultimately destroy our Holy Faith and religion, to the great regret of all good Christians.

Our sovereign lord does also particularly and individually complain of the great injuries, damages, grievances, and annoyances which he himself has sustained from the King, your master, when he had reason to expect that your master, out of gratitude for the singular services and great benefits conferred upon him on several occasions, and especially in times of distress and need, would have made such reparation and given such satisfaction for the said injuries and wrongs as fully to compensate and reward our sovereign king for his many favors, as it would have been just and honorable to do.*

How much, and in what way, our sovereign lord has valued and prized your master's friendship, and what pains he himself has taken to preserve it, and how assiduously he has worked for its preservation and increase, carefully avoiding all causes and occasions of that mutual love and affection being in the least impaired or diminished, there is no need for us to show, since our master's enduring patience is a sufficient proof thereof. For, whatever may be said on the subject, certain it is that the king of France, your master, is specially obliged and bound by particular engagements and treaties, which he himself has sworn to and ratified as so many bonds for the preservation of an everlasting peace, to pay every year into the hands of our sovereign lord and master the sum of 102,180 crs. of the Sun, of 24 sous each. And yet he has entirely neglected to fulfil the conditions of those treaties with regard to the aforesaid annual pension; for he has not paid one single farthing of it for the last nine years,† though bound to make the said payments in full at the time and on the days fixed upon in the treaties.

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* "Et aussi nre. dit souverain seigneur se plainct en particulier et à part de les grandz iniures, tordz, griefz, et desplaisirs quil a souffert et endure de vre. dit maistre, ayant eu tousiours espoir que pour les gracieusetes, plaisirs et grandz bienfaictz quil luy à faict en mainctes manieres et en ses grandz besongnes et necessites de temps passes, vouldroit avoir faict tel redres, recompense et satisfaction, comme appartenoit à raison, honneur et justice."

† "De payer chascun an à nostre dict souverain la somme de cent deux mille cent quatre [vingt] escuz au soleil [de] vingt quatre soulz tournois contans (comptants) tant sen a fallu quil ait voullu tenir et garder les dictz pactz en cest endroit, que ces neuf ans passes non ait este paye ung denier."

By not doing which, the King, your master, has shown little regard either for his own honor and reputation, or for the great friendship and esteem which our sovereign lord has always borne him, or for the favors received at his hands, or for the promises he himself has made upon oath; having, moreover, during the time, and when those treaties were in full vigor, received and sheltered in his dominions various rebels against the authority of our sovereign lord, such as an English born subject who, being the son of a knight of the Garter, boasted to be of Royal descent, and intitled himself without right or pretext of any kind La Rose Blanche,* although on many occasions he (the King) had been requested to deliver him up according to the letter of the treaties between France and England.

In like manner, for some time back, the King, your master, was soliciting and inciting the late king of Scotland [James], nephew of our sovereign lord, to break the peace and friendship with him, and invade England, not only aiding and assisting him as long as he lived, but after his death sending thither ambassadors of his own, as well as refugees of that country to keep up and fan the hostility of the Scotch against the English, offering to help and assist them in the war commenced by their late king against our sovereign lord, notwithstanding, and in complete disregard of, the leagues, alliances, and treaties existing between the two countries.

In addition to that, the ambassador of the King, your master, then residing in this country,† having by his practices and intrigues persuaded our sovereign lord to allow the passage of his own merchants to France for the purpose of looking out for and buying wine, as they had been always in the habit of doing, promising and assuring that their voyage to France and back should be without impediment or danger of any sort on their part or on that of the Scotch; yet, notwithstanding this engagement, when our sovereign lord's subjects and merchants, under faith of such promises and assurances, crossed the Channel with their ships and merchandize, they were, through the means and assistance of France, treacherously captured and put into the hands of the Scotch, to their great loss and damage.

And besides that the King, your master, has since arrested and imprisoned numbers of our sovereign's subjects, merchants and others, and seized their ships and merchandize without their having given any offence, or otherwise deserved it.

The King, your master, moreover, having under cover of certain proclamations issued by him in favor of our sovereign's subjects, induced many of them, merchants and others, to cross over to France, they have there, against all honor,

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* Richard de la Pole, son of John duke of Suffolk, K.G., and Edward IV.'s sister Elizabeth. He was killed at the battle of Pavia in 1525.

† Marillac himself or Morvilliers ?

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reason, and justice, been arrested, and are still kept prisoners, in full contravention to the leagues and treaties existing between the two countries.

Such acts as these, so repugnant and contrary to the covenants, leagues, treaties and engagements between the King, your master, and our sovereign lord, together with the affectionate desire and zeal which, as a true, constant, and Christian prince, the King, our master, has always entertained, now more than ever, for the defence and preservation of Christendom—already much shaken and weakened by the wars which the Grand Turk has carried on against it, chiefly at the instigation of the King, your master, as generally reported—have stirred up our sovereign lord to the defence of that afflicted and injured Christendom, as well as to the reparation of the many injuries and losses hitherto sustained. He has, in short, united with the Emperor and joined his own grievances and complaints, private as well as public, to his, in order to summon and challenge the King, your master, to comply at once with our and the Emperor's joint demands, as Mr. de Chappuis (*sic*), his ambassador here present, will state and represent hereafter in his master's name.

Our sovereign lord, for his own private quarrel, demands from the King, your master, full payment in cash of all debts and arrears due to him, as well as a security and pledge for the annual pension to be paid in future, consisting of the towns of Boullogne, Ardres, Monstreuil, Therouannes, and the county of Ponthieu, with their respective territories and appendages, of whatever kind or nature they may be.

He shall release and set free all merchants, sailors (*mariniers*), and other subjects of the king of England, as well as all their ships, merchandize, and goods, of whatever description or denomination they may be, which he now keeps and detains unjustly; the merchants themselves to be fully indemnified for their losses, damage, and the interest thereof.

He is to abstain in future from practices or treaties with the Scotch or others likely to result in harm or detriment to our sovereign lord.

So, to put an end to the war with the Emperor, that the latter and other Christian princes may devote themselves entirely to resistance against the Turk:—

He is to restore to the said Emperor, our sovereign's dearest friend and perpetual ally, all his rights, compensation for all damages and for interests which have suffered, according to the annexed memorandum of Mons. Chappuis (*sic*), the Imperial ambassador here present, which memorandum and list of complaints our sovereign lord agrees with and considers as if it were his own.

Should the King, your master, comply with all and each of the above joint demands, our said sovereign, with the Emperor's consent, will be glad again to restore your master to his friendship, and live in peace with him as long as he keeps the conditions above stipulated.

Should, however, the King, your master, refuse to satisfy each and all of the above demands within the period of 20 calendar days, to be counted from this date, or else refuse to give sufficient pledge that within a short space of time the whole of those demands shall be complied with, then, in that case, our sovereign lord will, in addition to these present demands of his, summon him to surrender to him the duchies of Normandy, Gascogne, and Guienne, with the other counties, lordships, and territories belonging by right of inheritance and possession to our sovereign lord, which the King, your master, and his predecessors on the throne of France, have unduly obtained and usurped from him; and should the King, your master, again refuse to restore to our sovereign lord the above-mentioned duchies, counties, lordships, and territories belonging to him, and satisfy in full the other demands, requests, and restitutions hereby mentioned with reference to Christendom at large, to our own sovereign lord, or to the Emperor, his good brother and perpetual ally, our sovereign lord is determined to carry on war against him, and not to cease in his hostility, causing him every possible molestation and annoyance, so as to show him the path he ought to follow, and oblige him to listen to reason.

In short, should not this last and the other demands (our own and the Emperor's) be fully complied with within the period of 20 days, counted from this date, our most sovereign lord will declare war to the King, your master, both by sea and land, from which war he will never desist nor in anywise listen to proposals of peace or truce without the consent of his brother, the Emperor.

Indorsed: "Copy of the paper read and put into the French ambassador's hands by Monseigneur de Norfolk, in the name of the King's Privy Council, on the 22nd of June 1543."

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 7.

23 June. **164.** ARTICLES presented to the SAME by the IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—The Emperor, my master, &c. [as in the preceding], after which follows:—

"That is the reason why His Imperial Majesty exhorts the king of France, your master, who bears the title of 'Most Christian,' to refrain and desist from his friendly intercourse with the Grand Turk, to recall the ambassadors and agents he keeps residing at his court, and altogether consider him as his enemy.

"Also to restore to the king of the Romans, to the princes and Christian States [of Germany], and, in fact, to

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all those constituting the Holy Roman Empire, the sums of money (damages and interest included) spent by them in the war against the Turk, which war, as is well known, was chiefly promoted at his instigation. Also to restore to the said king of the Romans the town of Maran,* which against all sense of honor the king of France now holds and occupies.

"To abstain in future from making war on His Imperial Majesty, his kingdoms, territories, subjects, and allies. To restore all the money, damages and interest thereon spent by him or his allies in the defence of the countries invaded by France up to the present day.

"Also to restore and deliver up all the countries, provinces, territories, or lands which he and his predecessors have usurped from the Holy Empire or from its vassals, thus bringing great injury and contempt on the authority of the Holy Roman Empire. To reinstate the duke of Savoy, the Emperor's uncle, in all his estates, countries, and provinces of which he has violently been deprived, besides indemnifying him (the Duke) for all the expenses, damages and interest thereon which he has had to sustain during the unjust wars carried on by king Francis against him. To pay to the king of England and France, His Imperial Majesty's good brother and perpetual ally, all the monies he owes him according to the treaties between them, together with the reparation and satisfaction of all damages, injuries, and interests specified in the annexed note of milord, the duke of Norfolk.

"Should the king of France promise to fulfil the above conditions, His Imperial Majesty will, with the consent of his brother and perpetual ally, the king of England, again admit him to his friendship, make peace, and come to terms with him, provided the above-mentioned conditions be fulfilled, or fit securities given for their speedy accomplishment.

"Should the king of France disregard the above just and reasonable admonitions and requisitions, and not comply with them within the term fixed and declared by Mons. de Norfolk, then His Imperial Majesty will further summon him to comply with the above demands, and in addition to that, will ask him to restore to His Imperial Majesty and his successors, the duchy of Burgundy, the counties of Charolois, Auxerrois, Masconnois, viscounty of Auxonne, the lordships of Noyers, Chastel Chinon, Bar sur Seine, and the resort of Sainct Laurens, Amiens, Abbeville, Corbie, Peronne, and Sainct Quentin, with their territories, bailiwicks and jurisdictions, besides the required compensation in money for the taxes levied during the time that each of those have been occupied by France.

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* That is Maran or Marano in Frioul.

"Also that he deliver up and restore to the said king of England and France, his brother and perpetual ally, all the countries, provinces, and estates which he retains, though belonging by right to him, as Mons. de Norfolk has already declared and explained.

"Also that he surrender and restore to His Imperial Majesty the town, castle, and bailiwick of Hesdyn (Hêdin), the town and 'chastellanie' of Estenay (Stenay), and the towns and territories of Ivoix and Dampvilliers, as well as the neighbouring villages and lands belonging to the Empire.*

"To restore likewise Provence, the Dauphinois, and other adjacent countries, which his predecessors once usurped from the Empire, and which king Francis still retains unduly.

"Lastly, that he be summoned to fulfil all the conditions of the Madrid convention, as well as those of the treaty of Cambray, and pay all the damages, with interest thereon, which His Imperial Majesty and his subjects have suffered by cause of his contravention to the said treaties, and restore to the archbishop of Valence the 25,000 gold crs. which, by his unjust detention in a French prison, that prelate was obliged to pay as ransom, with all the damages and interest thereon which he (the archbishop) has had to suffer in consequence of his long and unjust imprisonment and captivity.

"Otherwise, and for want of compliance with each and all the above demands, His Imperial Majesty, with the help of God, who grants victory to those who are in the right, and with the assistance of the king of England and France, his good brother and perpetual ally, intends to prosecute against the king of France the war so unreasonably commenced against him, and continue the same by sea and land, without listening to any proposals of peace unless he has the consent of the said king of England and France, his good brother and perpetual ally, whose quarrel is one and the same with his own, &c."†

Endorsed: "Copy of the paper given to the French ambassador."

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

23 June. **165.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl.

"Madame,"—Your Majesty's letter of the 6th inst. came duly to hand. The King has taken in very good part, as have also all the members of his Privy Council, the answer made by Your Majesty to the articles proposed by them, as well as the account and enumeration of the forces under the orders of the duke of Aarschot and count du Rœulx that are

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* "Semblablement quil restitu et rende à sa m^{te} les (*sic*) chasteau et bailliage de Hesdyn, la ville et chastellenie (chastellanie) d'Estenay, et les villes et territoires d'Ivoix et Dampvilliers, et des terres de lEmpire adjacentes."

† A marginal note in Chapuys' handwriting reads thus: "Icy reste dadjouster (d'ajouter) le surplus des articles contenus en l'instruction de Thoyson dOr."

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ready, if necessary, to take the field. As to the chariots and horses for the artillery, provision for the men, ammunition, heavy luggage waggons, and so forth, as well as chargers for mounting Mr. de Cheney's escort, it has been agreed between these privy councillors and myself that, as Mr. de Cheney, who is in command of the English force, leaves this very day for Calais, he will on his arrival let Your Majesty or the King's ambassadors know how many of each sort are wanted. With regard to provisions for his army, the King has already given orders for a sufficient quantity to be drawn from Calais itself and the rest from England.

Immediately after Jarretière's (Garter's) departure from that town the Debitis (Deputy) received a letter from Mr. de Biez, the substance of which is that he has orders from the King, his master, to listen to what this king's herald had to say in his name. That whenever the herald came he would be well received and handsomely entertained (*il luy feroit tres grosse chiere*), and that he would besides do his best to obtain a speedy answer to his business, whatever that might be. This, Mr. de Biez wrote, would be far better for the said king-at-arms than to expose his person to danger among soldiers of so many nations. Besides which the King, his master, would hardly have leisure to communicate with Garter, owing to his being then much engaged with the business of war. Should the king-at-arms come [to Boulogne] with a message from the king of England, he (Biez) would return such an answer in his master's name as would be highly satisfactory to the king of England.

On the receipt here of the French governor's letter, the privy councillors met and deliberated long on its contents, some of them voting for not sending the king-at-arms [to Boulogne], whilst others voted for his going thither and delivering the message of which he was the bearer. Then the earl of Hertford and Mr. de Cheney came to me from the King to ask my advice and learn whether Garter could not go alone and declare in Thoison d'Or's absence what the latter himself had to say in the Emperor's name. My answer was that I had no power to decide in the matter, and believed that Your Majesty could not either; even if I had the power I would never consent to Garter's going to France alone to make the intimation of war, were it for no other reason than the honor and reputation of the King, their master, of whom the French were evidently making fun (*se gaudissoient*), inasmuch as the letter of Mr. de Biez had evidently been written after Garter's departure [from Boulogne], and after refusing him, as it appears, access to the king of France. That the French ambassador resident in this country, as the true representative of the king of France, was a far more authorized person to receive communications of that sort than Mr. de Biez, who, whatever his charge and commission might be—of which, however, neither they (the councillors) nor I knew anything—was not a competent person to receive and answer the message. And that it seemed merely a mockery on the part of Mr. de Biez to say that when Garter came he would get such an answer to his application as the King, his master, would be glad to hear; for, after all, if the latter felt disinclined to answer the declaration and intimation of war about to be made, he might just as well, and better, have communicated confidentially with his own ambassador here than with Garter himself, who is no herald of his.

Lastly, on Wednesday, the 20th inst., it was resolved in the Privy Council that, according to my first opinion in the matter, the two heralds [Garter and Thoyson d'Or] should conjointly make the formal declaration and intimation of war to the French ambassador. This was done yesterday, the 22nd, after dinner, at Westminster, in the presence of all the privy councillors, and of several lords and gentlemen, it having been previously settled between the King's privy councillors and myself that Garter, the English king-at-arms, should read this king's intimation of war first, lest the French ambassador, hearing that of the Emperor's from the lips of Thoyson d'Or, should reply that he had nothing to do with me, and no charge from his master to listen to or report upon anything that I or the Emperor's herald had to say, &c. It was therefore decided that the duke of Norfolk should speak first in his master's name, reading slowly, and word by word, a paper which he had in his hands, and of which Your Majesty will receive a copy by the next post.* The duke, however, did not recite the whole paper at once; he stopped at the end of the paragraph containing the summary of the demands made from the king of France, leaving me room to intercalate those of the Emperor. This being done, the Duke proceeded to state the additional claims and demands on the part of his master, and intimate war in case of not receiving a categorical and satisfactory answer to his first demand within the term of 20 days, ten of those days being considered sufficient for the journey to France and back of the courier. I did the same, intimating the continuation of the war,† in pursuance of the Instructions given by Your Majesty to Thoyson d'Or, the whole of this being read and declared by the respective kings-at-arms in the manner that Your Majesty will see by the documents to go by the next post.

On my return from Westminster, very late in the day, Your Majesty's letter of the 19th was received, which I will answer as soon as I myself can go to the Privy Council. As there are here at present two Imperial couriers, who may perhaps be wanted in that court, I have thought of despatching one

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* *See* above, No. 163, p. 407.

† No. 164, p. 412.

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of them with this my letter, though most likely he will not be able to take the papers and documents above referred to, in consequence of the copies not being yet ready. I cannot, however, omit to say that after the French ambassador had left the room where the declaration and intimation of war were made, the privy councillors asked me whether Mr. du Rœulx would feel inclined, after the raising of the siege of Bappaulmes * by the French, to invade some part of their frontier. My answer was that I thought he would, provided it were one of those towns of which there had been a talk once, and provided also they themselves sent an auxiliary force in addition to that which they are bound to send to Your Majesty's assistance, as stipulated in the treaty. But, as far as I can judge, there is very little appearance of this king's ministers agreeing to that; one of them particularly making such difficulties whenever a proposal of that kind is put forward, that every chance is spoilt by his indecision and vacillation; perhaps when the minister alluded to † sees that French affairs do not go on so prosperously as was generally thought at first, there will be a change of opinion in this matter.

I was also asked by the privy councillors whether, in case of the King, their master, sending across the Channel a greater force of infantry, as well as cavalry, than that which he is bound by treaty to furnish, Your Majesty would consent to keep that force under Your pay. I answered that I knew nothing about that, but would willingly write home to inquire. They also told me that Mr. de Chenay, who by all accounts must already be at Calais, had taken with him 400 men-at-arms, not only for the support in the field of the infantry under his command, but for any other service that might be required, all of them private gentlemen, and the flower of the English, among whom was the ambassador now resident at Your Majesty's court. To which remark I replied that Your Majesty had precisely ordered me not to ask for cavalry, but merely for infantry, according to the letter of the treaty. Nevertheless, I fancied that there would be no objection in that, and therefore answered that cavalry would be equally acceptable. Wishing to know how many horses each man-at-arms was counted for, I asked Mr. de Cheney (Cheyne) before his departure [for Calais], and he told me that the 400 cavalry would count for, or have the same pay, as 500 infantry; whereas, according to the duke of Norfolk's calculation, they would be reckoned at 600, that is, three foot men for each two horses.

These privy councillors keep telling me and affirming that the affairs of Scotland are going on prosperously for their

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* Rappaulmes in the original, which is evidently a mistake of the copyist for Bapaulme.

† Mr. de Cheney, or Sir Thomas Cheyne, which was his real name.

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master, the King. Everything, they said to me, had been settled according to his wishes; there was nothing more to do than to have the whole set down in writing.—London, 23 June 1543.

P.S.—I have at this moment received the copy of the paper which the duke of Norfolk read yesterday in the Council room, and which was then and there put into the French ambassador's hands. I here enclose it,* begging Your Majesty to forward it to the Emperor, together with the papers and documents relating to the affair, after having it examined in the Council of State.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

23 June. **166.** The SAME to MGR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monseigneur,"—Your Lordship will see by the enclosed papers and letters the news of this country, as well as an account of what passed with the French ambassador when war against his master was declared and intimated, I do really believe *neque vobis, neque Plutarco auctore,* that the said ambassador received the papers that were put into his hands, and promised to send them home and return an answer as soon as possible. At which all our friends here, and specially myself, have been much pleased and rejoiced, for the reasons which your Lordship may guess. I am anxiously expecting to hear what resolution His Imperial Majesty will now take, and what aid it will be my duty to ask and solicit from this king and his ministers, in order to execute his Imperial commands as soon as possible.—London, 23 June 1543.†

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Monseigneur, Monsr. de Granvelle, Knight, Councillor of State, and the Emperor's lord Privy Seal."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

24 June. **167.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—My letter of yesterday, the 23rd, must have informed Your Majesty of occurrences in this country. Since then, this very morning, the King has sent me a message in answer to my pressing solicitations for the stipulated succour, saying that he is actually promoting it as briskly as he possibly can; all depends upon Mr. de Chenay (*sic*), who is to take the chief command of the force, being ready to start, which he will do as soon as possible.

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* *See* above, pp. 407–11.

† Another letter from Chapuys to Granvelle, not holograph, as this one is, but in his secretary's hand, is to be found in the Imperial Archives of Vienna. Though its contents are exactly the same, the date is London, the 16th of June 1543.

As to making the force already in Calais, amounting—as the privy councillors showed me the day before yesterday by the muster rolls—to 5,500 infantry, march out of the place, that could not be done until the arrival of Mr. de Cheyne himself. There was no one (he said) in those parts competent to take the command of troops, and it was, in his opinion, far preferable to delay the attack a few days longer, than expose his men to danger and loss of reputation. Having then suggested to him—as I did the first time that I spoke to him on the subject by the advice of one of his privy councillors—that whilst Mr. de Cheyne was occupied in England, the captain of Guisnes,* a very experienced and trustworthy officer and a particular friend of Mr. de Cheyne, might take his place, the King answered that he wondered much how I possibly could suggest to him to abandon and leave without a governor in times like these one of the strongest places in all Christendom. And upon my replying to him that there would still remain at Guisnes enough officers and gentlemen for the defence of the place, which, in the meantime, and whilst the Emperor's army kept the field, could run no danger from the enemy, he seemed to be hurt and annoyed, saying that it was quite unfair for a friend to advise and recommend to another an affair which might turn out to the inconvenience or disrepute of the latter.† Hearing this I tried to mend matters by apparently leaving the whole affair in his hands, saying that I trusted entirely on his prudence and good will, and had no doubt that all would be right. This much said I to him, not without having first placed before his eyes the advantages to be gained by employing at once the force he had on the other side of the Channel, which, whilst it is doing no service at all, is causing him considerable expense. *I also remonstrated with the privy councillors as to that, and will keep them as well disposed to favor our views as they all now seem to be, with the exception of two, about whom I wrote some time ago,‡ especially Mr. de Cheney* (Cheyne), *who has indirectly put forward so many difficulties* (respectz), *that in point of fact the long protracted delay in sending out the auxiliary expedition may fairly be placed to his account.*

Respecting the opposition offered by the merchants of this country to have their ships and merchandize examined in the ports of Flanders and the Low Countries, and the gift they propose making to Your Majesty as an equivalent for the 1% duty, the King, whenever I have spoken to him about it, has assured me that they (the merchants) will do their duty on that score, and that he himself has given commission to

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* Sir John Wallop.

† "Il s'est pensé picqué, disant que lon ne debvoit tant avoir recommendé les affaires que de presser l'amy de chose que luy pourroit tourner à inconvenient et desextime."

‡ *See* above, pp. 272, 413–4, 416.

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*his Privy Council to look closely into the affair, and see that they fulfil their promise. I really believe that had Your Majesty, without any previous declaration of Your intentions to this king's ambassadors residing at Brussels, given me the commission to settle the affair, the gift which these merchants offer, and are quite prepared to make, would have been larger and more substantial.**

The King has been exceedingly glad to hear of the retreat of the French from the siege of Bappaulmes (Bapaume), and at the loss they have there sustained of 600 men and two or three captains, as he tells me, at the same time wondering that no news at all have come of any *undertaking against Montreuil. I failed not on this occasion to remark, in compliance with Your Majesty's orders, that Mr. du Rœulx was only waiting for the French army to lay a formal siege to some other fortified town of Flanders to undertake Montreuil, which he purposed to do as soon as they were occupied elsewhere.*

The King has also heard with pleasure that Your Majesty has issued orders for the fitting out of the fleet according to the treaty, in consequence of the enemy being thoroughly aroused, and getting every day stronger by sea.

The privy councillors tell me that the King has ordered a very large (*inestimable*) amount of provisions for his army to be shipped and transported across the Channel; that is to say, four or six thousand quarters of wheat, 10,000 of corn for brewing beer, 20,000 ducats' value of cheese, and an incalculable quantity of lard, beans, and other articles of food, adding that within a very short space of time 6,000 more men, over and above the force stipulated in the treaty as assistance to the Low Countries will be sent across.

I have not considered it advisable under present circumstances to speak again to the King about the safe conducts, for whenever I broach the subject to him he does invariably raise so many objections that I fear the application will be refused. As, moreover, there is no time for a full explanation of Your Majesty's motives in recommending the grant of the said safe conducts, I have altogether refrained from making the application, though I have debated long, and will again debate, its expediency with the privy councillors, who, to say the truth, did treat the affair rather roughly at first, are now more rational and better disposed to take it into consideration, so much so that they have lately released without the least difficulty three vessels belonging to the Guicciardini, † laden with wine, that were captured three or four days ago in this Channel by an English privateer.

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* "Et croy Madame quant vre. ma^{te} sans riens declairer aux ambassadeurs diçy residens devers vre. ma^{te} m'eust donne commission d'en faire la response que le dit present eust este plus avantageux."

† "Toutesfois ilz ont lasche sans difficulte ny question trois navieres des guijchardins chargeez de vins, que pour trois ou quatre jours avoient esteez sprines d'ung anglois."

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The day before yesterday, when I wrote to Your Majesty, I forgot to mention that the French ambassador, when the war was intimated to him, made no answer at all, save to observe that it was Garter's own fault that he had not proceeded on his mission and journey to France; he (the King's herald) needed no safe conduct for that, and upon its being argued that Garter had his reasons for acting as he had done and asking for one, knowing that this King's last ambassador in France had been unduly and dishonestly detained, the Frenchman did all he could to excuse and justify the English ambassador's arrest. Nevertheless, he could not with all that persuade the audience; for Master Paget, happening to be present in the Council room, got up and contradicted his statement, relating how he himself had been arrested and detained in France by the King's commands. Then the French ambassador observed that the term of 20 days fixed for his master's answer seemed to him very short, all the time protesting that in making that observation he was not seeking to gain time and prolong the affair, but, on the contrary, to accelerate his master's answer to the intimation of war.

Yesterday the French ambassador sent a message to the privy councillors purporting that the King, his master, had written to say that the state of his affairs at present was most prosperous; he had under him an army of 16,000 lanskennets and 25,000 soldiers of fortune (*aventuriers*), besides 18,000 light horse and 2,000 men-at-arms (*gendarmes*); he expected soon to add 10,000 Germans and 12,000 Swiss. He was about to send forward with the vanguard his marshal Hannebault,* and he himself would shortly follow with the remainder of his army. This piece of news from the mouth of the French ambassador was received with much derisive amusement by both the King and his privy councillors—London, 24 June 1543.†

P.S.—Just at this moment, about six o'clock in the evening, the King sends me word in all haste that intelligence has come of the prince of Orange's complete success in the district of Hainsbergue (Heinsberg), at which he and all his Court have greatly rejoiced.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 4.

27 June. **168.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—The duke of Norfolk has forwarded to me the enclosed petition of a poor and simple man, his subject and household servant, that I may recommend it to Your Majesty, and beg that his vessel be released and allowed to continue her voyage.—London, 27 of June 1543.

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* Claude de Hannebault, or Annebaut, baron de Retz et de La Humandaye, lieutenant-general in Piedmont, marshal of France. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 202, 345, 370–1, 415, &c.

† Another copy of the same letter is appended, though the cipher is different from that which Chapuys used in writing to the Emperor or to Mr. de Granvelle.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

27 June. **169.** FRAGMENT of a PETITION of MASTER ALEXANDER.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 11.

Alexander Ffavokké is owner of the vessel called La Marie Ffortune d'Albrough (Aldborough), which, laden with coals, was seized by the custom-house officer (*coustumier*) of Myddelburg, in Zeland (Zeeland). The Marie Fortunee was bound for Neuport (Nieuport). She and her cargo, as well as the master of the said ship (John Ffowell),* were taken by the officer to the said town of Middelburgh, where the master was informed that both his vessel and her cargo were confiscated for no other reason, as it appears, than his not having answered, when interrogated, as to what part of the country he was taking his coals, and having only inquired what was the price of his freight and where he could dispose of the cargo.

French. Original. p. 1.

28 June. **170.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 9.

" Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—*Monsr. de Chantonnay, gentleman of the Chamber to the Emperor, Our lord and brother, bearer of this letter, is now sent to the king of England on a special mission, and with certain Instructions, which he will show you on his arrival. Among other charges which We find to be wisely conceived and sufficiently well explained, Mons. de Chantonnay has that of acting entirely under your guidance and by your advice. We, therefore, take this opportunity to recommend to you certain affairs of Our own to which no particular reference is made in the Instructions of which he (Chantonnay) is the bearer, having, moreover, supplemented them, as it were, with additions of Our own in that which regards the state of the country that We are governing in Our brother's name. One of them is that you (Chapuys) are personally, or accompanied by your colleague, as it may be, to try and procure that the King hasten the succour in men or money that he is bound to afford Us by the treaty of closer friendship and alliance. The same*

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* " Et la fist arrester le dit navire et les biens en cela et amenast le maistre du dict navire (John Ffowell) avecq luy au dit lieu de Middelburgh (*sic*), et la le dit coustumier luy dise (dist) quil avoit confisque navire, biens et tout, pour ce quil navoyt synon demande le pays (pryx ?) du charbon et sen alloit." The names of the owner and of the master of the Marie Fortunee (from Aldborough in Suffolk), seem to be much corrupted; Ffarvokke might perhaps be *Fawkes*, and Ffowell *Howell*.

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application has been made to the King's ambassadors residing in these parts, for it appears now that king Francis, at the head of a considerable force, has already penetrated far into the country of Haynnault, and is doing all the harm he can there. We have ordered part of the army at Hainsberge (Heinsberg), *after compelling the enemy to raise the siege of that town, revictualling and providing it with the artillery and ammunition gained from the French, to march at once against the enemy. With that force, with the* 3,000 *Spaniards lately arrived, the small divisions of our national army in the Haynnault and in the Arthois, and the contingent which that king is bound to furnish, should it come in time, We hope to prevent the enemy from penetrating farther into the country, and to force them to retreat. I therefore beg you to make all possible effort to obtain from the King, at least, the aforesaid assistance in men or money.*

Considering that the forces king Francis has in the field amount to 30,000 *infantry, good and bad* (bons et mauvaix), 8,000 *cavalry, and* 30 *pieces of heavy ordnance, it seems to Us that We ought not to place too much reliance on the difficulties of his position, or the hesitation he himself may feel as to his future movements,** *but that by massing together the English forces, those which His Imperial Majesty is bringing with him, and Our own army here—in all* 7,000 *horse and* 30,000 *foot—we may prevent king Francis from accomplishing great things, whilst We ourselves will be in a situation to meet him successfully.*

That is why it is requisite to attend to what the King will say to you respecting Scotland, and ascertain whether the agreement entered into with the Scotch is really and truly concluded as those privy councillors tell you, for if it is not, king Francis is sure, if he can, to embroil affairs, and to favor and assist the party opposed to him in Scotland.

As to the help and assistance to be given by the King in case of his resolving to invade France together with the Emperor, We could not add anything more to Mons. de Chantonnay's Instructions in the matter, save that in such an event it ought to be settled beforehand with what forces We Ourselves are to help according to the letter of the treaty.

Respecting the letter of the French ambassador at Rome to the Pope, intercepted in Italy, it seems to Us that it would be of the utmost importance to show it to that king, that he may judge what king Francis' intentions are.

In answer to your two despatches of the 23rd *and* 24th *inst., We must tell you that you did right in persuading the King's privy councillors at once to declare war against France. We find the act of the declaration and intimation of*

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* "Nous semble que ne fault se trop fonder sur la necessite et perplexite du roy de France."

war excellent, and approve of it entirely. We request you to send Us a duplicate of it, as well as of the one in the Emperor's name, besides a copy of the King's oath to observe all and every one of the articles of the treaty of closer friendship and alliance.

As to the undertaking against Montreuil, or any other town of France mentioned in your despatch of the 23rd inst., We do not see the possibility of it, whilst king Francis with all his power is attacking this country, unless he himself laid siege to some town or fortress which kept the whole or part of his army engaged during three or four months to come, so that part of Our forces in the field may be employed in making an invasion elsewhere; for We ought to attend in the first place to the defence of the countries under Our government, to which the King himself is bound before thinking of acting on the offensive. As We presume, moreover, that if the English keep talking to you of the enterprise in question it is for no other purpose than to delay the departure for Calais of the men they have enlisted for future service in these frontiers with France, it would be exceedingly inconvenient to treat of it just now, when it is desirable that they should be employed on the side of Haynnault to repulse the French invaders.

The captain of Guisnes [*] *has written to Mons. de Biez* [†] *not to injure the Emperor's subjects in the vicinity of that fortress, as otherwise he should be obliged to take up arms in their defence, according to orders received from his master, the king of England. Upon which the French have published at Ardres, as We hear by letters from the governor of Gravelinges* (Gravelines), *that no one is to harm or injure the Emperor's subjects on that frontier, which, to tell the truth, We find strange enough, for such being the case, it looks as if the two kings might play into each other's hands and temporise. You must, therefore, take care, when the opportunity offers, to remonstrate against such an arrangement, and according as the general* [‡] *who is coming from England to take the command of the royal forces on the continent may act, go at once to the Privy Council and complain; for if he (the general) raises difficulties before leaving England, ten to one that he will, when in the field, do very little, or nothing at all, without consulting his master at every step. That is the reason why We request you to use all dexterity in ascertaining whether the said commander will feel disposed to do what his own master, the King, and the general-in-chief of Our forces shall order him to do; otherwise his services will be of no use at all.*

With respect to the safe conducts, you did well to represent to the King that although the three ships (navieres) *of*

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[*] Sir John Wallop.

[†] Oudard or Oudart de Biez, French governor of Boulogne *sur Mer.*

[‡] Sir Thomas Cheyne or Cheyney.

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the Guicciardini have been released; but you must add that the agents (facteurs) *residing at Antwerp have now addressed a petition to Us complaining that the English have again seized and laid an embargo on fourteen more vessels of their own laden with biscuit and wine,* notwithstanding that the said vessels and their cargoes belong really and effectively to merchants and traders, natives of these Low Countries, and consequently the Emperor's subjects, with the exception of a few belonging to Portugal. You will take care that these latter may also be released, since they cannot in any reason or justice be considered as prizes in time of war, as the enemy has no interest or share in them, and they were seized before the King had actually declared war against France.*

Addressed: "The queen of Hungary to Chapuys."

Endorsed: "To the ambassador in England on the 28th of June 1543."

French. Original draft, entirely ciphered.

29 June. **171.** The SAME to MESSRS. DE CHANTONNAY and CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

Should the king of England ask for details of the duke of Clèves' defeat before Haynsberge (Heinsberg), Mons. de Chantonnay will show him the note that will be put into his hands [before he leaves for England].

The prince of Orange, captain-general of the army sent to the relief of Haynsberge (Heinsberg), having assembled all his forces, consisting of 4,000 horse and 20,000 foot, including in that number 4,000 peasants and 16 pieces of field ordnance (*artillerie des champs*), after making such preparations as were needed for revictualling the town of Haynsberge (Heinsberg), was encamped with his forces one league from the said town, when on the 21st inst., in the early morning, having the whole of his army placed in order of battle and divided into three strong bodies, he determined to push on with the vanguard and offer battle to the enemy, should he accept it. The enemy's force, on the other hand, amounting, as it was said, to 6,000 horse and 20,000 foot, with 30 pieces of heavy ordnance, hearing of the Prince's arrival, raised their camp, and having detached a strong cavalry division, amounting, as it was said, to upwards of 2,000 horse, attempted to give the alarm, and, if possible, surprise the Prince's camp. In this manner they advanced until they approached it; they were at about a spear's length from it, intending, no doubt, to surprise us. Finding, however, that Our men were on the alert and ready to meet them, they withdrew some distance off without coming to blows with Our cavalry, which pursued them for some time. Twice did the enemy turn face and stop on the road, as if willing to fight, firing occasionally the pieces of field ordnance they had with them; but whenever Our men came near they moved on, thus continuing their hasty retreat until they arrived at their own camp, which they actually entered. Meanwhile Our men approached Heinsberg, and managed so well that the town and garrison were completely revictualled. This being done, the prince of Orange sent forward scouts (*coureurs*) to "*reconnaitre*" and ascertain whether the enemy had or had not a fortified camp, and finding that they had not, sent a good portion of his army against them to try and see whether they showed an inclination to fight; but when the enemy saw Our cavalry approach they took to flight, leaving their ordnance and all their luggage behind them, and throwing down their armour in order to run the faster. The enemy's loss on this occasion is calculated at about 1,500 men.*

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* "Vins et pastes," elsewhere "vins et pastels," that is, wine and dyer's woad.

Indorsed: "Minute pour monsieur le president du Conseil." —Brussels, 28 June 1543.

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

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29 June. **172.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—Supposing that Mr. de Chantonnay has arrived in that country,† and that both of you have received news of these parts, as well as taken cognisance of the instructions which Our sister, Madame the queen dowager, must have given to your colleague respecting his extraordinary mission, We will now proceed to inform you of the result of Our interview and conference with the Pope [at Cremona], as you may see by the enclosed copy of Our letter to the Queen, Our sister—of the contents of which you may apprize the king of England as far as you deem it convenient. You may tell him that what the French have felt most, that of which they have made the strongest demonstrations to the Pope, as We have been informed, and which has given them hopes of being able to defeat Our arguments and thwart Our views, has been Our last treaty with England. That His Holiness has over and over again

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* Both this paper and the preceding are appended to the queen of Hungary's letter to Eustace Chapuys of the 28th (No. 170). The first seems to be a memorandum or report by the president or secretary of the Queen's Privy Council in Flanders intended for the Emperor's perusal. The second is addressed to the Imperial ambassador in England for the purpose of Mons. de Chantonnay and himself laying before the King a true and official account, as it is called, of the engagement before Heinsberg, which, according to the duke of Clèves' agent in London, had been favorable to his arms. *See* above, No. 171, p. 424. It is, however, worthy of remark that the first paragraph of this draft is entirely crossed over, and the rest is full of erasures and emendations, and that a copy of the same document, entirely ciphered, is also annexed.

† He arrived in London on the 2nd of July.

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tried to bring Us over to his views, inquiring whether means could not be found of making Us withdraw from the treaty made with him (the king of England), and whether, notwithstanding that treaty, We would compound (*comporter*) for his (the Pope's) aiding and assisting king Francis; and last, not least, whether in the case of his deciding to aid and support France We would still observe Our treaty with England and assist the king of that country as We are bound to do. We have absolutely refused to countenance any favouring of France, declaring that We will help and assist the king of England to the end against king Francis, and will consider any assistance given by the Pope to France as given against Ourselves, which makes Us think that, if pressed by king Francis, the Holy Father will absolutely refuse the assistance asked, and thus the King will be left alone in the contest.

After informing you of this Our resolution, which We have purposely left for "*la bonne bouche*" of the Holy Father,* and that you may inform that king thereof, We cannot say more for the present, since by the enclosed copy of Our letter to the queen of Hungary, you will be apprized of Our progress in Italy. We have no doubt that you (Chapuys) will make use of the information contained in this Our letter respecting king Francis' intentions, and the endeavours he has made, and is still making, to get the Pope's help and assistance against Us two. It will, We have no doubt, help you in the negociation entrusted to Mr. de Chantonnay.—Pistoya, the 29 of June 1543.

Headed: "The Emperor and King."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

4 July. **173.** KING HENRY to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* 234.

Informing her that he has recalled Messire Thomas Seymour, one of his ambassadors, leaving the other, Master Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury, to represent him at her Court.—Hampton Court, 4 July 1543.

French. Original. p. 1.

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* "Bien luy pourrez vous dire que ce dont les françois ont faict plus [de] demonstrance (remonstrances) devers le pape, et en quoy ilz ont pense plus nous, povoir traverser, a este touchant le dernier traicte. Et nous a faict Sa S^{te} pluseurs admonicions et persuasions pour sçavoir si lon sçauroit retirer le dit traicte et entendre de nous si non obstant icellui vouldrions comporter quil assista[t] au roy de France, ce que nous avons absolutement reboutte; et sur ce point dit que nous assisterions le dit roy d'Angleterre jusques au boult contre le dit roy de France, et tendrions lassistance du dit pape en ce cas comme contre nous mesmes, tellement que nous tenons comme pour certain que le dit S^{t} pere refusera absolutement la pretencion du dit roy de France. Et cecy a este le dernier point que (dont) nous avons pour la bonne bouche parlé au dit S^{t} pere."

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5 July. **174.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—For the further gratification of these people, and in order to show them that I have their affairs very much at heart, and forward them as efficaciously as I can, I have thought that it was better to send this letter by the present bearer * than entrust it to an ordinary courier.

I have besides given him commission to apply to Messieurs des Finances for some advance in money on account of my salary and arrears due to me, besides the sums which from time to time I have disbursed and paid to Master Jehan de Honz.—London, 5 July 1543.†

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

10 July. **175.** MONS. DE CHANTONNAY ‡ to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E., L. 806, f. 66.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 205.

As Your Lordship must already know through the ambassador's despatch what passed with this king the last time we had audience of him, I need not enter into details. The object of this letter, therefore, will be no other than to kiss Your Lordship's hands, and beg you send me your commands, for there is nothing I wish for so much as to be able to do Your Lordship service.—From London, in England, 10 July 1543.

P.S.—The ambassador (Chapuys), who is Your Lordship's most affectionate servant, cannot fail to write at length what passed here with the King and his ministers. I beg Your Lordship to pardon me if this my letter is full of blunders; I am a bad scholar in the Castillian language; I scarcely can speak, much less write it.§ The same excuses I beg Your Lordship to present in my name to His Highness [Prince Philip], to whom I am now writing.‖

Signed: "Perrenot."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious, the High Commander of Leon, my lord."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

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* Most likely his own secretary, as will be seen hereafter.

† Appended to this letter of Chapuys to the Queen Regent is another of the 1st of July from king Henry's Privy Council to the Imperial ambassador in England, requesting him to write to the Queen that she may be pleased to issue orders for the immediate provision of 80 waggons with horses, &c. at Guisnes, before or by the 16th of that month. "Quatres vintz carriages (?) suffisantz et furniz (fournis) comme il sera requis de chevaulx et toutes aultres choses; et oultre ça cent et soixante chevaulx ditz limoniers pour tirer lartillerie."

‡ Mons. de Xantone, that is, Thomas Perrenot, sieur de Chantonnay, son of Nicolas, the Emperor's Privy Seal. His Instructions may be seen under No. 160.

§ "Aviendo V. S. de sçabar todo lo que aqua ha passado con el Rey" is the beginning of the letter, from which the reader may gather how imperfect Perrenot's Spanish must have been at this time.

‖ About this time prince Philip of Spain [afterwards Philip II.], eldest son of the Emperor and grandson of Philip I., who by his marriage to Joanna "the Crazy" became king of Castille and Aragon, had been sworn to at Toledo as heir and successor to his father's patrimonial dominions. The ceremony was renewed at Madrid on the 9th day of February 1543 before the Cortes assembled and previously to the Emperor's departure for Italy.

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10 July. **176.** The SAME to PRINCE PHILIP OF SPAIN.

S. E., L. 806, f. 67.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593. f. 206.

I need not weary Your Highness with the recital of the cause for which His Majesty, the Emperor, sent me to this king and country. Your Highness will see by the letters of the Imperial ambassador [Chapuys] what was the object of my mission, and what we both have done in the affair. As the Emperor besides has given him orders to inform Your Highness in detail of whatever may be negociated in this country, I need not trouble Your Highness any further.—London, 10 July 1543.

Signed: "Perrenot."

Addressed: "To His Highness, the Prince [of Spain]."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

10 July. **177.** KING HENRY to the QUEEN REGENT in the LOW COUNTRIES.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P., *Fasc.* 234.

Informs her that she can dispose of 40,000 ducats which he has resolved to lend the Emperor towards the expenses of the war against the Turk.—Hampton Court, 10 July 1543.

Signed: "Henry."

French. Original. p. 1.

10 July. **178.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—Our letter of the 19th June * must have sufficiently acquainted you of what passed with the ambassadors of the king of England respecting the exemption from duty upon goods proceeding from England, which the merchants of that nation claim, *and which is so strongly advocated by the King, and how for the latter's sake, and principally to avoid all disputes and debates, as well as causes for dissent on matters of much greater importance,* We had consented, for the sake of form and by way of accommodation, to the English merchants exporting goods from these countries without paying duty upon them as long as the present ordinance remains in vigor; *and that in compliance with that provision We had issued a warrant commanding the collectors of the said duty to forbear in future from levying the same on the English, in the hope that the King's ambassadors would be satisfied with that, and the merchants themselves make some offer in money as indemnity for Our losses.* The ambassadors, however, have not yet made any sign of their readiness to comply with what they once promised. On the contrary, after perusing Our ordinance in this matter, they made certain

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* *See* No. 162, pp. 404–7.

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marginal notes (*apostilles*) to the ordinance itself, of which a copy is enclosed, pretending that the said ordinance of Ours ought to be modified and amended according to their own wish. Now as the amendments proposed by the English merchants are, in Our opinion, most important, and might prove in future highly detrimental to these Low Countries under Our government, We have replied to the ambassadors, as you will see by the enclosed paper of observations, to which, however, Master Nicholas Wotton has refused to agree, demanding absolutely that the English merchants be exempted from the said duty of 1°/ₒ, whether they lade for England or for any other country; that they will not be liable to declare what sort of merchandize they carry in their vessels, nor to whom those vessels belong, and that the collectors of the customs' duties are to let the goods pass, provided they are laden in English bottoms, without asking the masters of vessels if the goods are English and belong to Englishmen, and what their destination is, thus showing clearly that they will not try to prevent the frauds that are daily committed in matters of that sort. As the aforesaid Master Nicholas Wotton insists expressly in his demands, as specified in the marginal notes to Our recent ordinance, threatening that unless We agree to them he will inform the king, We urgently request you to represent to those privy councillors that the demands of their merchants are exorbitant in the extreme, and that all the good obtained by Our concessions respecting their exemption from duty might all of a sudden be lost through their obstinate refusal. Yet should they persist in them—though We consider Ourselves perfectly justified in asking for the duty for the reasons alleged at other times—to please the King, and for the sake of the treaty of closer friendship and alliance, We will consent to the exemption in full on the express terms specified in the ordinance, which seems to Us reasonable and equally satisfactory for those among the English merchants who do not wish to commit frauds. You must try to persuade and convince them by such arguments and allegations as will no doubt occur to you, *that Our ordinance is both reasonable and favorable to the merchants of that nation; otherwise, if attention were paid to the English ambassadors' marginal notes, it would come to this, that all manner of frauds would be committed with perfect impunity, and without Our custom-house officers being able to prevent them. We sincerely hope that the King will not do Us that harm; nor can We believe that such is his intention.*

That you may know something of the incidents and progress of the present war, We will tell you that the king of France is still encamped at Marolles, and fortifying in great haste Landrechies and Aymeries,* and that We do not

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* Marolles, Landresis, and Aymeries, are all towns of Picardy.

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know at present what he intends doing next. The duke of Clèves, on the other hand, perceiving that We had withdrawn Our army from Hainsberge (Hainsburg), the better to resist the French invasion, has again assembled his men, among whom he has distributed pieces of four "gulden" each, made out of the silver taken from his own subjects. His intention, as it would appear, is to invade Brabant, for he has sent thither some infantry, which, We hear, was defeated at the very onset by the country people. Then all of a sudden he made part of his force cross the Rhine and take the direction of Utrecht. He has laid siege to a town named Amesfort (Amersfoort), but as he has no artillery with him he cannot achieve anything of importance. Meanwhile We have despatched against him the prince of Orange with a good number of men, horse and foot.

We have heard with pleasure by your letter of the 5th inst.* that the King has approved of the arrival of Mons. de Chantonnay in England, and that there is every reason to expect that his diplomatic mission will be well carried out. Already, as you tell Us, the King has given orders for the auxiliary force which he destines for this country to begin crossing the Channel. You will thank the King in Our name, and say that We have written to count du Rœulx to hold at once a meeting with the captain of Guisnes (Wallop), and devise together what means had better be employed for the better service of the two Majesties (Imperial and Royal), and at the same time see that the captain be provided by the 16th inst. with the number of waggons and draft horses † that the English may want for the carriage of ammunition and provisions, at the same time commanding the Count to be particularly careful as to that.

Addressed: "To the ambassador in England, 10th July 1543."

French. Original draft, partly ciphered. pp. 2.

11 July. **179.** The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—Your letters of the 23rd and 24th of June,‡ together with the copy of the one written by you to the dowager queen of Hungary, Madame Our sister, have duly been received, through which We have been informed of the intimation of war made to the ambassador of France, and what you yourself, in Our name, did say on the occasion. We have also heard of the military preparations

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* *See* above, p. 427, No. 174.

† "Le nombre de chariots et chevaulx limoniers que ceulx de par dela requierent, en quoy esperons que nauera (n'aura) faulte."

‡ Neither of the two letters here mentioned seem to be in the Imperial Archives, though there is one to the queen of Hungary of the 24th, No. 167, and another to Granvelle of the same date.

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which that king is making to assist the Low Countries. As since that date Mr. de Chantonnay must have landed in England, Our letter of the 29th of June [*] must have reached you, and therefore you must have learned what Our wishes and intentions are in the matter. We have no more to say for the present save add that We have duly received your despatches, and shall be glad to hear as soon as possible of the arrival in England of Mr. de Chantonnay, and what sort of reception he has had; also that We have arrived at this place [Ysborg [†]], and intend being at Spire on the 22nd inst., where We are to meet the bulk of Our army, infantry and cavalry, artillery, ammunition, and so forth, ready to march against the enemy wherever he may be, and according as We may find the most convenient place for attacking and destroying him, trusting that in the meantime Mr. de Chantonnay will return to Us, and bring that king's final resolution as to what he intends doing this year.—Ysborg (Innspruck), 11 July 1543.

Headed: "The Emperor and King."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

11 July. **180.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—As Mr. de Chantonnay, bearer of this, will soon verbally inform Your Imperial Majesty of the state of affairs in this country, I beg leave to refer to him entirely. I will only add that I have so managed the affair of the 1°/₀ that the merchants of this city are about to remit to Your Majesty, to-day or to-morrow, a sum of money of about 3,000 crs. as a gift, in consideration for their having been exempted from that tax.[‡]

Begs for payment of his "salary, &c."—London, 11 July 1543.

P.S.—After writing the above, I have received one from the privy councillors, which Mr. de Chantonnay will show to Your Majesty, as well as the deciphering of another from the French ambassador which has been intercepted.[§]

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

n. d. **181.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY'S COUNCIL to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—Mons. de Chantonnay, gentleman of the Emperor's Privy Chamber, lately sent on a mission to the king of England, after explaining his charge, has by

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[*] *See* above, p. 425.

[†] According to Vandenesse, the Emperor slept at Ysbrouck (Innspruck) on the 9th of July. *See also* Gachard, p. 258.

[‡] Another letter from the ambassador to queen Mary of the same date (11 July 1543) is inclosed, announcing the departure of a merchant from London with instructions to present her with 3,000 crs., in compensation for her losses in the duty of 1°/₀, which she has been pleased to revoke.

[§] Not in the packet, unless that under No. 150.

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the advice of the Imperial ambassador resident in that country, addressed various remonstrances to the King. After formally declaring to him the Emperor's intention and resolution to make war on France, that ambassador, in conformity with his Instructions, requested and begged the king of England, in case of king Francis invading the Low Countries before his arrival there, to be pleased to succour and help Us according to the terms of their last treaty of closer friendship and alliance. A similar prayer and request has been addressed by Us to Our Royal ally the king of England, who, We have no doubt, will immediately attend to it.

At his passage through the Low Countries Mons. de Chantonnay called upon queen Mary of Hungary, the Regent, who gave him letters of credence for the king of England, charging him, after presenting to the King her most affectionate commendations and gracious compliments, to inform him that king Francis, accompanied by his two sons,* and at the head of all his forces, had invaded the Haynnault and already taken some small fortresses and wasted the lands, with the intention, as it is rumoured, of pushing further into the country and, if possible, joining the duke of Clèves, who was then before Haynsberge (Heinsberg). This, the Queen hopes, has been efficiently prevented owing to that duke's defeat in front of that town, and yet king Francis will no doubt persevere in his invasion of Haynnault, and will most likely push on forwards unless the Emperor's ally sends Us soon efficient help and assistance so as to resist the common enemy.

To that end We have ordered that the 3,000 horse and 10,000 foot, formerly in the district of Haynsberge (Hainsberg), do march straight to the Haynnault. With such a force and the men We have now in that province and in the Arthois, the 3,000 Spaniards lately arrived from Biscaye [Biscay], and the help that the king of England has already consented to give, We hope to give such employment to the enemy as to prevent him from penetrating farther into the country,† and completely marring his warlike intentions. Nothing more will be required (with God's help) to attain that end than the promised assistance which the King will be pleased to send. The Imperial ambassador has been requested to solicit that as hastily as he conveniently can, to prevent the king of France's army from doing more mischief in this country, and to look out also for an opportunity to attack him in his own, or undertake some other military movement that may seem desirable.

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* That is, the Dauphin (Henri) and the duke of Orleans (Charles).

† The copy has: "Que à ceste fin nous avons fait retirer iii^{m} chevaulx et x^{m} pietons de ceulx qui estoient au quartier de Heynsberge pour marcher vers Haynnault, avecq les quelz et les gens de guerre que nous avons au quartier de Haynnault et d'Arthois et iii^{m} espaignolz dernierement arrives de Biscaye, et l'assistence que le dit sieur Roy a consenty [de faire], esperons bien donner tel empeschement aux ennemis quilz ne parviendront à leur dessaingz." Though this paper is, as usual, headed "The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys," it is clear from the expression "La Royne, elle, et autres," that it is only a copy of the report addressed by the Council of State in Flanders to the Emperor, without date, which is also in the Vienna Archives, endorsed: "Le Rapport, que Messieurs du Conseil fisrent à l'Empereur de la negociation de Mr. de Chantonnay en Angleterre," and endorsed "minute pour monstrer au president." The paper itself, though placed in the bundle immediately after the Queen's letter of the 28th of June, has no date; but as it must have been drawn up after Chantonnay's arrival in Flanders, the editor has thought that it had better be calendared here.

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

11 July. **182.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—On the 2nd of this month Mr. de Chantonnay arrived and brought me Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 28th ult.,* and communicated the Instructions he had received, in pursuance of which both of us together repaired to Court on the next day. We were received as courteously and graciously as could be, the King showing great pleasure and content at Mr. de Chantonnay's arrival, and making most particular demonstrations of joy the moment he heard from my colleague's lips the substance of the commission entrusted to him. Of this duty Mr. de Chantonnay acquitted himself so wisely and with such discretion that nothing could be better. But as Mr. de Chantonnay will shortly give Your Imperial Majesty a fuller account than I myself can, both of his own address in explanation of his commission and the King's answer to it, I shall refrain from writing too long a letter, and will only summarily state *that with regard to the assistance to the Low Countries and help against the Turk, these two points have been satisfactorily settled, provision having been made for both at once. As to the general undertaking against France, nothing has yet been decided upon, owing, as the King says, to the delay experienced in the transmission of Your Imperial Majesty's plans and intentions on that score.*

With regard to any particular invasion of the French frontier, this king will readily join in it, provided there be a good prospect of success. He will, nevertheless, molest the enemy by sea as much as he can, though, on the other hand, he seems to wish that in case of his wanting the assistance of the Imperial fleet for some maritime undertaking or other, which he is now meditating, it may be kept in readiness. All this Your Imperial Majesty will hear from Mr. Chantonnay's lips, he himself having conducted the negociation almost exclusively, owing to my illness, which has kept me indoors all the time.

The day before yesterday Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 29th ult. came to hand, together with the copy of that addressed to the dowager queen of Hungary, and yesterday, as the said Mr. de Chantonnay and I were thinking of calling on the bishop of Winchester and the [Lord] Chamberlain —the only two councillors who after the King's departure remained behind—they themselves unexpectedly called at our lodgings, and we communicated to them the greater part of Your Majesty's letter to the dowager queen, that they might report its contents to their Royal master. I must say that the two above-mentioned privy councillors were most wonderfully pleased with the news contained in the letter, and promised to inform the King of it as soon as possible.

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* *See* above, No. 171, pp. 422–5; but the letter is from the Queen of Hungary to the ambassador.

The King has ordered those among his own subjects who trade with, or reside in Flanders, to make the queen dowager a present of 1,000 marks, equivalent to about 3,000 ducats, as indemnity for the exemption they have obtained from the duty of $1^{\circ}/_{0}$, and the money shall be remitted to her in a couple of days.

One of the conditions of the treaty between England and Scotland is the marriage of the prince of Wales (Edward) to the queen of the former country [Mary Stuart]. The Scotch are to serve this king *envers tous et contre tous*, and when the queen has reached her tenth year she is to be sent to England and placed in the hands of the King or of the prince, his son. As security for these and other conditions of the treaty, the Scotch have promised to give six hostages, three of whom are to be earls or eldest sons of earls, and the other three barons are to be changed every six years. The earl of Lynnz (Lennox), assisted by the Cardinal, opposes the measure, and is trying to prevent the signature and ratification of the treaty; but it is expected that he will have to change his opinion in the matter, or else that he will be made to rue it. It is here thought that the 16 French ships that sailed the other day for Scotland are intended to assist the earl of Lynnz (Lennox) in his plans, he, the earl, being a pensioner of France, and that on board the said ships are 50 lances,* and I hear that some of this king's war ships are gone in pursuit of them.

Your Imperial Majesty will hear from Mr. de Chantonnay the rest of the news of this country, and especially the King's marriage to the sister of Milord Parc (Parr).—London, 11 July 1543.

Signed; "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, 11 July. Received at Ulm, the 19th of the same month."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

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12 July. **183.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the CROWN PRINCE OF SPAIN.

S. E., L. 806, f. 78.
B. M. *Add.* 2,859. f. 207.

"Serenissimo y potentissimo Señor,"—Since His Imperial Majesty has deigned to grant me the favor of communicating with Your Highness in writing, it will not be attributed to

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* "L^{te} lances" are the words, meaning, no doubt, 50 men-at-arms with their usual retinue, each man having five or more retainers under him.

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temerity on my part if, with my imperfect knowledge of Spanish, I undertake from time to time to report the news of this country.

Your Highness must already have been informed of the treaty many days ago concluded between His Imperial Majesty and the king of England, which treaty was duly ratified and most solemnly sworn to, as Your Highness will see by the copy of the act herein enclosed.*

Immediately after its ratification His Imperial Majesty's herald and that of this king were sent to Calais to go from thence into France, in order to make to king Francis the customary requisition and defiance. The heralds, however, could not for a time obtain a proper safe conduct, as the French, for the sake of prolonging the affair and gaining time, offered various excuses, until I myself suggested that instead of making the intimation to the King in France, it should be made to his ambassador, who is still here. This was done. The period of twenty days assigned for this answer has already expired, and the French ambassador has only returned a very vague one, saying that king Francis, his master, cannot believe that the intimation made to his ambassador can really proceed from this king, whom he still considers his friend and regards as such, and that even then if the King granted a safe conduct he would send to England a noble personage (*un cavallero muy principal*) to comply with all reasonable demands, and discuss others which seemed to him not to be sufficiently well founded, and, moreover, that with regard to his own differences with His Imperial Majesty, he would be glad that he (the King) should become the arbiter of them. This king, however, refused to grant the safe conduct applied for, or prorogue the term for twenty days more, declaring, among other things, that he could do nothing without the Emperor's consent, nor could he either accept the proposed arbitration, for acting as he was on the present occasion conjointly with him, in virtue of the treaty just concluded, their interests were identical and could not be separated.

Whilst the above answer from king Francis was being expected, this king has not been idle, for he has ordered a good number of his best war ships to be armed, and has also sent to Flanders to the help and assistance of the Queen Regent, as stipulated in the treaty, the number of men he is bound to furnish; besides reinforcing, as he is now doing, his own garrisons across the Channel, in case they should be wanted one of these days for the invasion of French territory. He much regrets, as he says, that His Imperial Majesty's resolution of going to Italy was not communicated to him sooner, and that he knew not before what Your Majesty's plans were, for

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* No enclosure in the letter itself, though copies of the treaty are occasionally found among papers of the year 1543.

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(says he) he would otherwise have made greater military preparations. Notwithstanding the great expenses he has lately incurred, he has now remitted to the king of the Romans 40,000 ducats.

The affairs of Scotland between king James and this king have at last been definitively settled to the latter's satisfaction, and to the consequent annoyance and damage of the French, who some time ago sent to the coast of that country about 20 of their armed vessels. It appears, however, that the French did not meet there with the reception they expected, for I hear that four or five of their vessels have actually been captured by the English, and that the Flemings have taken two more.

Of the two chief points in the treaty with Scotland, one is the marriage of this prince of Wales (Edward) with the daughter of the last king (*chiquita*), now queen of Scotland, who, upon reaching the age of ten, is to be placed in the hands of this king or of the prince of Wales, his son; the second is that the Scotch bind themselves to serve this king against the French or any other nation: for the security of which engagements and others the Scotch are to give as hostages two earls, or eldest sons of earls, and four barons or lords, the hostages to be renewed or exchanged for others every six months.

The Cardinal [of St. Andrew's] has been released from his prison; he is now living in his bishopric,* without, however, daring to appear at Court, owing to the count of Aren (earl of Arran), nephew of the last king, and now supreme ruler in all Scotland, forbidding it.

This king has taken for wife the daughter of a baron named Parr, who had been previously married to another baron of the name of Latimer, by whom she had no children. She may be about thirty-two years of age. May God be pleased that this marriage turn out well, and that the King's favor and affection for the princess, his daughter, continue to increase. The latter has just sent me a message desiring me to salute Your Highness in her name.

Some days ago this king's ministers intercepted a letter of the French ambassador to his master. As the letter was written in cipher, it was sent to me to decipher. Enclosed is a copy of it.†

Though I have no doubt that Your Highness has heard from various quarters of the movements of the French, yet as in troublesome times like these letters may be lost, I consider it my duty to state that king Francis seemed at one time to have made up his mind to join his forces to those of the duke of Clèves, who was then laying siege to Hensuerge, a fortified place in the duchy of Juliers which the rebels took last year, though the prince of Orange was shortly after fortunate enough to make the Clevese raise the siege of it, with considerable loss in dead and wounded, besides the whole of their artillery. That was the principal reason of Francis' discomfiture, and he has been ever since hesitating as to what to do next, and going from one place to another without a fixed plan. Indeed, ever since his discomfiture before the walls of Perpignan he has been with his two sons, the officers of his household, and almost all the nobility of France, hovering about (*en la campania*), without laying siege to any town of importance, except perhaps the castle of Bapoma (Bapaume), which, after all, he could not reduce, for though the castle is small and by no means strong, yet the inhabitants of the town made so stout a defence against the duke of Vendôme, with his 15,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and 16 pieces of ordnance, that he was actually obliged to raise the siege of it, after losing 700 men. After that the king of France, with the abovementioned company and army of upwards of 30,000 foot, 8,000 horse, and 48 pieces of ordnance, pitched his tents near a town called Marolles, not very far from Valenciennes, where he has remained upwards of a fortnight, sometimes threatening Valenciennes itself and at others Vannes (?), though he has not yet attacked either the one or the other. True is it that his men have made raids in the vicinity, burning and wasting everything on their passage with unheard of cruelty to the country people, but, as I say, he has not taken any place of importance.

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* "Al cardenal de allá soltaron de la carcel, y estase en sas beneficios."

† None has been found in the packet; it may, however, be that of the 7th of June at p. 367.

King Francis has had it announced and circulated that he has actually gone there (to Marolles) and pitched his tents in that locality for no other purpose than to wait for His Imperial Majesty and give him battle if he will accept it; but he is now beginning to publish that the Emperor is so long in coming that he fears he will not be able to wait any longer for him, but will be obliged to raise his camp and retire into his own kingdom. I really believe that he would have done so already had he found an honorable excuse; that is why he has offered to this king to withdraw his armies and retreat, if he will only accept the arbitration proposed to him.

Nor has the king of France been remiss in soliciting the Gheldrese (Gueldresses) to join him again, to which end some of them, at his persuasion, passed the other day to the other side of the river Mosa (Meuse) and penetrated into Brabant. It happened, however, that the country people (*villanos*) of that duchy defeated them completely. On the other hand, a more considerable body of Gheldrese crossed the Rhine and laid siege to a town of the bishopric of Utreque (Utrecht) named Amesffoort, from which they will, I have no doubt, go back with as good a reception as the others had in Brabant. Of whatever may happen in those

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parts, as well as of any remarkable event in this country, I shall not fail to apprize Your Highness whenever there is an opportunity.—London, 12 July 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Prince."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

12 July. 184. The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER (COBOS).

S. E., L., 806, f. 76.

My servant[*] brought me Your Lordship's letter of the 15th of April, for which I thank you most warmly, &c.

By order of His Imperial Majesty I am now writing to His Highness the Prince, and as my knowledge of Spanish (*lengua Castellana*) is rather poor, I beg your most Illustrious Lordship to excuse my inability in that respect wherever it may show itself. As Your Lordship will see by my letter to His Highness the news of this country, I need say no more.—London, 12 July 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious lord, the High Commander of Leon."[†]

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

13 July. 185. EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—The English merchants residing in or resorting to the Low Countries for the purpose of trade[‡] have applied to this king for redress of the wrongs which, as they say, are still done to them at Antwerp concerning the duty of the 1°/o. This King and his Privy Council wonder much at that, especially after Your Majesty's having assured the English ambassadors residing at Your court that the said merchants would no longer be subjected to any molestation with regard to the said tax.[§] I have, this very morning, received a message from them requesting me to write home on the subject, which I cannot fail to do owing to the great affection and regard which the whole of this nation are just now showing for the Emperor, most humbly begging Your

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[*] "Con mi *criada,*" says the copy; but it is to be supposed that *criado* is meant.

[†] Francisco de los Cobos, lord of Sabiote, high commander of Leon, in the Order of Santiago, and Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the Emperor, had since the death of the Empress Isabella in May 1539, or shortly after, resided at Madrid in the Council of State. He now was attached to the Crown Prince as Minister for Foreign Affairs. The letter itself, which is kept at Simancas, is indorsed in Cobos' hand as follows: "A mi del embaxador de Su Mag^{d} en Inglaterra Gustacio Capucho" (*sic*).

[‡] "Les marchans anglois hantant de par dela."

[§] "Ce que le dit sieur Roy et aussi ceulx de son conseil trouvent bien estrange, actendu mesmement quil avoit pleu à vre. ma^{te} dire et accorder aux ambassadeurs du dit s^{r} roy que les dits marchans ne seroient plus molestes."

Majesty to issue proper orders for the English merchants not to be molested in any way, but be allowed freely and openly to take away the goods actually shipped, or that may be shipped in future, as well as to be relieved from the cautionary pledges and securities, which they have been compelled to give.[*]—London, 13 July 1543.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 2.

16 July. **185A.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

" Madame,"—Three days ago this king's Majesty sent me his admiral[†] with a coloured chart and map of Holland and its coast that I might see with my own eyes, and bear in mind what danger there would be, and what loss would be sustained were the duke d'Olsten (of Holstein) to get possession by surprise of the islands at the mouth of the canal leading to Amsterdam—one called Flelande (Flieland) and the other Texel[‡]—at the same time requesting me to write to Your Majesty on the subject, and recommending that great care should be taken to provide means for their defence, and that bastions for artillery should be erected there.[§] *I do really believe that for a long time back the King himself has thought of that, and conversed on the subject with the ministers and agents of the duke of Clèves, at a time, too, when there was a talk of an alliance and confederacy with him* [*against the Emperor*]. *He is now afraid that the duke d'Olsten's (of Holstein) fleet may one of these days effect a landing on some important place of that coast, and has ordered his subjects to lade hastily as much merchandize as they can on their vessels, and if these are not sufficient, to freight those of the Low Countries and return home as quickly as they can.*

I am just at this moment in receipt of a letter from the Admiral telling me that I must to-morrow, without fail, wait on the King, who is staying 20 miles from this city, for him to communicate certain news he has received concerning the above-mentioned warlike plans of the duke of Olsten (Holstein) and other important matters, and that I am to dissemble and spread the rumour that particular busi-

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[*] " Vouloir donner ordre que les dits marchans puissent librement et franchement tirer leur marchandisez tant chargees cy devant que à charger faisant relascher les plegges (*sic*) et cautions ou gaiges quilz ont este constraintz donner [à] loccasion du dit impost."

[†] Sir John Dudley, Viscount Lisle.

[‡] " Que sont à la bouche du canal que va [à] Amsterdam, que sappellent lune Fflelande (Vlieland), et lautre Tessel." *See* above, No. 17, p. 47, and No. 30, p. 63, where a slight intimation of the danger to be apprehended was made to Chapuys.

[§] " Quil seroit bon dy proveoir (pourvoir) et mesmes y faire dez bastillons de terre et y mettre force artillierie."

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ness connected with the merchants, or some other pretence that I may think of, is the cause of my going to him. I shall not fail, God willing (*au plaisir de Dieu*), to be there at the appointed hour, and advise Your Majesty immediately of this king's communication, if important. *I shall at any rate learn from the King's own lips part of what the French ambassador negociated yesterday when he went to Court, though I dare say his ministers, in order to improve their case, as they generally do, will tell me that for the purpose of detaching their master from our alliance, the French are offering to pay the arrears of pension, and grant other conditions equally advantageous. Indeed, most probably that will be their answer to my questions respecting the object of the French ambassador's visit.*

I suppose that Your Majesty has by this time received my letter concerning the particulars of the navigation laws of this country, and also that about the pikes (*picquez*) that this king has caused to be bought in Flanders for the use of his infantry, and therefore will abstain from further mentioning those two points.—London, 27 July 1543.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 1½.

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20 July. **186.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* C., *Fasc.* 234.

Acknowledge the receipt of a letter from the king of the Romans (Ferdinand).—Grafton, 20 July 1543.

French. Original. p 1.

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n. d. **186A.** The ENGLISH AMBASSADOR'S NOTE respecting the ships to be furnished by the Low Countries.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 4.

The 21st article of the treaty of closer friendship and alliance between the Emperor and the king England is thus worded: *Item quoniam utriusque principis referre videtur ut maria tuta ab hostibus, &c.* The article above referred to—as the English ambassadors to His Imperial Majesty, and to the dowager queen of Hungary, regent in Flanders and the Low Countries, have frequently observed—having been designed, drawn, approved and ratified for the sole and express purpose of securing the seas from the common enemy, it is really wonderful with how much negligence and procrastination that affair has been treated by the ministers of His Imperial Majesty, and those of his sister, the Queen Regent; for whilst the king of England, my master, has done his utmost to comply with and observe the said article, nothing has yet been done on the part of his allies to secure the supremacy of the seas. Indeed, had not the king of England, my master, by strictly observing the letter of the said article XXI. of the treaty, sending his own fleet to sea at his own and considerable expense, and preventing that of the French from infesting the coast of the Low Countries, so as to enable the Antwerp merchants and others to convey safely their merchandize, and last, not least, cutting off the French from their fisheries, certainly the Emperor's army in Flanders might have been in serious danger.*

His Imperial Majesty and the Queen Regent are, therefore, earnestly requested to order their respective ministers to comply as soon as possible with the prescriptions of the said article, &c.

Indorsed: "The note (memorial of the English ambassador) touching the war ships according to article XXI. of the treaty."

Latin. Copy. p. 1.

20 July. **187.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—These few words are for the express purpose of informing you that the sieur de Chantonnay arrived here [at Ulm] this very evening with your letter of the 15th inst.† The only thing We can tell you now respecting its contents and the business therein mentioned, and of which the said sieur de Chantonnay has made Us a verbal report, is that you and your colleague have acted wisely and discreetly in the matter, and that We entirely approve of everything that has been said and done by you. We shall not enter into details now, but will wait for the answer to a letter which We wrote to Our sister, the Queen, of which Mons. de Phallaix was the bearer, and hear of the landing of the force, both infantry and cavalry, which the king of England, according to promise, destines for the Low Countries, which answer We confidently hope to receive at Spires, towards which place We are at present marching, and which we expect to reach in four or five days at the latest. Meanwhile We do not cease one moment from making such provision as We deem necessary, and will march with all possible speed against the common enemy, wherever he may be.—Ulme (Ulm), 20 July 1543.

French. Original draft. p. 1.

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* This paper has no date, but as it is mentioned in the Queen's letter to Chapuys of the 19th of June I have calendared it within this month of July. The endorsement is "Tenor vigesimi primi articuli tractatus de verbo in verbum ut sequitur," and then follow the English ambassador's remarks on it.

† "Ces deux motz seront pour vous advertir comme le sieur de Chantonney (*sic*) est arrive ce soir avec voz lettres de (*sic*) xv^{e} du present" are the words in the original, but the date of Chapuys' letter is wrongly given, or else the ambassador's is missing. On the 15th of *June* there are letters of his both to the Emperor (No. 156) and to Granvelle (No. 157), as well as to the Queen of Hungary (No. 158), but in July I find none previous to this one of the 20th.

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25 July. **187A.** LUIS SARMIENTO[*] to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E., Port L., 373,
f. 13.

As to what Your Lordship tells me of the report current at the Spanish court of the Infanta,[†] daughter of the princess, getting so very fat that it may prove in future an obstacle in child-birth, I must say that the reporter of such news must be "*muy grand partero*," and very fond of thin women. As the Infanta has been seen and visited by all the Castilian personages who frequent this court, and no one that I know of has found in her the defect mentioned in Your Lordship's letter, I have purposely avoided writing about her until now that I am asked. The following is the true description of her person. She is as tall, perhaps taller, than her mother, very well made, plump rather than thin, but not so fat as to be disfigured by it. When a child she was certainly fatter than she is now. In the Royal Palace, where there are several pretty ladies, not one is prettier than she is. All agree that her disposition is that of an angel, most generous and amiable, and very fond of dress; she dances well, and knows more of music than a chapel-master. She also knows Latin, and, above all, is a good Christian. I have always tried to inquire from D^{a} Maria de Velasco, who was once in her service and that of the Queen, her mother, as well as from certain maids-in-waiting, whom the latter left behind when she went away, particulars of the said Infanta;[‡] all agree in saying that she is healthy, &c. I will make Don Juan look at her very closely with his spectacles on. I should like many people to come from that town to look at her, and confirm the description I am now making of her person to His Majesty the Emperor and to Your Lordship. All that I have hitherto known of her corresponds with what I have written. I must add that her father and mother love her most passionately.—Lisbon, 25 July 1543.

Signed: "Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

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27 July. **188.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 11.

Since the date of Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 11th inst.,[§] received yesterday, the 26th, Mr. de Chantonnay must have arrived at Court. I have no doubt, to judge from the very remarkable wit and talent, as well as wisdom and discretion displayed by him in the explanation and management of his charge during the time he has been in this country, that he will be able to give Your Imperial Majesty verbally a more clear account of his own negociations and doings than I could in writing. I will therefore avoid any further mention of this, considering it quite superfluous.[*]

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[*] Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, Imperial ambassador in Portugal since 1538. His letters have been abstracted in Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 4, 108–12, 147–9, 293–4.

[†] The Infanta Doña Maria de Portugal, daughter of king Dom Joaõ III. and of Catharine, the Emperor's sister, born in 1527 (15 Oct.). In Nov. 1543 she became the wife of Philip, the Emperor's son. She died at Valladolid on the 12th of July 1545.

[‡] "De ciertas mugeres que quedaron [del tiempo ?] de la señora Doña Maria de Velasco me he informado que estan en su servicio de ella y de la Reyna, siempre yo me he informado, y procurado para [por saber ?] ellas todo lo que he podido para saber de la persona de la señora Infanta; dizen me que es en extremo sana, muy concertada en venille su camisa despues que tuvo tiempo para ello, que dizen que es en lo que más se repara para tener hijos."

[§] *See* above, No. 180, p. 431.

Since his (my colleague's) departure, which took place towards the middle of this month, I must say that I (Chapuys) have not perceived the least sign or indication of this king having changed purpose as to the points discussed and agreed to between him and us two. On the contrary, he has hastened much more than he did before the equipment of the remainder of his fleet, adding to the twelve war ships he had already—the finest and most gallant that ever furrowed the sea—six or seven more, bought or chartered [from merchants].[†] It seems as if the activity to which I allude, and the increase of this king's fleet, were partly owing to the intelligence he has lately received from the North that the duke of Holstein, with the assistance of the king of Sweden, is preparing a considerable force by sea, and at the same time giving his subjects faculty to capture as many English vessels as they can. The King has also heard—and I am trying to persuade him of the truth of the report—that the said duke of Holstein, with the advice and encouragement of the French, is designing to make his own brother king of Scotland. To ascertain whether the report be true or not, and also to watch the Duke's movements in that quarter, the King has lately sent a gentleman of his Privy Chamber [to Denmark]. In short, there is every appearance of this king being, in the end, obliged to do of his own accord that which before this he so long and tenaciously resisted, namely, declare himself the duke's enemy.[‡]

On the same day of Mr. de Chantonnay's departure the French ambassador went to Court to represent to the King, in his master's name, that in consequence of his being far away from Paris, where his Privy Council resides, he could not,

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[*] "Poinct doubtant que selon le notable indice quil donna icy en lexplication et maniement de sa charge, de sa dexterite et gentil esprit, yl ne donne trop plus suffizant compte et entiere raison de tout ce quest içy passe devant le temps que yl (qu'il y) a sejourne, tant sur ce que concernoit sa dite charge que aultrez occurrences que ne sçauroye faire par escript."

[†] "Bien est vray quil a fait donner trop plus grande haste à lequipaige de la reste de ses navyeres que paravant, et si en a achette et afflette oultre les dits navyeres, qui sont douze des plus grandes et triomphantes que lon sçauroit veoir, six ou sept. Et semble que la dite haste et augmentation procede en partie pour avoir le dit sieur roy entendu que le duc de Holstein, &c.

"Et davantaige le dit sieur roy a deu entendre, et je me suis ayde à le luy persuader que le dit duc de Holstein à lenhortement des françois entendoit de faire son frere roi d'Escosse."

[‡] "Et y a apparence que le dit s^{r} Roy sera contrainct de luy mesme de faire ce dont si longuement il s'est faict tirer l'oreille, à sçavoir soy declarer contre le dit duc de Holsten."

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as otherwise he would have done, communicate to them the "*exposé*" of complaints and wrongs detailed in the paper given to his ambassador, that they might deliberate and resolve as to the answer which he (king Francis) was to return, and that he wished that the term of 20 days should be prolonged. The ambassador, moreover, seized that opportunity to offer and propose certain means of reconciliation between his master and this king, who, I am told, replied curtly that he knew well enough what his application for delay meant; that he could not and would not grant, nor would he in anywise listen to it without the consent, will, and pleasure of Your Imperial Majesty; that at the expiration of the term the king of France would find him to be his sworn enemy, and ready to do him the utmost harm he could; and that he (the ambassador) would do well to withdraw immediately from his presence and go over to France. The ambassador, however, did not take the hint, but asked permission to return to Court next Sunday on the excuse of taking his "*congé*" in a formal manner, which he did. He had a present from the King consisting of silver plate to the value of six or seven hundred ducats. Two or three days after the ambassador went away.

It would have been equally proper and fit if on this occasion the King had ordered the agent of the duke of Clèves to leave his court, as I myself have more than once suggested; but in spite of all my efforts, the answer of the King's privy councillors has always been the same: they did not consider him the Duke's ambassador, but rather the agent of his sister, Dame Anne de Clèves. And certainly the poor man (*bonhomme*) must very much wish to be out of this country, for he does nothing here and gets no pay. Indeed, I hear from an authentic quarter that the said dame would rather lose everything in this world (*estre en chemise*) and return to her mother than remain longer in England, especially now that she is in despair and much afflicted in consequence of this late marriage of the King with a lady who, besides being inferior to her in beauty, gives no hope whatever of posterity to the King, for she had no children by her two first husbands.—London, 27 July 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

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27 July. **189.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Your Majesty's letter of the 20th inst. has duly come to hand. With regard to the 40,000 ducats to be transmitted to the king of the Romans, after sending twice to Court for the purpose, and communicating with the bankers here, who have actually received the money from this king's Treasury, all I have been able to obtain, notwithstanding all my remonstrances, is a promise that they will draw bills for 20,000 on Richart and John Gressan Brothers, of Antwerp, payable on the 16th or 18th of August by the Velsez (Belzers) of the same town; the said sum of 20,000 ducats to be consigned on any place or market of Your Majesty's choosing. Gressan Brothers wish, moreover, that Your Majesty give them a receipt under Your name and signature for the said sum, and as to the remaining 20,000, they tell me that the merchants of the Staple of Calais will consign them on Antwerp, to the order of the Forcez (?), payable on the 18th of September next;* the privy councillors, and the merchants themselves, giving me to understand that they are exceedingly sorry that the whole of the sum could not be made payable at Antwerp, and, moreover, that the pressure of affairs had prevented them from doing otherwise in matters in which the honor and credit of their master *was so deeply concerned, although it must be said that they have refused to adopt the means proposed to them for the more speedy and effective transmission of the money.*

Respecting the copy of my declaration and intimation to the French ambassador, in the Emperor's name, at the time and place where this king caused his to be made by the duke of Norfolk, Your Majesty must bear in mind that, before the act, I took care to deliver into the hands of the Duke, who called on me on the morning of that day for the purpose, a duplicate of the Instructions given to Thoyson d'Or. After that the clerk of the Council came to me with the copy of the paper, which I myself presented to the French ambassador, but of which, owing to the clerk's hasty and urgent application, no copy could be made at the time before the courier started, so that it remained unfinished in the hands of my secretary, and is now enclosed. Since then I have never ceased applying most urgently for my own copy of Thoyson d'Or's Instructions, which I placed in the Duke's hands to be compared with the intimation to be made by that herald in the Emperor's name, but it seems to me as if not one of this king's privy councillors knew anything about it.† That is why they (the councillors) wish me to give them another copy. That, however, I cannot do unless I have by me a duplicate of the Instructions given to Thoyson d'Or,‡ and therefore I most humbly beg and entreat Your Majesty to order that a copy of these Instructions be made and forwarded to me, in which, however, nothing must be changed save the names of the persons who made that intimation. Nothing either has been added save towards the end of the paper, where it is expressly said that "His Imperial Majesty

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* "Et des aultres xx^{m} lez estaplers de Callais en doibvent faire consignation au dict Anvers aux mains dez forcez (*sic*) en dedans du xviii^{e} de Septembre."

† "Mais yl me semble qu'il n'y a nul du Conseil qu'en sache parler."

‡ *See* No. 56, p. 122.

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will listen to no overtures [of peace or truce] without the consent of the King [of England]," the following words have been inserted: "whose cause and motives are one and the same as those of the Emperor."

With regard to the fleet of the Low Countries, if I am to believe what the privy councillors write to me, only two small ships and three vessels (*botz*), to which they will not give the name of ships (*navières*), have anchored in one of the English ports, people here wondering much why more have not come.

Of other news I scarcely have any to report. Since Mr. de Chantonnay's departure I have perceived no change in the King's intentions and good will concerning the charge entrusted to that Imperial ambassador. It is true that he has lately ordered, in greater haste than before, that the remainder of his war ships be armed, manned, and equipped; and that besides his own, amounting to twelve, the finest and most gallant (*triomphantes*) ships that ever furrowed the sea, he has purchased or freighted six or seven more. It seems, however, that all this haste on the part of the King to arm and increase his fleet and send it out to sea, is chiefly due to intelligence here received that the duke of Holstein, with the assistance of the king of Sweden, has raised a great naval force, having given his subjects permission to molest and attack the English at sea, and capture as many of their merchant vessels as they can. The King has also heard, and I myself have done my best to confirm the intelligence, that the above-mentioned Duke, incited by the French, intends making his own brother king of Scotland.* To ascertain the truth of this report, the King has just sent a gentleman of his Chamber to the duke of Holstein. In fact, there is every appearance that, in one way or other, the King himself will propose to do what he has so obstinately refused doing until now, that is, declare the Duke his enemy.

On the very same day of Mr. de Chantonnay's departure the French ambassador went to see the King, and inform him in his master's name that happening to be far away from Paris, where most of his privy councillors and ministers reside, he could not — though he would otherwise have wished to do so—give them cognizance of the complaints and demands contained in the preamble to the intimation of war, as exhibited to his ambassador, that they might report on the whole, and counsel him how to answer. He, therefore, wished that the term fixed for the answer should be prorogued; the ambassador at the same time hinting or pointing out various ways of adjusting the differences between his master and this king, who, as I am told, interrupted him and said curtly, that he knew very well what his demand of prorogation meant; he (the King) would not grant it, nor would he listen to any proposals without the consent, pleasure, and good will of the Emperor, his ally. He would, on the contrary, at the expiration of the prefixed time, consider the king of France as his sworn enemy, and try to do him all possible injury. As to him (the ambassador), he would do well to withdraw and leave England at once. Such were the King's words, as I am told, but the French ambassador asked as a favor to return to Court on the following Sunday to take leave, which he did, getting from the King a present of silver plate amounting to about 600 ducats, two or three days after which he actually left for France.

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* *See* above, p. 443.

It would have been proper and equitable that on the very same day on which the French ambassador got his passport, the agent of the duke of Clèves should also have been dismissed; but although I have made every effort to obtain his dismissal, I have never succeeded in getting it, the privy councillors alleging that he is not the Duke's ambassador, but the agent of his sister, dame Anne de Clèves. The poor devil, however, must very much wish to be out of this country, for he does nothing here [and gets no assistance in money]. Indeed, as far as I can hear from an authentic quarter, the said Dame would greatly prefer giving up everything that she has and living with her mother in Germany, to remaining any longer in England, treated as she is, and humiliated and hurt as she has lately been at the King marrying this last lady, who is by no means so handsome as she herself is, besides which there is no hope of her having children, considering that she has been twice a widow and has borne none from either of her *deceased husbands.**

As to what Your Majesty wrote to me on the 10th † respecting the present offered by the merchants of this city as an equivalent for their exemption from the 1°/₀ duty, these privy councillors, accustomed as they have been for some time to get anything they want from us, did at the very outset disregard the objections and difficulties raised in the Low Countries about the revocation of the tax as far as they themselves (the English) are concerned. Since then I have forwarded to them the paper that came with Your Majesty's letter, drawn by one of the Imperial Councillors, but I must say that as yet no answer from them has been received. Should one come, or should the affair take a better turn, I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty at once.—London, 27 of July 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 3.

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* Catharine Parr. She was the daughter of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal. She was first married to Edward Burghe, secondly to John Neville, Lord Latimer.

† *See* above, No. 178, p. 428.

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27 July. **190.** The SAME to MR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monseigneur,"—Your Lordship will see by what I write to the Queen the news of this country. I can add nothing to it save say that the day after the departure of Mr. de Chantonnay from this city, the King married privately and without ceremony his queen [Catharine Parr], of which marriage the bishop of Winchester was the minister and bridesman.*

I must not omit to say that this king has actually disbursed 40,000 ducats to send to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), and yet I have been unable to obtain that the merchants who received the money should consign it upon Antwerp, one half for the 16th August and the other half for the 18th of September, the privy councillors showing regret that the bills could not be made out at a shorter date. *Had they believed me, the financial operation would have been more successful.*†

The King has issued orders that during the next six weeks all church curates are to preach and exhort their parishioners to contribute for the war against the Turk with the same amount which they once gave for lenten bulls and indulgences, money, by the way, very badly employed.‡ To collect that tax or else ask it as charity the people of higher rank and standing in each parish have been appointed to go round from house to house and bring the subject before their neighbours. The collection, according to the estimation of people accustomed to these sort of affairs, will amount to three or four times the 40,000 ducats which this king has granted to the king of the Romans.—London, 27 July 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England to Mgr. de Granvelle, 27 July. Received at Espire (Spires?) the 2 of August."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 1½.

29 July. **191.** The DUKE OF ALVA to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 60, f. 230.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 212.

I wrote to Your Majesty on the 21st inst. a letter in my own hand, a copy of which is here enclosed, begging that the reasons I there gave for considering myself injured by Your Majesty's ministers should be carefully examined and weighed.§ When Your Majesty was pleased to confer on the marquis de Aguilar ‖ the charges and commissions he brought here [to

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* "Le lendemain du partement de Mons. de Chantonnay le roy espousa privement et sans ceremonie la royne, dont fust le ministre et paranimphe l'evesque de Vuynchester."

† "Mais si j'eusse este de croyre l'on en eust use autrement."

‡ "Pour contribuer à l'ayde contre le Turcq au lieu [de ce] quilz souloient autresfois donner pour les bulles et indulgences, choses tres mal employeés."

§ This letter of the 21st to which the Duke alludes is not in the packet.

‖ That is, Don Juan Manrique, count of Castañeda and marquis de Aguilar, the Emperor's ambassador in Rome. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., *Int.* pp. xxiii–xxviii.

Spain], Your Majesty's ministers did not inform me of his arrival, nor in what capacity he came, nor how I was to treat him in affairs relating to Your Majesty's service, though, to say the truth, I never imagined that the Marquis' powers would in any way jar with those I myself have from Your Majesty, nor that I could be deemed unfit for the Royal service. For, after all, since Your Majesty ordered me to remain in these Your kingdoms of Spain with authority and command, there was no necessity to remind me of my duty, I myself having been so watchful during my whole life for any opportunity of being useful to Your Majesty.

But not only was this courtesy to which I allude not practised with me, but I am now informed that the Marquis' nomination to the post of viceroy of Catalonia contains a clause so prejudicial to my authority and honor in that province, as well as to Your Majesty's service in these parts, that I cannot conceive how Your Majesty could have signed the warrant in question, unless the Royal secretary forgot to declare its contents.* Indeed, I have never seen any of Your Majesty's subjects treated in that manner, much less one who, like myself, never dreamt of anything else save of serving Your Majesty as best I could with my person and property, as I have done hitherto. For in the words of the warrant to which I allude, Your Majesty is made to say, that in the principality of Catalonia, and in the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña (Cerdagne), the Marquis is to hold exclusively the office of lieutenant for Your Majesty and captain-general [of all arms], in such a manner that if the Marquis considers himself entitled to write to me and send me his orders I must bow to and obey them, whereas Your Majesty's letters patent to me are clear and explicit enough, giving me power and authority in all matters concerning the administration and government of these kingdoms, as well as over all viceroys and ministers, frontier captains, &c., who are to obey my commands in every respect, as well as in all things concerning Your Majesty's service.

This is what Your Majesty at the time of my nomination considered fit for Your service, as well as for the preservation and defence of these realms. As Your Majesty knows that I have always been, and am still, ready to sacrifice my life and my property for Your Majesty's service, I am at a loss to

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* No embargante que yo nunca pensé que su poder viniera de manera que se pudiera poner en disputa con el que V. M^{d}. me dexó [á mi] pues no era tan desconveniente á su servicio, que haviendome mandado V. M^{d}. quedar en estos reynos con el autoridad que fue servi do que quedase, no se me devia mandar dar aviso de ello estando yo siempre tan vigilante á ver con que podré servir cada hora á V. M^{d}. y no solamente esto no se hizo conmigo mas aun agora he sido avisado que el titulo del marques de Aguilar viene despachado con una clausula tan contra mi autoridad y honra y aun contra todo lo que conviene al servicio de V. M^{d}. que no puedo crear que quando V. M^{d}. lo firmo se lo hayan declarado."

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understand why the Marquis' appointment and nomination, such as it is, could have been signed, unless Your Majesty was actually deceived by the secretary in office, because by the warrant remaining as it is couched, all the authority which Your Majesty was pleased once to leave in my hands would be a cause of shame and affront to me. I, therefore, beg and entreat Your Majesty to decide that the Marquis' nomination be so amended and corrected that my honor may be safeguarded. This can and must be done by means of another warrant from Your Majesty, and a schedule (*cedula*) to me declaring that You wish my power and authority to continue, as at first intended, notwithstanding any other warrants or appointments since issued, so that it may be perfectly understood that I have in these realms the same authority and power as that which Your Majesty was once pleased to confer on me. If this be done, as it has been with all those who have held offices under Your Majesty, my honor will be safeguarded, and I myself remain contented and satisfied; otherwise I shall tender my resignation of all charges and retire to my estates, where my honor may be safeguarded and affront avoided. Even then Your Majesty can guess the shame I shall have to go through. Once at home I shall be able to go wherever I am ordered and wanted, and serve Your Majesty with a lance (*pica*) on my shoulder, as Your Majesty knows I can and will do.

I fancy that Your Majesty does not want me to compete and contend with the marquis de Aguilar, nor him with me, since others who are as noble as he is, and have as much authority, do not disdain but are glad to receive my orders in obedience to Your Majesty's commands. Matters remaining as they were before, I am so desirous of Your Majesty's service and so anxious and careful of that service being done, that not only have I never tried to deprive any one of Your Majesty's servants or ministers of their authority, but have always endeavoured to increase it if possible. This was sufficiently demonstrated last year, at the time that I was commanding Your Majesty's forces in the Roussillon. I made Don Juan de Acuña sign all the appointments (*provisiones*) and documentary papers as if he were captain-general of that province; and if I did so with him, far more will I do it with any of Your Majesty's ministers of higher quality and rank.

I was on the point of departing on a visit of inspection to certain towns of mine, but His Highness the Crown Prince has commanded me to go to Valladolid. I will leave immediately for that city, and leave Alba, whence I am now writing. There, at Valladolid, where the Court now is, I will reside and do service until Your Majesty be pleased to send a declaration on the points that form the subject of this letter. God knows how much I should prefer under the circumstances to be near Your Majesty's person and serve under Your orders,

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as I thought at one time I should always do, to living in this retirement of mine.—Alba, the 29 of July 1543.

Signed: "El duque de Alva."

Addressed; "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

31 July. **199.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—The courier, bearer of this letter, has urgently requested me to write to Your Majesty, as I now do, to say that owing to my not having supplied him with funds for the expenses of his voyage to Spain he is unable to sail for that country and carry the despatches he has for the Emperor. The man is perfectly right, and the reason of my not giving him money for his passage and travelling expenses is, in the first place, that I have no orders from Your Majesty to that effect, nor has there been any allusion to it in the letters lately received; and secondly, because had I had such orders I really do not know how I could have supplied the money, as I myself have none to spare. Indeed, unless Your Majesty has pity on me and orders the treasurers to remit to me the arrears of pay now due, I really do not know how I can get on and support myself. That is why I beg and entreat Your Majesty to consider the pitiful condition in which I find myself.

This king has lately received from Scotland the most agreeable news possible, namely, that the cardinal [of St. Andrew's], and the others who were partial to France, had given their consent to the treaty which this king's ambassadors had negociated there, and that the widowed queen herself (Margaret) had done the same, and seemed affectionately inclined towards this king and his partisans in that kingdom.

These privy councillors have sent me very pressing messages requesting me to write to Your Majesty at once to put an end to the business of the 1°/₀ duty, in order that their merchants may not have occasion to complain to the king, who might perhaps take the thing in bad part and our mutual affairs be endangered through it.

The King has lately granted to the people of Dunkerke permission to buy and export from this country the wood they require [for the herrings].* This he has done chiefly at Your Majesty's request and intercession. He has, moreover, within the last few days ordered the imprisonment of certain officers [of the Customs] for having unduly, in the ports of this kingdom, laid an embargo on vessels of the

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* "Bois pour sorriger harengs." *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 334, 346.

Low Countries owing to their masters not having paid certain pilot duties from which they are exempted by treaty.*

Considerable activity is being displayed here in the fitting out of this king's fleet, an incredible number of guns being mounted on each ship. The "Henry," among others, is to carry twelve double guns, and the "Marie Roze" six, and the crews of the two will amount to 1,200 at least.†—London, 31 July 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the queen of Hungary."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

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3 Aug. **200.** The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—Your letter of the 27th July,‡ and the copy of the one you wrote to Mons. de Granvelle, have come to hand. We have heard with pleasure the news contained in both, as well as that king's determination to continue and persevere in his animosity against the French, whilst his friendship and affection for Us are daily increasing. The answer which, as you tell Us, he made to the French ambassador when requested to come to terms with king Francis, seems to Us excellent and opportune. The King's refusal coincides with a similar answer given to certain proposals of the French ambassador at Rome, of which We deem it opportune to inform you. It appears that after Our arrival in Italy the French minister residing at the Papal Court addressed himself to the cardinal of Mantua§ and asked him to ascertain from his brother, Ferrante Gonzaga, who is now with Us, whether there would be any means of resuming negociations for the peace, and whether he could guess or not what Mons. de Granvelle's idea about it was. Don Fernando's answer was that We are so indignant at king Francis having recommenced war against Us, and at the cruelties and dishonesties (*cruaultez et deshonnestetez*) by him practised in consequence of that war, that he could not undertake to speak to Us on the subject, and that even if he himself knew of any convenient means to propose, under present circumstances he would not dare broach the subject. It would be requisite (Gonzaga said) that the conditions proposed should be exceedingly advantageous for Us, that king Francis should entirely relinquish his claims and pretensions, and that We should have besides perfect security for the future. This has been done in order to ascertain as far as possible what king Francis' intentions can be, whether he is in earnest or not, and what he is now driving at, and most particularly for the purpose of temporizing with him, gaining time for Our plans, and according as this present undertaking of Ours turns out, take thereupon the resolution most convenient for the allies. In short, the whole has been said and done as if We were entirely ignorant of the ambassador's overtures, as well as of Gonzaga's answer to them.

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* "Pour certain droit quilz pretendoient avoir de pilotage."

† "Lon mest extreme diligence à equipper la reste dez navierez et dy mestre une chose incredible dartillerie, et entre aultrez piecez le grande Hanry (*sic*) portera douze double canons, et la Marie Roze vi., et dedans les deux navierez iront mille et deux cens hommes pour le moings."

‡ *See* above, No. 188, p. 442.

§ Hippolite Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, son of Francesco and brother of Ferrante.

We hasten to inform you of these particulars lest some of this should have reached that king's ears, and in order that, if interrogated on the subject, you may be able to give a correct answer, and, if necessary, reveal the whole transaction. You will continue to keep up daily correspondence with the queen of Hungary, Madame Our sister, on this and other affairs, and as We are getting every day nearer to England, and will shortly be in the Low Countries, We shall be glad to receive frequently news of your doings.—(Spires) 3 Aug. 1543.

Indorsed: "The Emperor and King to Chapuys."

French. Original draft. pp. 1½.

7 Aug. **201.** PRINCE PHILIP to the EMPEROR, his Father.

S. E., L. Sto.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, ff. 223, 215.

Your Majesty's letters of the 19th and 20th of June came to hand, the latter being received first owing to the marquis de Aguilar being then at Genoa, ready to embark on board the galleys, and his choosing to be the bearer of it himself. I have not answered them, nor written since the arrival here of the duke of Alba and High Commander of Leon (Cobos), because there has been here no important event to record. Nor do I need to tell Your Majesty the joy and content we all have felt here at the news of Your Imperial Majesty's safe landing at Genoa* and subsequent journey to Pavia and Cremona, and at Your Imperial Majesty being in good health. May this continue, for God's service and the welfare of Christendom!

We were also glad to hear that the interview (*vistas*) between His Holiness and Your Imperial Majesty was agreed upon, and likely to take place soon. We shall be glad to hear what has been the result of it, for if We are to judge from the manner in which that interview was proposed, and its utility and mutual advantage magnified and recommended by the other party, besides the perfect ease with which it was granted, We cannot imagine what good can be expected from it. At any rate Your Majesty will no doubt let me know the result.

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* On the 29th of May. *See* above, pp. 359, 390.

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The capture of the six French galleys was known here almost as soon as there by a brigantine coming from Italy, that actually saw our own galleys taking the French ones to Genoa. We were, however, delighted to hear the confirmation of such good news.

The only fact of importance which I can communicate to Your Majesty from this place, is that on the 4th of June Martin Alonso de los Rios arrived with the fleet of the Indies and all the gold and silver that was there, without having met with the enemy, as Your Majesty will see by the enclosed narrative (*relacion*).

I have seen the speech (*platica*) which the marquis del Gasto, in the duke of Castro's name, made to Your Majesty at Genoa for the purpose of having the investiture of the duchy of Milan granted to his son, the duke of Camarino, and the conditions offered by the parties. I also saw what Your Majesty's answer was, namely, that in a matter so important as that one was, you could not take a resolution without asking first the advice of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) and of the dowager queen of Hungary (Mary), and of Your Majesty's councillors of State here residing with me. Which answer, though the conditions offered were really advantageous, and the affair itself a very important one, Your Majesty would not give except after long and mature deliberation. No sooner did I hear of it than, having caused the Council to assemble, I laid before them the reasons which you had for not accepting at first the Duke's propositions, and those which the Duke himself, his son Ottavio, and His Holiness adduce in favor of their demand. The Council of State, in my very presence, has weighed and considered the offers made on one side, and the objections which might be raised on the other, against the alienation of the Duchy. It has come to the following conclusion. The Councillors think that the reasons adduced in favor of the alienation are better founded and more weighty than those against it, and that if the Pope gives to Your Majesty the two millions of ducats down that have been offered, or if not the whole of the sum at least a good portion of it—Your Majesty keeping in the meanwhile all the fortresses of the State as security until the whole is paid—the alienation can be effected with visible advantage for Your Majesty. For by fortresses in the Duchy the Councillors mean not only such fortified towns and castles as are the natural defences of the State, but also those from which some future duke of Milan might attempt to make a movement against your Imperial rights, in which case Your Majesty might take footing therein, expelling the duke and giving the investiture to another. The future duke to contribute a sum every year for the defence of Italy. That if Your Majesty approves of this the thing must be done at once, in order to receive the prize of the investiture in the present emergency, the greatest since Your Majesty succeeded to this

Spanish throne, and that the negociation is such and so advantageous for Your Majesty that it is very hard to believe that His Holiness and his family can possibly be in favor of it.

Such is the Council's opinion. The king of the Romans and queen Mary have also been consulted, and have no doubt stated theirs. Your Majesty, with your usual prudence, tact, and wisdom, will decide what had better be done. But Your Majesty cannot fail to consider that one of the chief reasons, which your councillors have had for tendering such advice, is the exhausted state of Your Majesty's treasury and of the rents and patrimonial estates in these kingdoms at least, and how difficult it is to procure money, because the lands and property belonging to the Military Orders, which Your Majesty ordered to be sold and paid for in "*juros al quitar*" *y de por vida* (annuities upon the revenue of the Crown), nobody will buy at any price, however low. From the Crusade, which before Your Majesty's departure yielded some small sum, no more can be got from want of the promised Papal bull, which has not yet come. So that we find all doors shut, and there are so many things to attend to that we do not really know on which side to turn.—Valladolid, 7 August 1543.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

n. d. **202.** The Same to the Same.

S. E., Italia, L. 3,
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 223.

A duplicate of the preceding, with a fuller statement of the reasons which the Emperor's Council of State, at Valladolid, has for not approving of the alienation of the duchy of Milan in favor of the duke of Camarino (Ottavio Farnese).

Spanish. Original. pp. 12.

10 Aug. **203.** Eustace Chapuys to the Prince of Spain (Philip).

S. E., L. 806,
f. 72.
f. 233.

"Most high and most powerful lord,"—After the date of my last, a duplicate of which is enclosed, this Most Serene Majesty ordered the war against France and against all His Imperial Majesty's enemies, whoever they might be, to be proclaimed by public crier. By this and many other things this king has given a further proof of the inclination he has for His Imperial Majesty and his affairs.

The army sent by his Most Serene Majesty to the succour of Flanders has done great execution and harm to the enemy, wasting and burning down (*quemando*) all the villages in the Bollones (the district of Boulogne-sur-Mer) as well as in the neighbourhood of Ardres and Theroenna (Therouanne), without opposition of any sort, the enemy not daring to resist them. The English are now following up the road to Picardy to effect their junction with count de Roeuex (Rœulx), and attack the duke of Vendôme if he should wait for them.

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King Francis, after encamping for nearly one month at Marolles without having achieved anything of importance, since his men were unable to take Bins,* a small and insignificant town (*lugarejo de no nada*) of no importance at all, defended only by a company of foot with very few horse, raised his camp and withdrew to Cambray. On the 29th of July, at three in the morning, he broke it up, and divided his army into three parts; with one under his own command and that of his sons, he himself took the direction of St. Quentin; another he sent to Picardy under Mr. de Vendôme; the third, more considerable in number than the other two, he has sent towards Champagne for fear of His Imperial Majesty trying to invade France on that side. On the 1st inst. the Emperor was to leave Spiria (Spiers) at the head of all his army; by this date he must already be near Juliers, where he can meet with no resistance at all, and therefore it is to be hoped that Martin Vand Roga [Van Rosem] and other Gheldrese, who some time ago invaded Brabant and burned some villages,† will be severely punished for their misdeeds, and that the town of Amisfort, of which they possessed themselves by treason, will be retaken.

This king has news from Scotland that all those who formerly sided with France have ratified the treaty of peace with England, and declared in his favor. One of the first to abandon the French party altogether was the Cardinal [of St. Andrew], the Queen herself making no difficulty whatever.

No further news to advise for the present; should there be any I shall not fail to write.—London, 10 August 1543.

Signed: "Eustacio Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Prince."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

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n. d. **204.** The Queen of Hungary to Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—The king of the Romans' servant ‡ has put into Our hands the king of England's letter informing him that he is about to draw bills on Antwerp to the amount of 40,000 ducats, to be paid to the order of Our commissioners (*commis*) in that town, which sum of money We are to receive and transmit to the aforesaid king of the Romans, for whom it is intended. We have accordingly sent an express to the consul (*contre maistre*)§ of the English merchants at Antwerp to pay that sum, but he has answered that he has no orders from home to pay any sum whatever. As the secretary of the king of the Romans wishes to return home to his master as soon as possible, We request and order you to solicit from that king's accountants that the money in question may be consigned to Anvers (Antwerp), whilst We on Our side will take care on delivery that it be remitted to Augsburg or Nüremberg. We recommend you to use all possible diligence in this, so that We may soon receive an answer from you, the affair being one of great importance, as you cannot fail to understand.

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* "Visto que sus gentes no pudieron *ganar Abyns.*" These two last words ought to be read thus: "*ganar à Byns.*"

† The word used in the original is vinages (vineyards), but *villages*, though not a Spanish word, seems more acceptable.

‡ Andronicus Tranquillus? *See* No. 148, p. 363.

§ Contre-maistre is the word used here, whereas in other despatches he is called court-maistre or court-master.

Of recent news We have little to communicate, save that the French, since their ill success before Bins (Binch), seem inclined to raise their camp in front of Marolles without giving Us any indication of what they intend doing next.

The people of Clèves, since taking Amerffort (Amersfoort), remain encamped near that town without undertaking anything of importance, in consequence, as it is said, of want of money. We have sent against them the prince of Orange, who two days ago arrived at Utrecht, three leagues from Amerffort (Amersfoort.)

You will do well to send Us a duplicate of what you yourself said to the French ambassador in England, at the time that the king of that country challenged him by the duke of Norfolk, and also to tell Us in your next despatch what measures the King has taken respecting the agent of Clèves, who used to reside at that court.

There is a report here that the ships of Holland and Zeeland have already joined the English fleet in order to give chase together to that of France, which is still on the coast of Scotland. If you have certain news about this, pray let Us know as soon as you can.

The duke of Holstein, as We are told, has some war ships ready to come to this coast or that of Scotland, intending, as they say, to promote the nomination of his own brother to the throne of that country,* with the help of the French party.

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

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13 Aug. **205.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—I have this day received Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 20th ult.; yesterday that of the 3rd inst. came to hand.† *As to this king's good will and inclination towards*

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* This duke of Holstein, of whom frequent mention has been made in this and the preceding volumes of this Calendar, is commonly known in history as Kristiern or Christian III., king of Denmark. He was the son of Frederick, duke of Holstein, who in 1523 dethroned Kristiern II. Neither father nor son was recognized as king of Denmark by the Emperor, whose sister Isabella had married Kristiern II. in 1515.

† *See* above, No. 200, p. 452.

Your Imperial Majesty, it seems to me that it increases daily. As a proof of that, I may say that in the declaration of war against France, lately promulgated in this kingdom, a clause has been added at his express command, purporting that "the declaration comprises likewise all other enemies of Your Majesty." In consequence of which all foreign merchants, as Easterlings and Italians, residing in this country, will not fail to write to their correspondents abroad, and this fact, when divulged, must necessarily increase Your Imperial Majesty's reputation and credit, and powerfully contribute to the good issue of pending affairs. I have no doubt that Your Imperial Majesty will give this king every occasion and opportunity to persevere in his present mood and temper by showing confidence in him and in his military plans, as well as trusting in what he possibly can do and achieve for the mutual benefit of both parties; for suspicious and arrogant* (haultain) *as he is, he might soon become tired and annoyed at the expenditure of a war like the one which has already commenced, and suddenly change his present disposition. It would be wise and prudent not to mention to him the particular news contained in Your Majesty's last letter to me. Considering that news to be a mere report in the air, altogether devoid of foundation, I do not intend making use of it unless I am expressly interrogated on the subject.*

The King has manifested great joy and pleasure at the good success of the men he sent across the Channel, of whose engagements with the common enemy he hears almost daily. For that success of the English arms on the continent the captain of Guisnes (Wallop) ought to be thanked, for had the other [*captain*] *who was to have come over † been in command of the English auxiliary force, he certainly would have joined Your Imperial Majesty's army in Flanders without attempting to inflict any damage on the enemy. Indeed, I do really believe that the captain to whom I allude was the one who almost persuaded the King that it was not expedient to burn villages and waste the fields of France until the French themselves had begun doing the same.*

For some time back the King has been desiring that the naval contingent to be furnished by Flanders and the Low

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* "Car selon quil est soupcionneux et haultain est à craindre quil ne se fasche assez tost des fraiz de la guerre; peu de chose le pourroit destourner, et nest que bien advisa et tres prudentment de non luy faire semblant ny mencion des propoz mencionnes aux dites dernieres lettres de vre. ma^{te} pour estre la chose encores en lair et sans fondement, dont je useray selon les commandements de vre. ma^{te}." *See* the Emperor's letter to Chapuys of the 17th of June, No. 161, pp. 403–4.

† That is, Sir Thomas Cheyne. The passage stands thus: "Dont en partie fault remercier la capitaine de Guynes, car si lautre que y debvoit aller en est de la conduyte, (il) fust alle droit se joindre avec larmee de vre. ma^{te} sans tascher de faire dommaige aux ennemys. Et croy que çe avoit este luy quavoit mis en teste du dit sieur roy quil ne convenoit brusler ny donner gast sur les françois si premierement ilz ne commençoient."

Countries, the ships being of the tonnage and crews stipulated by the treaty, should come to the ports of this country to join the King's fleet and undertake together some enterprize against the enemy. And now, again, I have written to the Queen Regent on the subject, as Your Majesty will see by the enclosed duplicate of my letter to her. No hint or indication, however, has yet been given to me of what sort of enterprize it is to be, but, if I am to judge from appearances, as well as from the preparations the King has ordered to be made, I should say that it must be some chose du moment; *for to mount on only two ships of war, besides a considerable number of cast-iron pieces, no less than eighteen other guns,** *besides a landing force of* 1,200 *men, on the two ships, would indicate that a landing expedition to the enemy's country is intended thereby. Captain Lartigue is urgently soliciting that this force be employed against La Rochelle, as he did some time ago suggest, but these people will not hear of it until next year.*

I hear that the Scotch Cardinal (Betoun) and the others who, like him, follow the French party, have approved of and ratified the treaty which was some time ago concluded between this king and the ambassadors of Scotland, though there are not wanting people who assert the contrary. The King continues to treat the Princess kindly, and has made her stay with his new Queen, who behaves affectionately towards her. As to Anne Boleyn's daughter (Elizabeth), the King has sent her back again (*l'a renvoyee*) to stay with the prince (Edward), his son.

The King and his privy councillors think that the Turkish galleys that have arrived on the coast of Provence will ultimately be the ruin and perdition of king Francis, since, besides offending God and man, he will have to spend so much of his money. It is to be hoped that he will come to grief some way or other, for it is generally believed that even should Barbarossa, who is in command of the galleys, succeed in capturing any town belonging to Your Imperial Majesty in Naples, Sicily, or Spain—though they will be well provided with defences—he will nevertheless achieve nothing very important. On the other hand, all wise people should wish that the Turkish fleet were more powerful than it is in order that king Francis might be put to a still greater cost in supporting it at his own expense.

Your Imperial Majesty must already have heard that six English war ships attacked, some time ago, sixteen French vessels, equipped and armed for war, that were sailing in this Channel. Two of them were taken, and the remaining fourteen made for the coast of Scotland, where they have lately been detained under some specious pretence or other so as to give the King time to send thither some of his own to capture them.* Indeed, I hear that he has sent to Scotland ten of his ships, wonderfully well fitted with artillery and crews, to capture the French, and, if so, it is hoped that they will soon be brought here, which will be a very fine spectacle to witness.—London, 13 August 1543."

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* "Mais selon les appareilz quil a faut faire ce doit estre chose du moment, car sur deux navieres seulement, oultre innumerable nombre dartilleries de fonte, il a faict mettre xviii. canons, et seront dans les dits deux vasseaux (*sic*) plus de xii^{c} hommes de guerre."

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, 13 August. Received two leagues from Drem (Duren) the 21st of August 1543."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 3.

13 Aug. **206.** The Same to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Madame,"—Immediately after the receipt of Your Majesty's letter of the 2nd inst., I despatched in haste one of my own men (*ung des miens*) to the privy councillors to enquire when I could call on the King—who is 33 leagues distant from this city, sporting and hunting from place to place—and speak to him of the affairs mentioned in your letter. When the privy councillors knew what the object of my visit to the King was, and perused the letter of the marquis del Guasto and the documents annexed to it, they sent me a polite message to say that they were glad to hear the news [of Italy], and that the King, their master, had been particularly pleased to hear of them, and thanked me extremely for having communicated them to him. As to the money to be remitted to Your Majesty, they (the privy councillors) had orders from him to see to the immediate transmission of the sum to Flanders.† In compliance with their master's peremptory orders, they (the privy councillors) had strenuously worked with merchants and bankers in order to comply with Your Majesty's wishes, but had not been able to obtain from them better terms than those specified in my letter of the 11th ult. They would not further importune the King on that account, but could certify to me that the bills would be honoured when due, swearing on their honor and conscience that there would be no difficulty at all about the payment of the same. Unable to obtain a further answer from them, I myself went to the bankers, holders of the said bills of exchange, and tried to get from them some money in advance. I have this very day received a message from the one who had charge from this king to pay 5,000*l.* to those of the Staple at Calais, to the effect that he had still 3,000 pounds in hand that he had not yet delivered, and that he was thinking of arranging matters in such a way as to send them to Your Majesty at a very short date and in the most convenient manner. That to this end he would hastily send a message to the Privy Councillors, and in two or three days at the latest I should receive an answer to my application. It seems to me that I ought, at any rate, to receive that sum on Your Majesty's account; I can afterwards remit it by bills of exchange wherever You please to be paid here at sight. As soon as I get the banker's answer I shall not fail to let Your Majesty know.

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* "Vre. ma^{te} aura desia entendu comme six navierez angloisez avoient assally les xvi. françoises equippeez en guerre que tenoient ce canal, desquellez ceulx cy en prinrent deux, et les autres xiv. se retirerent du coustel d'Ecosse, ou ces jours ellez ont este arresteez soubz quelque couleur pour donner lieu et loisir au dit sieur roy lez mander prendre, le quel à ce effaict en y a envoye dix dez siennes merveilleusement bien equippeez."

† *See* No. 180, p. 431.

*I must not forget to say that this king has completely succeeded in reimbursing himself quickly and with profit of the money he some time ago paid away, for orders have been sent throughout his kingdom that on all feast days parish priests shall set forth to their congregations in church the extreme necessity in which Christendom is of resisting the advance of the Turk, and that if the people of England were formerly so prone to disburse their money and spend their substance for certain indulgences and Papal bulls which had the run of the country, and the profit of which was turned to a very bad and unhappy use, the more readily ought they now to bestow their alms on so holy and deserving a work, and collect them in the parish churches.**

Some time before my man returned from Court, the King's privy councillors had sent me the enclosed letter for Your Majesty.

I have nothing more to add respecting the news of this country, save to say that within the last few days, by the King's command, the war against France, and generally speaking against all the enemies of the Emperor, has been proclaimed by the public criers through all the streets and lanes of this city, which proclamation (*chatoille*) *does add considerable weight to the Emperor's reputation, as it is likely to affect the merchants, Easterlings, and others, who will not fail to announce it by letters to their correspondents abroad.*

I have heard from a reliable quarter that the thirteen war ships which the French had in the Channel have been, under some excuse or other, laid under embargo at a port of Scotland, and that the King, having heard of it, has sent thither two of his big ships of war, in perfect trim and well manned, to capture the above-mentioned French vessels and bring them here. It would be very "*à propos*" if the fleet of the Low Countries could take part in the enterprize which the King is meditating.

As I was about to close this letter I received that of Your Majesty of the 8th inst. To the paragraphs concerning the

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* "Et que si autresfois le peuple estoit si enclin à s'eslarger si plantereusement (pleinverement?) de leurs biens pour certaines '*foulles rebouilles* (folles buoles?) qui tournlient çy devant, dont le prouffit se convertiseoit en tres maulvais et malheureux usaige tant plus devoient ilz estre esmeuz à donner pour une si saincte et necessaire œuvre."

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money [for the king of the Romans], I can answer at once that Your Majesty may dispose immediately of the 3,000*l.* by taking at Antwerp bills payable here, in London, or if not, signify to me how the money is to be remitted. At any rate, in case the masters of the Finances and Your Majesty's treasurers there should decide for the first of the two above operations, I enclose letters for the Antwerp merchants. As to the remainder I will do my best to obtain a prompt payment.—London, 13 August 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, partly ciphered.

13 Aug. **207.** The SAME to MONSR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monseigneur,"—On my faith and conscience, I never felt so provoked at my want of health as I feel at this present moment, and have felt during the time that Mr. de Chantonnay was in this country, when my illness prevented me from attending him, as was my duty. Thanks him for his letter, &c.—London, 13 August 1543.

French. Holograph. p. ½.

26 Aug. **208.** The PRINCE OF SPAIN (PHILIP) to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

S. E., L. 63, f. 22.

"Venerable, fiel y amado nuestro,"—Your letter of the 17th of July came duly to hand.* We were glad to hear what took place there at the ratification by the king of England of the treaty made with His Majesty, the Emperor, and likewise the answer which he (the King) gave to the French ambassador's offer, in his master's name, of sending to England a gentleman of his own private Chamber to satisfy him on all points, and make him arbitrator of the differences existing between him and the Emperor, Our father and lord. The King's answer could not have been more appropriate than it was, considering the French king's proposal, and the terms of friendship and brotherhood on which We now are with him, and which, I hope, will continue and increase daily.

We were also glad to hear the news of Flanders, and the good success of Our arms there. We should very much like to have more particulars about that, as well as about the Emperor's health and his present whereabouts, for We are without news from him since he left Cremona for Parma to hold an interview with His Holiness. We have, however, letters from Flanders stating that he was expected at Spira (Spires) on the 20th of July. Please let Us know as often as you can of His Majesty's progress in his journey, and of the state of affairs in Germany and elsewhere, for in doing so you will certainly do Us a service.

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* *See* above, No. 183, pp. 434–8, but the letter is dated the 12th, not the 17th, as here said.

Of the health of the most illustrious princess, Our most beloved cousin,* We were likewise very glad to hear. You will give her Our commendations in return for hers, and say that if there is here, in Spain, anything that she would be glad to have We shall be delighted to send it to her.

Mr. de Chantone (Chantonnay) wrote to Us a very short letter† announcing his arrival in that country, and describing the commission he had, how he had seen the King, &c., referring Us besides to your despatches as to what you and he conjointly had negociated up to that time. And yet not a word is there in your own about the negociation itself or its progress. We mention this because, if you think that We here ought to be informed of what you and your colleague have stipulated and settled concerning the future invasion of France by the allied armies, We should very much like to hear of that from time to time.

We already knew here of the great success obtained by Don Alvaro de Bazan, His Majesty's captain-general in the Western Ocean (*mar de Poniente*), on St. James's day, over the French fleet of galleys which had been infesting the coasts of Galicia and Asturias. Don Alvaro attacked and defeated the French, capturing sixteen of their war ships, with a good deal of ordnance and ammunition, and taking prisoners 500 hackbutiers from the garrison of Bayonne, besides several foot soldiers from other places, who had been expressly put on board to make a descent upon Our coast. Since this most signal defeat, the French, as it appears, have not shown themselves on that coast.‡

Of Barbarossa's fleet, the news is that on the 17th of July part of it entered the port of Marseilles, and that on the day after, the rest of his galleys having joined him, that corsair sailed for Tolon (Toulon) and Aquas Muertas (Aigues-Mortes), where he took on board twenty-two pieces of siege ordnance sent to him by the governor of Narbonne. Barbarossa had been some days at Aigues-Mortes, waiting for an answer from king Francis to certain questions he had addressed him on affairs of their own. The Dauphin (Henri) had gone post-haste to see Barbarossa, and on the day following the former's visit the corsair had left for the Levant Sea with all his galleys, which the French fleet, consisting, as it is reported, of thirty galleys, three "*galeases*," and twenty-one more vessels (*naos*) had joined. This happened on the first day of August;

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* The princess Mary.

† *See* above, No. 176, p. 428.

‡ Of this naval battle the Emperor's historian (bishop Sandoval) gives a long and minute account. Vol. II., lib. xxvi., p. 516. The battle was fought in sight of Muros, on the coast of Galicia, the French fleet amounting to 30 sail between ships and galleys, being commanded by Mr. de Sana (?), and that of Don Alvaro Bazan, father of another Don Alvaro, who became in time admiral and marquis de Santacruz. On the 18th of July, whilst the inhabitants of Muros were compounding with the French general for a sum of money rather than be sacked, the Spanish fleet hove in sight.

on the third they were before Nizza, where they took a tower behind the castle. It is affirmed that this undertaking of the French is due to a long preconceived idea of theirs of possessing themselves of that town. We do not know here what defences the castle may have, or whether the garrison is sufficiently provided with food, but it is generally believed that, with a sufficient garrison, the castle itself is so strong that it may hold out a long time against the combined attacks of the Turkish and French fleets.

No time has been lost here in strengthening the ports on the coasts of Catalonia and Valencia, and sending thither considerable detachments of infantry, so much so, that when the enemy heard that we were prepared and ready to receive them, they changed their mind. That is why, no doubt, finding they could do nothing on our coast, they have undertaken Nizza.

We sincerely hope that God, whose cause it is, will defend that city, and punish the French for their bad intentions and nefarious deeds against Christendom.—Valladolid, 26 August 1543.

Signed: "El Principe."

Addressed: "To Eustachio Capuys (*sic*), ambassador in England."*

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

28 Aug. **209.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—I enclose the duplicate of a letter of this king's privy councillors to me, by which Your Majesty will learn the occurrences of this country since the date of my last,† and at the same time understand *how difficult it is to live in good harmony with the English.*‡ *Indeed, Your Majesty will perceive that I was not out of my reckoning when I wrote to the Emperor about their exceedingly suspicious temper. Having sent to the privy councillors one of my men, sufficiently well instructed for the purpose of getting an answer to the contents of the Emperor's letter, I am daily waiting for his return to write what the answer has been; but, in the meantime, I cannot fail to inform Your Majesty of a fact which is indicative enough of what that answer is to be. Indeed, I hear from an authentic quarter that the King has lately complained to some gentlemen of his Chamber, bitterly enough, as it appears, of the contents of the letter in question, saying that he had not been treated*

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* As the two letters C and h, when united, were generally employed in Spanish to render the sound of the Greek χ; as, besides that, the French ch was formerly rendered by x, as in the words xapeo, xateo, marexal, meant to represent *chapeau, chateau, marechal,* we ought not to wonder at Chapuys' name being turned into *Capuys* and *Capusio.*

† Of the 13th. *See* No. 206, p. 460.

‡ "Et aussi congnaitra la difficulte quil y a de consentir (concerter?) et vivre avec ceulx-çy."

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with frankness respecting the Emperor's plans and views, and that I (Chapuys) had withdrawn part of its contents from his knowledge.

It seems that the people of Scotland have not yet delivered the hostages agreed upon by treaty between this King and them, and that matters there are not so peaceable and favorable to this king as was presumed. Should I hear anything more about this, I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty thereof.—London, 28 August 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, almost entirely ciphered. p. 1.

28 Aug. **210.** The SAME to MONSEIGNEUR DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monseigneur,"—I will profit by the departure of this messenger, about to start for Flanders with despatches for Her Majesty, the Regent of the Low Countries, to send to Your Lordship the enclosed copy of my letter informing her of the occurrences in this country up to the 27th ult.*

The object of this present is only to beg Your Lordship to take care that our Master, the Emperor, writes frequently to this king news of his person and doings, for it does happen that, having lately in a most curious way (curieusement) *got intelligence from France, he finds it very strange not to be equally apprized of the Emperor's movements.*

This king is by nature fond of being petted and made much of—"*regalado,*" as the Spaniard says—and, therefore, if such means be employed, we may get out of him anything we want.—London, on the last day of August 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. p. 1.

n. d. **211.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monseigneur,"—I enclose a letter from these privy councillors to me, by which Your Lordship will learn what news there is since my last.† My letter will also serve to inform Your Lordship of the great difficulty there is in keeping these people contented and satisfied and of being on good terms with them, and that I did not speak at random when, in writing lately to His Majesty, I touched on their suspicious nature and propensities. I have, therefore, on that account, and in order to give the privy councillors some sort of satisfaction and answer to their complaint,

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* *See* above, No. 209, p. 464.

† As the Councillors' letter here alluded to is not enclosed, it is difficult to say what it was about.

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now sent to them one of my own men, sufficiently instructed to answer all their arguments. Immediately after his return from the Council, I will write to Your Lordship the result of the interview; but I must not omit to say that, according to most reliable information, the King some days ago, complained rather bitterly (*aigrement*), in the presence of several gentlemen of his Privy Chamber, of the contents of the Emperor's letter to me, saying, among other things, that he was sure that in that letter there were expressions and words which had not been confidentially communicated to him.*

It appears that the Scotch have not yet sent the hostages promised by their treaty with this king, and that matters in Scotland are not quite so smooth and peaceable as these English had reason to presume. Should I hear more particulars, I shall not fail to inform Your Lordship.†—London, 28 of August 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 2.

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29 Aug. **212.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—We are in receipt of your letter of the 14th inst.,‡ which came five days ago, by which letter We have learnt with great pleasure that the King's affection and friendship for Us is still on the increase, and that he has, without further instigation from you, publicly declared war against the French, and has, moreover, of his own accord, added a clause to that declaration, purporting "that the war is intended not only against Our common enemy, the king of France, but also against all Our common enemies, of whatever denomination they may be." It was very prudent and wise of you not to say anything to him about the overtures made to Cardinal Mantua by the French ambassador in Rome. In mentioning the fact in Our letter We purposely instructed you to conceal the fact from the King, unless the French themselves spoke first about it.

With regard to the work done by the English in France, it is perfectly true that they have used extreme rigour against the enemy, without sparing even Our own subjects holding property in France, to which, in Our opinion, they might and

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* "Si je ne veulx-je (*sic*) cependant oublier de dire que ce sieur roy sest ces jours doulu entre ceulx de sa chambre plus aigrement à tendroit du contenu en la dite lettre, et mesmes de non luy estre confidemment communiquees toutes choses que la dite lettre chante."

† The last paragraph of this letter is for the purpose of begging Mr. de Granvelle to exercise his influence at Brussels for the prompt settlement of his arrears.

‡ *See* above, No. 205, p. 457; but the letter is from Duren the 13th August.

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ought to have paid more attention.* It now remains for the King to make his men continue the war against the French, not only with the number of men that he is obliged by treaty to put in the field, but, if possible, with a greater one, since the French have now commenced hostilities and taken Landrechies (Landresis), which they keep, although We hear, on the other hand, that Our cousins, the duke of Aarshot and count du Rœulx, are already in the field to recover it. You must, with your usual ability and discretion, and in view of what passed between the Queen, Our sister, and the English captain at the head of the English forces—of which We suppose you have been informed, as well as of what passed afterwards between Our two cousins † and the said captain—apply to the King for the prosecution of the war on that frontier.

With regard to your writing to Mons. de Granvelle that had the king of England been informed, when Mons. de Chantonnay was last in England, of Our intended expedition against the duke of Clèves, he (the King) would certainly not have relished the news, and, therefore, that you had refrained from speaking on the subject to him, you were perfectly right in doing so, and We are glad that it was not mentioned to him. But as Our intention is still unchanged, and We are actually marching in that direction to punish the Duke as severely as We can for his past misdeeds, you are requested to make the king of England understand that We could not, if We wished, have acted otherwise, as in order to open the way between the Low Countries and Germany it was imperative for Us to attack the Duke, and chastise his insolence and that of his friends and allies, they and he (the Duke) having, whilst boasting of their power and great armaments, published throughout the whole of Germany that We should never dare cross it, as he would waste the fields and destroy the country on Our passage if We ever attempted to take another route, boasting besides, that the king of France was ready and prepared to join his forces to his to stop Our march through Brabant. It was for that purpose that both king Francis and he (the Duke) planned the treasonable expedition to Liege, which after all was unsuccessful, and which was the chief cause, apart from the want of provisions, for Our taking that route. We hope, nevertheless, to be able, with God's help and favor, to surmount all obstacles and force Our way into the enemy's country, and this being once achieved, We shall be able to inform the King more in detail of what Our plans are. Nor has it been in Our power, whatever inclination We might have felt towards doing so, to make peace with

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* "Et mesmes sans espargner noz subjectz ayans (*sic*) biens au dit France, en quoi ilz eussent deu avoir meilleur regard."

† That is, the two Imperial generals Philippe de Croy and the count du Rœulx, whom, as knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece of Burgundy, the Emperor always addressed as "cousins."

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the Duke, for although several German princes, and electors of the Rhine, even those of Saxony, had occasionally addressed themselves to Us, and, as We have been informed, sent also agents to the Duke to try and bring about a peace, yet the Duke's obstinate refusal to listen to and accept honorable terms has rendered all their efforts useless and vain, the Duke maintaining more pertinaciously than ever he did even at the last Nürenberg diet his claim to the duchy of Ghelders and county of Zutphen, which he pretends belong to him, and is now attempting to retain with the help and assistance of the king of France. We have, as you will see by the enclosed copies of acts and deeds relating to that affair, warned the subjects and inhabitants of Clèves and Juliers, generally and particularly, of the execution and war that We intend carrying on against their master, and We request you, if advisable for the better issue of Our affairs, to show the same to the King, as well as the letters and communications of Our sister, the queen of Hungary, on the subject, that he may know the justice of Our proceedings against the Duke.

Respecting the war ships which are to be fitted out and join the English fleet in the Channel, We have no doubt that Our sister, the Queen, will answer the King's requisition, and do as much as she possibly can considering the onerous affairs she has in hand. As to the King's enterprize against France, you will do everything in your power to ascertain to what part of the French frontier it is to be directed, what chance and probability there is of success, or otherwise, and according to the information you may receive, speak and advise as your prudence and knowledge of affairs dictate. You must, however, take particular care to let Us know from time to time the news of the country, and especially what is likely to be done with the French ships seized on the coast of Scotland, and generally speaking, how political affairs in the latter country are going on.

With regard to the Turkish fleet, which lately came to the coast of France, We have letters from the marquis del Gasto, and from Our ambassador at Gennes (Genoa), advising that really and truly a number of French galleys, with a number of sailing ships and "*galeases*," having on board a landing force with plenty of artillery, powder, and ammunition, had actually joined the Turk.* That both the fleets together had anchored at Villafranca,† and intended to pass the winter thereat, and, if possible, occupy by force the town and castle of Nyce (Nizza), to which end a treacherous plot had been formed with some of the inhabitants, for the purpose of slaying the prince of Piedmont, who, besides being closely connected with king Francis, since his father (Carlo) was his uncle, was certainly entitled to better treatment, being so young, and not having offended him in the least.* But it would appear as if king Francis were trying to manifest to the World, more openly than he has hitherto done, his sworn enmity to God and to all Christendom, and that neither faith nor the laws of relationship, nor family ties will arrest him in his iniquitous course, and, what is still worse, that he feels no shame at all; for not only has he openly joined his forces to those of the Turk, but has, without excuse of any sort, declared that all that he and his people have hitherto professed by word of mouth and in writing have been nothing else than dissimulation and deceit.

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* "Au regard de l'armee Turquoise venue en France nous avons dernierement eu lettres du marquis del Gasto, que de nostre ambassadeur à Gennes, les quelz nous advertisent comme pour vray que les galeres françoises, avecq aulcunes naves et galeaces, gens de guerre, artillerie et munitions se sont joinctes à icelles de Turq."

† Villefranche or Villafranca di Nizza.

However that may be, We are confident that the whole of the structure thus raised by king Francis will soon fall to the ground. The marquis del Gasto and the rest of Our ministers in Italy are doing all they can to send succour to the town and castle of Nyce (Nizza), which is, and will be, a new and heavy charge thrown upon Us. We have given orders that nothing should be spared to defeat the enemy's plans on that coast, and We ourselves will go on marching on this side and profiting by these few weeks of fine weather till the end of the summer, to molest and, if possible, destroy the common enemy, hoping confidently that the king of England will do the same on his side.

For, in truth, he (the King) is the more obliged to help and assist Us against France, now that His Holiness, on the plea of Our being closely bound to England—as We told him plainly enough at the Cremona interview—may consider himself at liberty to withdraw his help against French and Turks, now having their naval forces together; nay, should king Francis demand his assistance against England, he could not perhaps refuse it. He (the Pope) had therefore decided to remain neutral.† Such was His Holiness' language on the occasion, as you will judge by the answer, in writing, he lately made to Our ambassador at his court, which answer We forward herein inclosed,‡ not indeed to be shown to anyone, but that you may confidentially inform the King of its substance as far as you deem it proper and convenient.

As to the Turkish army in Hungary, We send you the last news received from the king of the Romans, Our brother. If requested you may communicate it to the King's ministers,

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* "Avec traison (*sic*) daucuns du dit Nyce subornez pour tuer le prince de Piemont, prochain parent du dit sieur roy de France, au quel du moins il devroit avoir regard, sil ne le vouloit en l'endroit de pere ou oncle, puisque le dit prince est jeune et ne luy a en riens meffait."

† "Et à la verite il y est tant plus oblige sil veut considerer que soubz couleur que [nous] sommes si estroictment oblige avec luy, comme lavons assez ouvertement donne à entendre au pape, il sexcuse[ra] dayder contre les dites armees [de mer] françoise et turquoise joinctes, mectant en avant que le roy de France luy demande ayde contre le dit roy d'Angleterre, et que pourtant il se veult tenir neutre."

‡ Not in the packet.

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that they may see and be convinced that Our brother is doing all that he can possibly do, and that the assistance in money lately given him has come at a time of great need, and will be usefully employed.—At Our camp close to Lennich,* the 29th of August 1543.

French. Original draft. pp. 4.

31 Aug. **213.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl.

"Madame,"—At this very moment the man I sent to Court for the purpose of replying to the letter of this king's [ambassadors], of which Your Majesty must have received the copy,† has come back. As far as I learn from him, the privy councillors acknowledge that their letter was a hasty and inconsiderate one; they are sorry for it and would wish that it had never been written, begging me to take the whole in good part, and consider it rather as a further proof of their desire for the preservation and increase of the good intelligence and friendship now existing between Your Majesty and the King, their master. For (said the privy councillors to my man) nothing is so apt to keep up and foster friendship between two individuals than the confidential communication of their mutual affairs and thoughts, and the letter in question had been chiefly and expressly written with a view to call my attention to, and impress me with the necessity of the fleet of the Low Countries joining their own, and engaging in some undertaking against the common enemy, in accordance with their master's wish. Such was the language of this king's privy councillors to my man; it now remains for Your Majesty to consider what had better be said and answered on the subject.

However this may be, the King has, it appears, written to Your Majesty in demand of 300 hackbutiers, to be paid by him, as well as of help and assistance from the captains of St. Omer, Bourbourg, and other garrison towns in the neighbourhood. With that force, and the troops he has on that side of the Channel, and 1,000 more men he is now sending in haste, this king intends to prevent the revictualling of Ardres, which he hears the governor of Boulogne [sur Mer] is about to attempt at the head of 6,000 foot and 300 horse. I humbly beg Your Majesty to attend to his request as far as possible, the more so that I hear he himself is about to address Your Majesty on the subject. I, therefore, again pray Your Majesty to be pleased to gratify him in this respect as soon as possible, as the exigency of the moment requires, and at the same time keep him "*au courant*" of

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* Lennik, in Brabant.

† The one at p. 439, in which the English ambassadors at Brussels complain of the Low Countries not having furnished the number of ships of war stipulated by the treaty of defensive and offensive alliance.

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military events in that country, thus repaying him for the confidential advices he offers and the affection which he entertains for Your Majesty. Indeed, such is the desire this king is manifesting of doing service to Your Majesty, that having lately heard by letters addressed to Sir Jehan Gressam and to the Antwerp bankers on whom the bills of exchange for the 3,000*l.* were drawn, that Your Majesty would have some difficulty in having the said bills discounted, owing to the high rate of interest on money, and finding that the interest to be paid here would not be less, and besides that the payment might be delayed, he has arranged with the above-mentioned Sir Jehan Gressam (Gresham) to send to Calais in specie the said 3,000*l.* We are only waiting to know whether this arrangement will suit Your Majesty better; if so, as the bills on Antwerp have not yet been negociated, the whole operation may be cancelled, and on the bills being returned here the money shall be sent to Calais for Your Majesty or your commissioners to receive it there. I am really astonished to see that an affair of such importance as this, and so pressing, has not already met with more care and activity on the part of the Financial ministers in that country.—London, 31 August 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, all ciphered. pp. 2.

1 Sept. **214.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Yesterday I wrote to Your Majesty the little I had to say respecting present affairs, but this morning I have received yours of the 28th of August, after the perusal of which I forwarded to Sir Jehan Gressam * the one enclosed for him. He has promised me to be as diligent as he possibly can in transmitting to Your Majesty the 3,000*l.* in specie. Two thousand of these will be in angelots, double ducats, and Hungarian ducats, and the remaining thousand in the same kind of gold coin of equivalent value.† He (Sir Jehan Gressam) will take care that the Staple of Calais advance at once the 2,000*l.* Sir John has taken so much pains about this that he well deserves being recommended to Your Majesty, and if he is only told that his services on this occasion have been agreeable it will spur him on to do service at a future time. That is why I beg and entreat Your Majesty to order that a receipt be made out for the 20,000 ducats which he, Jehan Gressam, and his brother Richard ‡ have paid into Your Majesty's treasury, unless this formality has been already complied with.

I am now at this very moment despatching a messenger to the King to announce to him the news contained in Your

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* Sir John Gresham, Sheriff of London (1531–2), Alderman 1546.

† *See* his letter of the 31st of August, No. 213.

‡ Sir Richard Gresham, Sheriff of London, Lord Mayor 1537–8.

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Majesty's letter, at which, I have no doubt, he will be most pleased, and especially at the offer of joining the fleet of those Low Countries to his own. On my man's return from Court I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty.

Meanwhile I most humbly request Your Majesty to be pleased to attend to my own private affairs and give orders for their settlement, that my man—who has already passed two full months in Brussels soliciting the settlement of my account, at great expense and personal inconvenience to me, owing to my being so long deprived of his services and not having him by me when wanted—may be able to return to me.—London, 1 September 1543.

Signed : "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

2 Sept. **215.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl.

"Madame,"—Since my last of yesterday's date Sire Jehan Gressam has managed so well that he has procured angelots and ducats amounting to a sum of 3,000 pounds sterling,[*] which the present bearer will immediately deliver into the hands of whomsoever Your Majesty may designate to receive it. It now remains for Your Majesty to be pleased to order that a full acquittance may be drawn out in favor of Michiel Dormer, mayor of the Staple of Calais, Rodulpho Waren, Jehan and Rychard Gressam.[†] As to the 2,000*l.* remaining, I shall not cease to solicit the payment thereof, to which end, if Your Majesty were so pleased, I have no doubt a few gracious words spoken to the bearer in Your Majesty's name would contribute most powerfully.—London, 2 September 1543.

Signed : "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

5 Sept. **216.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—The King and his privy councillors have manifested great pleasure and joy at hearing the last news which Your Majesty was pleased to communicate to me concerning Hungarian affairs, as well as respecting the equipment of the fleet and the offer of its being sent to these waters to join the English. They have likewise been very glad to hear of the Emperor's good health, and of the favorable commencement of his warlike operations, wishing, as they say, above all things for the complete success of the same, and being desirous to correspond on their own side. No signs whatever of resentment or compassion have I perceived in them on their hearing of the exemplary punishment inflicted on the duke of Clèves and his men, though they would evidently have been glad to see a copy of the summons sent to the inhabitants of Duren, and the reply to it. I had already acquainted them with the predatory incursion (*buttess*) made by Captain Maiere, though I must say that until the news was confirmed by Your Majesty they did not seem to attach much faith to my report. Nor did they either credit my report of Don Alvaro de Bazan's having defeated and captured on the coast of Galicia several French ships armed for war; though having been since officially informed of the one and of the other they have shown great satisfaction and joy.

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[*] "Que Sire Jehan Gressam a si bien diligencé quil a dangelots et ducatz jusques à la somme de 3,000 livres stirling."

[†] "Il reste à faire quittance de la part de vre. ma^{te} au prouffit de Michiel Dormet (?), maire de l'Estapula (*sic*) de Calais, Rodulpho Warren, Jehan et Rychard Gressam." *See* above.—Besides the two brothers John and Richard, mention is made in *State Papers* (Vol. IX., p. 418) of one, *Thomas*, merchant in Flanders, and in Vol. VIII., p. 491, of another, William, who was governor of the English merchants at Antwerp in 1533.

The privy councillors have said nothing to me respecting the intended junction of the Dutch fleet with their own, trusting no doubt that enough has been said and written about it. Perhaps they think that the season is too far advanced for anything important being achieved before winter. They have, however, insisted most particularly upon my reminding Your Majesty of the help and assistance promised by Your Majesty to their land forces, and at the same time begging the Emperor and Yourself, as if the application came exclusively from me, to advise their master and them from time to time of military events in Flanders and the Low Countries, as well as of the Emperor's intentions and plans for the future. On this last point I could not say more than I have already pointed out in previous despatches, nor is it necessary for me to recommend the compliance with the desire expressed by them, since the Emperor and Your Majesty know too well, indeed, better than any one else, how important it is to keep Your allies sufficiently well informed of Your plans and designs.

A gentleman from Scotland has lately arrived here in London, of whom the King is making much. As soon as I hear what his errand or mission is, I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty.—London, 5 Sept. 1543.

Signed; "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 1½.

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6 Sept. **217.** The Same to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl.

"Sire,"—I received this morning Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 29th ult., as well as the documents and papers enclosed therein, of which I will avail myself according to Your Majesty's wishes.

With regard to the men sent by this king to aid and assist the people of Flanders and the Low Countries in their war with the French, there is no fear of his recalling them before

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the expiration of the four months stipulated in the treaty, unless the duke of Aarshot and the count of Rœulx themselves should withdraw from the field, for this king is showing every desire of fulfilling to the letter the agreement made with Your Imperial Majesty. True is it that, as I announced in one of my late despatches, this king's privy councillors wrote to me a letter, which I have since forwarded to Mr. de Granvelle, wherein they express their discontent, and state that the King, their master, thought the force sent by Your Imperial Majesty to join his own was insufficient, and, therefore, that his men would not dare attack the enemy, who was in the neighbourhood. But I remonstrated against that statement, and said that if the state of affairs was such as had been represented, the French were the more to blame, since instead of relieving Landresis, in the immediate neighbourhood of which, besides the garrison and the inhabitants they had 3,000 men, they remained inactive in their camp. The King might thereby judge if the force sent by Your Imperial Majesty, though small, would not be sufficient to cope with the enemy's army. Besides which Your army, being a good deal more numerous than that of the enemy, it would have been inconsiderate and imprudent to raise the siege of Landresis in order to attack the enemy, who would, on the other hand, be obliged to fight at a disadvantage with Your Majesty's army. The King, their master, had done the same before Therouenne, and the manœuvre had completely succeeded. To these and other arguments of mine, verbally conveyed by my man, the privy councillors knew not what to answer; they looked at each other smiling and made no reply.[*]

With regard to their complaint about the ships, the privy councillors were told by my man that the number of ships equipped and armed in Flanders was for the present quite sufficient; they had not lost their time, but had, on the contrary, harassed the enemy, and done more execution than the English themselves. That the commander of our fleet on his voyage to the coast of France had touched at the Downs, under the impression that he might find there the English fleet, and yet had not met with one single ship of it; seeing which he had continued to sail towards France not to lose time, as the five ships under the admiral of L'Excluse[†] had done at Dover, and although there was no clause in the treaty stipulating that the fleet of the Low Countries should join the English, yet Your Imperial Majesty and the Queen Regent herself had willingly consented to it, only that it seemed necessary and convenient that previously to his sailing for this coast the admiral of Flanders should be informed of this king's projects and where and how he intended attacking the enemy, in order that, according to the information received, he may provide his ships with ammunition, stores, and all necessaries. That although the fleet of Zeeland and L'Excluse had not perhaps the complement of men and crews stipulated, they ought to consider that several ships in Holland had been equipped and armed at their king's desire and recommendation to meet the people of Denmark, their common enemies, which ships, on the other hand, had not lost their time. If, however, they reckoned the men on board Don Alvaro de Bassan (Bazan's) fleet, they would find that Your Imperial Majesty had at sea double the force in ships and men that You were obliged by treaty to furnish, putting aside Your Imperial Majesty's Italian fleet, which in case of need, according to the letter of the treaty, might also co-operate with theirs.

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[*] "A quoy les dicts sieurs du Conseil ne scurent que respondre à mon homme et se misrent à le regarder lung laultre et se soubrire."

[†] Hevelloctssluiz in S. Holland? The words are "pour quoy tira oultre au dict France pour non perdre temps comme avoient ung peu devant à Douvres les cinq navieres de ladmiral de lexcluse."

As to their complaining that the King, their master, had not been confidentially and in detail informed of Your Imperial Majesty's plans, the answer made to the privy councillors by my man was that, hearing from Mr. de Chantonnay that there was no indication or sign on the part of the King of the undertaking against France being carried out this year, Your Imperial Majesty had made no reply as to that, nor further communicated Your intention and plans, deeming it more advisable and expedient in the meantime to get nearer and nearer to the theatre of war and see what obstacles and difficulties You Yourself would meet in Your passage thither, without which precaution You could not possibly come to any resolution whatever. I was, however, certain, continued my man, that when Your Imperial Majesty had fully considered and weighed the present condition of affairs, You would not fail to communicate confidentially and under reserve with the King, their master, on each and every one of the subjects alluded to in the councillors' note. These and other remonstrances did my man address to the King's councillors in my name, as a reply to their letter of complaint, and, I must add, that though addressed in rather sharp terms, and such as the privy councillors' note deserved, my man's remarks were, nevertheless, taken into consideration and accepted, as Your Imperial Majesty will see by my preceding letter to Mr. de Granvelle.

Respecting the taking of Duren, I took care to inform the King of it five days ago, at the same time enclosing to him the Queen Regent's letter with all particulars. As I wrote yesterday to Mr. de Granvelle, both the King and the members of his Privy Council have shown pleasure and satisfaction at the event, so much so that there will be no longer need of justifying Your Imperial Majesty's action in the matter and making it acceptable to these people. I will not, however, omit to inform the privy councillors of it officially by one of my secretaries, whom I am about to send to Court with the news, for the King is at present 60 miles from this city, hunting. I will send them a copy of the summons sent to surrender to the garrison and inhabitants of Duren, which the King, they tell me, wishes to see, and I am sure that he will be glad also to see the letters patent addressed to the people of Julliers and Clèves, and the sentence against those of Duren, and above all the contents of the letter in which Your Imperial Majesty announces that the very moment the roads are thrown open You will take care to inform him of Your future plans, and what had better be done next.

As to the enterprize against France, it seems as if the King were desirous that something or other should be attempted by sea during this autumn, to judge from his naval preparations and the ships he is now equipping and fitting out. That is by sea; by land he is likewise resolved to revictual Ardres, as Your Majesty must have heard from Mr. de Granvelle.

With respect to the French ships that were in the ports of Scotland, the very same morning that this king's fleet made its appearance on the coast, they found means of leaving the port in which they had been detained. Yet they could not sail off fast enough to prevent five of them, the best being captured by the English; the remainder managed with some difficulty to reach the French coast.

I have no more news to impart for the present. Should there be anything more to advise on the return of my man from Court, I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty thereof. —London, 6 Sept. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, entirely ciphered.[*]

6 Sept. **218.** The Same to Mgr. de Granvelle.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monseigneur,"—Yesterday I wrote to Your Lordship, and this morning, after the departure of the courier, the Emperor's letter of the 29th ult. came to hand.[†] In answer to which I have stated some of the remonstrances which, through one of my men, I addressed to the privy councillors. I omit them here for brevity's sake, yet I must tell Your Lordship that the man I sent spoke to the privy councillors assembled, so well and so much to the point, that they were confused and did not know what to say (*que les rendit tous confus*). I had told him to state with all possible moderation many things which I myself would never have dared or wished to mention in their presence, for although I had addressed to them a very gracious epistle, begging them to excuse me if I could not attend, and pardon the insufficiency of the messenger, unaccustomed to such conferences, I was afraid that, instead of

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[*] The cipher used is entirely new, and does not resemble that of Chapuys' ordinary despatches.

[†] *See* above, No. 212, p. 466.

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mitigating their ill-humour, it might, on the contrary, over excite them. I considered, however, that it was in my power to disavow my man (should he have said anything in excess of his commission), or else interpret his words differently. However, it so happened that the conference went off very well, and that the King's councillors took it all in good part, as Your Lordship must have seen by my letter before the last two.—London, 6 Sept. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

7 Sept. **219.** TREATY OF PEACE between CHARLES V. and the DUKE OF CLEVES.

S. E., L.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, 669.

In nomine Sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis. Amen. Be it known that on the 7th of September 1543, the Emperor having got possession by force of arms of all the duchy of Juliers, together with Ruremond and other towns and districts of the duchy of Gheldres, and being then encamped at Venlo, there came Guillaume, duke of Clèves and Juliers, at the intercession of Hermann,* the archbishop of Cologne and arch-chancellor of the Empire for Italy, and in the presence of Adolphus, coadjutor of Cologne, count of Holstein and Schauenburg,† of Wilhelm, count of Nowenar and Moerse, and of Master John Gropper, as well as of Henry, duke of Brunswick and Luneburg, the above-mentioned duke of Clèves and Juliers, kneeling before the Emperor, owned and acknowledged that, led away by juvenile passion and deceived by the counsels and persuasions of others, he had grievously offended His Imperial Majesty. He now humbly besought His Majesty to pardon him his fault, and restore him to his favour. Upon which the Emperor, using clemency towards him, and with a view to prevent the continuation of a war which had so much afflicted, and might hereafter afflict, his own subjects in the duchy of Ghelders and county of Zutphen, accepted the Duke's submission and appointed some of his own councillors and ministers to treat with him of the terms of the peace.

The agreement made on the occasion was as follows:—the Duke to be, as he was formerly, the faithful and obedient vassal of the Empire and of the king of the Romans: and to renounce at once all treaties of league and confederation he may have made with the king of France, as well as with the duke of Holstein, who entitles himself king of Danemark, or with the intruder and usurper of Sweden, or with any other kings, princes, prelates, republics, states, and regions, since those leagues and treaties were purposely framed against Us and Our brother, the king of the Romans.

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* Herman, count of Wied.

† Dominus Adolphus, coadjutor Coloniensis, comes de Holstein-Schauenburg, archbishop of Cologne in 1547.

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The duke of Clèves and Juliers shall renounce, now and for ever after, all the rights he pretends to have to the above mentioned duchy of Ghelders and county of Zutphen, which, after the death of their legitimate owner and last possessor, Charles d'Egmont, the said duke of Clèves and Juliers usurped and retained.

The Duke, moreover, promises to call together all the men of his army, infantry as well as cavalry, and any others he may have in the towns, districts, fortresses and castles of the said duchy of Ghelders and county of Zutphen, as well as all the captains, officers, governors, and lieutenants in command of the said men, towns, and districts, and when assembled will directly or indirectly relieve them from any oath of fealty which they may have made in his favor, the Duke himself taking care that the said captains and governors withdraw as soon as possible from such cities and towns, fortresses and castles, and deliver them into the hands of His Imperial Majesty, or of his ministers and servants deputed for the purpose, so that the Emperor may at once take possession of the whole duchy of Ghelders and county of Zutphen.

The Duke shall restitute to the sieur d'Aremberg the castle he took from him, as well as the town of Amersfort; he shall also restitute the town and castle of Ravenstein to His Imperial Majesty, to whom these towns belong, being notoriously fiefs of the Empire.

The Duke also promises and consents that all subjects of the Emperor, ministers, councillors, and servants, who may have lands and possessions in the Duke's dominions, may peaceably enjoy them, as before the commencement of the war.

On the above conditions, faithfully complied with by the Duke, the Emperor consents to pardon him all the offences and injuries he has or may have received from the duke of Clèves and Juliers, and he (the Emperor) similarly pardons and condones to him all expenses, cost, and interest which, by cause of the Duke's rebellion and last year's war the Emperor was obliged to make, as well as the fruits, dues, rents, taxes, ordinary as well as extraordinary, which the Duke may have enjoyed and received since his violent occupation of the duchy of Ghelders and county of Zutphen.

Whilst the above conditions are being fulfilled, the Emperor will retain in his hands the duchy of Juliers, and whatever else he may have taken from the duke of Clèves during the last war, and keep it as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the terms of peace agreed upon between the Emperor and the Duke. Those terms once fulfilled, the whole of the duchy of Juliers to be restituted to the Duke with the exception of the two castles of Sciltart and Heinsberg, which are Imperial fiefs, and to which the Emperor reserves for himself, as well

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as other fiefs and castles in the duchy of Brabant, such as Ravenstein, Windal, and other places.—At our camp before Venloo, 7 September 1543, the 23rd of Our Empire, and the 28th of Our kingdom in Spain.

*Spanish. Contemporary draft.** *pp.* 6.

8 Sept. **220.** ALLIANCE, DEFENSIVE AND OFFENSIVE, proposed by CHARLES, DUKE OF ORLEANS, to certain princes in Germany.

S. Neg. K. 1,485, f. 51.
Olun. B. 4, No. 47.

"My cousin,"—My secretary, Anthoine Maillet, bearer of this letter, is going to your court, and I (Charles of France), duke of Orleans, have instructed him to tell you a few things in my name. I must beg you to attach faith to his words, and believe what he will say to you, as if I myself personally addressed you. I commend myself to your good gracess, and beg Our lord to give you anything you may desire.—Reims, the 8th of September 1543.

Signed: "Charles."

Addressed: "To my cousin, Monsieur le Landegraff (*sic*) de Hessen."

French. Original, with seal. p. 1.

8 Sept. **221.** INSTRUCTION to ANTHOINE MARLLET.

S. Neg. K. 1,485, f. 51.

What you, Charles Anthoine Maillet, Our secretary and "*valet de chambre*," will have to say and declare in Our name to messieurs the duke of Saxony, Landgraf of Hessen, and other protestant lords about to assemble at Francfort, is this. First of all you will state the great desire which We, by the Grace of God, have of the Holy Gospel being preached through this kingdom of France, where We should like to see some beginning of it; but that the reverential fear and fraternal love which We bear respectively to the Most Christian King, Our most honored lord and father, and to Monsieur the Dauphin, Our elder brother, have hitherto prevented Us from having it freely preached, as We should have wished, in Our duchy of Orleans, which being under the obedience and rule of Our said lord and father, has prevented Us from seeing Our wishes fulfilled. Another reason also is that the Pope, the Emperor, and other princes might have opposed Us and become Our enemies on that account. Other plausible reasons, the enumeration of which We leave for another and more opportune occasion, might be given for Our not having the holy gospel preached in Our dominions and making common cause in this particular with the most illustrious and excellent princes the duke of Saxony, the Landgraf of Hesse, and other protestant lords, and announcing to them that We have deliberated, are determined, and promise to have the Holy Gospel publicly preached in the duchy of Luxemburg, of which We hope the king, Our father, will allow Us to keep possession,* as well as in any other countries and territories that may come under Our rule by right of conquest.

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* A note on the dorse of this document points out that it is the original corrected draft of the treaty made with the duke of Clèves and Juliers [Cristobal de La Marca]. A Latin translation of it, most probably by Alfonso de Valdes, Latin secretary to the Emperor, is in *Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle*, Vol. XII., pp. 669–77. See also *Memoires de Granvelle*, by Dom Prevôt, Vol. III., pp. 108–12.

We should, however, wish the aforesaid princes and lords to admit and receive Us into the confederacy and alliance, defensive as well as offensive, formed by them, and to consider this Our request as emanating, not indeed from a desire to obtain their help and assistance against any particular prince or enemy, but merely for the diffusion of Christian religion, whose increase and propagation We desire above all things. By means of that assembly Christianity will receive a new light in Our dominions and in the whole of France, for the moment the King, Our father, sees Us allied with the above protestant princes and lords, he cannot fail to declare to them his zealous intentions on that score,† and therefore We shall be able to excuse and defend Ourselves against Our adversaries.

For the above reasons We request the above-mentioned princes and lords about to assemble at Francfort, as well as all others belonging to the protestant community, to listen to the following declaration, namely, that the very moment that the preaching of the Holy Gospel in the duchy of Luxemburg is begun, from that day We shall consider Ourselves bound to be their ally and confederate. Let them not stop at any scruple or fear of the things which We now promise to do being out of Our reach and power, for certainly We are fully confident that, if it be God's pleasure, We shall soon be in a situation to show them that what We say and promise can easily be accomplished, and that We are sincerely attached to them. From this time We offer them all Our power, and that of Our respected father, who has duly authorized Us to use his name, and who agrees beforehand to anything We may do and contract for the welfare, prosperity, and liberty of Germany. In the same manner We request them to help and assist Us with their power in similar cases, and be sure that We hold their affairs in as high estimation, and regard their liberty and utility as much as Our own.

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* "Nommement et sans aulcun respect de le faire prescher au duché de Luxembourg, dont nous esperons le dict seigneur Roy nous layssera jouir paisiblement."

† "Quant icelluy seigneur Roy, nostre pere, me verra estre ainsi allye avec mes dicts seigneurs, qui seront cause de luy faire declairer le bon zele quil a en cest endroit. Et si nous pourrons toujours excuser envers luy, et [nous] deffendre à lencontre de noz adversaires."

Anthoine Marlett,* present bearer, will hear the answer that the princes will give him and bring it back to Us as quickly as he can.—Reims, 8 September 1543.

Concordat cum litteris subscriptis et sigillatis ut supra, et instructione. Collata per me qui et approbo in margine. —Bernburger (*sic*).

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

9 Sept. **222.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Your Majesty will see by the enclosed copy [of my letter to the Emperor] the few events since my last. I shall only add that I humbly beg Your Majesty to order and command that the fleet come at once to this Channel, and effect its junction with the English according to the offer and promise of Your Majesty.—London, 9 Sept. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

9 Sept. **223.** The CARDINAL OF SEVILLE [FR. GARCIA DE LOAYSA] to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 60, f. 193.

By two different couriers, one of whom goes straight to Genoa, whilst the other is to sail almost immediately from some port in Biscay, I have written to Your Majesty. May God be pleased that my two letters reach their destination, in order that Your Majesty may have some knowledge of what is passing here.

Since the receipt of Your Majesty's letter to the prince, dated Trent,† the 5th of July, we have no further news. Still, we may well thank God for his having granted to Your Majesty that amount of health which You seem to enjoy at present, as well as for allowing You to leave Italy after removing from His Holiness' mind those suspicions and scrupulous misgivings which the French had been able to instil into it.

I always thought that the millions offered for the investiture of Milan were more imaginary than real. This opinion I expressed the first time that the affair was brought to the Council of State, for I really believe that neither the Pope has in his treasury the millions he speaks of, nor does he know where to procure the money, however diligently he may look out for it. Notwithstanding such a reduction in the price of the investiture, my advice is that the proposition ought to be accepted. Vega, the ambassador, and Your Majesty's ministers in Italy, might see whether the one million now offered could not be increased, and if, after exhausting all means of persuasion, they could not make

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* In the heading of the letter "*Marllet,*" neither of which seem the Envoy's correct name. Maillet might, perhaps, be the true reading.

† The Emperor, according to Vandenesse, entered that city on the 2nd of July.

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the Pope offer a larger sum for it, Your Majesty, in my opinion, had better be satisfied with the said sum, paid at once, not by instalments, for fear the Pope, who is considerably advanced in age, should die in the meanwhile before the whole has been paid up. Under these and other honorable conditions, which must needs be stipulated, the Duchy might be delivered into the hands of the duke of Camarino. I do not think that at the late interview between the Pope and Your Majesty there was any withdrawal on his part from the propositions made by others in his name. We know by experience what little advantage or reputation has hitherto been gained from any of His Holiness's proposals, and yet I do not hesitate to say that Your Majesty should on this present occasion dissemble and forbear, trying all the time to get all you can out of the Apostolic See, and wait for time and opportunity when Your Majesty may have at your command forces to dispose of freely, that the Church be reformed, and that good effect produced therein which Your Majesty covets so much.

Letters have come from Spira (Spiers) announcing that on the 24th of July Your Majesty entered that city. We all here have been much comforted at hearing that Your Majesty is travelling in perfectly good health, which is what we all, and especially myself, wish. We are anxiously expecting news of Your Majesty's arrival in Flanders, and as to myself, I think that when king Francis hears of your approach he will immediately withdraw his forces and retire into his own kingdom. Should he not do so, he may perhaps meet with another defeat like that of Pavia.

In my last letter I informed Your Majesty that in pursuance of the orders received, and in obedience to the warrant (*prematice*) lately issued, I was preparing to return to my church [of Seville]. I now intend to start on the 20th inst., if God grants me strength enough to get into a sedan chair and pass so many days on the road.

The government of these kingdoms is conducted in a most desirable manner. Every care is taken of the military preparations for the war with France, as well as of the finances of the country and administration of justice. Your Majesty will, I have no doubt, with your great wisdom and discretion, guess to whom this success is due.*—Madrid, 9 Sept. 1543.

Spanish. Original.† *pp.* 2½.

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* "El gobierno destos reynos va muy bien; tienese gran cuidado en lo que toca à la guerra y à la hazienda, y à la justizia. Y vra. Magd. con su claro entendimiento puede juzgar quien es la mayor parte deste vro. servicio."

† This holograph letter is from Fray Garcia de Loaysa, archbishop of Seville, and confessor of Charles V., whose letters have been abstracted in Vol. IV., Part I., pp. iv–vii of the *Introduction* of this Calendar. He died at Madrid on the 22nd of April 1546. *See* Zuñiga, *Anales Eclesiasticos y Seculares de Sevilla*, p. 503.

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9 Sept. **224.** LORD SEYMOUR to CHARLES V.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

May it please Your Most High Majesty to know that on the 8th inst. a letter came to this camp in credence of the duke of Aarshot and of count du Rœulx,* informing us of Your Majesty's late success against our common enemy. Nothing could have rejoiced us, English, more than similar news of a victory gained by the King, our master, over the common enemy. We all are praying God for the prosperity of Your Imperial Majesty's arms to your heart's content.

As to our remaining longer here, where we are, may it please Your Majesty to know that already, on the 2nd of this month, your councillor,† Cornelius Scepperus, came with credentials from Your Majesty, and gave me to understand that we, the English, would render a service by remaining here where we are encamped eight or ten days more, so as to give Your Majesty time to detach from Your army 10 or 12,000 men to the assistance of the above-mentioned duke and count.

The better to please Your Majesty I have decided (saving the pleasure of the King, my master, to whom I have already signified Your wish) not to quit this place until I am positively ordered to abandon the position and return. If no orders come to the contrary, I will remain here with the force under my command until the expiration of the ten days, begging Your Majesty to afford us such convoy and escort to go back to our frontier that we may again, if called upon, render service to Your Majesty.—Written at the camp of Penieres (?), the 9th day of September 1543.

Signed: "Your most humble, Seymour"; with seal.

Indorsed: "To the most high Majesty of the Emperor."

French. Original. p. 1.

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9 Sept. **225.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—The man whom I lately sent to Court to acquaint this king and his privy councillors with the news Your Imperial Majesty was pleased to forward to me, has this moment come back. He tells me that this king has been immensely glad to hear of the prosperous state of Your Majesty's affairs, praising and extolling above all things your proceedings on the occasion, not only with reference to the letters patent issued by you at Clèves and Juliers, and the proclamation to the inhabitants of Duren, but also to the sentence and condemnation that ensued. He has likewise taken in very good part the care and solicitude which Your Imperial Majesty has taken to inform him of such an event, and of the motives Your Imperial Majesty has hitherto had not to think so seriously as you might otherwise have done of the much desired undertaking against France. *This king should wish that the date for the invasion of France had already been fixed, nay, that the enterprize itself had been carried out,* for, as one of the privy councillors said yesterday to me, this is the time to strike a decisive blow. That is the reason why the King himself has since asked me to let him know as soon as possible what Your Majesty has resolved in this matter, and what means there are of carrying out successfully the enterprize, so that he may make the necessary preparations for the next campaign. He has, moreover, found that the practices of the French king in trying to have the prince of Piedmont assassinated were really wicked and abominable.[*]

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* "Que le huitieme jour de cest present jeu (jai) reçeu unes lettres de vre. maieste par monseigneurs (mes seigneurs) mons^{r} le duc d'Ascott, et mons^{r} de Rœux, avecque telle credence que nulle schose (*sic*) plus nous pourroit rejouir, si ce nestoit (n'estoit) la semblable victoire du roy mon maistre." I need scarcely observe that *Ascott* is for Philippe de Croy, duke of Aarshot, and *Rœux* for count du Rœulx.

† The original reads *cancellier* (*chancellor*), but it is evident that *conseiller* (*councillor*) is meant. About this Scepperus, whose full latinised name was Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus, and who had once represented the Emperor in Hungary, Poland, and other courts, as well as temporarily in France, *see* Vol. V., Part II., pp. 6–13, 46, 73–9, 99–103, 176, *Int.* xxi, xxii.

The King has also heard from other quarters that at the port of St. Malo, in Brittany, a fleet of 150 sail was being fitted out, and that likewise on the side of Denmark maritime armaments were going on, and war ships getting ready for sea. This has induced him to order all his own war ships, to the number of 21—without counting the armed merchantmen and privateers [†]—to be fitted out, and he has requested me to write home and beg that the fleet of Zeeland and L'Escluse (Schluys) put out to sea as soon as possible and join his, so that both together may do service and execute the orders of their respective admirals. Should this not have been done already, I humbly pray Your Imperial Majesty to see to it.

These privy councillors regret the somewhat passionate and sharp answer that the English captains before Landresis returned to Master Scepperus, whom Your Imperial Majesty sent thither with a message. To say the plain truth, there was not on the part of those captains the discretion and courteous behaviour that might have been expected from them on the occasion, for in their official report to the King they gave him to understand, as I am told, that Your Imperial Majesty's men were cowards; that they dared not to attack the enemy, and that had the execution of the enterprize been left to the English alone, they would already have gained possession of the place. But we must not be surprised at such conduct on the part of these people, for such is their nature.[‡] This notwithstanding, I do not believe that they will withdraw altogether from the field before the time fixed in the treaty. Even if the King had thought at one time of recalling his men, I fancy that the late success of Your Imperial Majesty's arms will make him change opinion.*

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[*] "Il a trouvé bien estrange et execrable la practique du roy de France de faire tuer le prince de Piedmont."

[†] "Sans aultres marchandes (*sic*) et advanturiers."

[‡] "Car ilz ont bien osé escripre au dit seigneur roy, á ce que j'entends, que les gens de vre. ma^{te} se monstroient couars (*sic*), nosant aller sercher (*sic*) les enemys, et que sil eust este à faire à iceulx, ilz eussent desja tout gaigné. Mais de telles façons de faire ne se fault esbayr, car cest leur naturel."

The Princess has again been very ill from colic (*colicque*), but is now better. Indeed, I believe that no medicine has done her more good than the good news she has received from Your Imperial Majesty.—London, 9 Sept. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys.'

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received on the 16th of the same month."

French. Original. pp. 2.

9 Sept. **226.** The Same to Mgr. de Granvelle.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monseigneur,"—By the enclosed to the Emperor, Your Lordship will see what progress, however small, has been made since my last despatch.† *I can only add that it seems to me as if the more prosperous the turn of His Imperial Majesty's affairs, the more convenient it is for us to show unbounded confidence and trust in these people, and be courteous and civil towards them, lest they should think that one of these days we may have no need of their assistance, and no longer have esteem and regard for them. On the other hand, it is indeed to be presumed that the enemy is awake, and will let no opportunity pass of gaining the English over to their side. I have considered it my duty to call Your Lordship's attention to this point, at the same time begging pardon for my temerity in venturing to make such a suggestion.*—London, 9 Sept. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

12 Sept. **227.** The Emperor's Instructions to Thomas Perrenot, Sieur de Chantonnay.

B. Neg. d'Ang. Vol. I., f. 242.

These are the Instructions for what you, the sieur de Chantonnay,‡ "*gentilhomme de la bouche,*" are to represent and follow in your present mission to the king of England, Our dearest good brother and cousin.

First of all you shall go as hastily as possible to England, and to Our ambassador resident in that country, to whom you will hand over the letter of which you are the bearer, as well as these present Instructions, that he may take cognizance of them. After taking his advice, both of you shall go together to the King's Privy Council, and will then and there say and declare whatever you may deem proper for the good

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* Alluding, no doubt, to the taking of Duren on the 24th of August.

† Of Sept. 6, *see* No. 217, pp. 473–6.

‡ Son of Nicolas Perrenot, sieur de Granvelle, the Emperor's Lord Privy Seal.

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direction and brief accomplishment of your mission. That being done, you will present to the King Our letters of credence in favor of you and of Our resident ambassador in that court, and will tell him that We suppose Our resident ambassador (Chapuys) has already acquainted him with the reasons We had, and have still, for undertaking Our voyage by this sea, and the causes which actually compelled Us to take that route, notwithstanding the favorable progress of Our arms in Germany and other countries, as We explained in Our letter of the 29th ult. For that particular object, and that you may verbally inform him of the above causes, as well as of later events like the taking of Remonde (Ruremonde), and other towns, villages, and fortresses in the duchy of Juliers, and the siege of this Venlo, We now send you to England.

Likewise you will inform him of the arrival at this Our court of the duke of Clèves, accompanied by the coadjutor and other ambassadors of the archbishop of Cologne and duke of Brunswick, and of the former's humble submission to Our Imperial mercy, with offers of restoring to Us absolutely and without delay the duchy of Ghelders and county of Zutphen. You will tell the King how We received the Duke with clemency and ordered Our ministers to treat with him, as you yourself have witnessed, and how finally a treaty has been concluded with the Duke.

You will also tell him that We are expecting the deputies of the notables and towns of Ghelders, to whom, at the Duke's request, We have granted safe conducts that they may come to Our court, subscribe their names to the restoration of the Duchy, and take the customary oath of fealty.

The King of England, in his wisdom and the sincerity of his friendship for Us, of which We also partake, will easily understand and recognize how important and necessary it was for Us and for Our reputation, for the security of Our Low Countries (*pays d'embas*) and the keeping up of the Imperial authority, as well as for the success of the enterprize which We both are about to make against France, to reduce the said Duke under Our sway; for, as the king of England has no doubt understood by this time, king Francis, our enemy, thought of nothing but to mar and impede by the Duke's means Our common enterprize against him, and intended, as he actually did, to assist him with all his power. God, however, was pleased to dispose matters in such a way that, through the signal victory obtained in so short a time over the Duke's army, king Francis' plans have been frustrated.

This forced submission on the part of the Duke has likewise considerably diminished king Francis' credit and reputation, if he ever had any, in Germany, whose prince-electors and others had already begun to decry, blame, and reproach his acts. The consequence of all this will be that his alliances

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with Denmark, Sweden, and other provinces and towns of the Easterlings will be dissolved, which will be a great advantage for Our common navy and merchant on the side of England and Scotland, as well as in the Netherlands and Spain.

To remedy the evils which from king Francis' alliance with the above-named Northern powers might have fallen on Our brother and ally, the king of England, has always been Our constant aim, and therefore, no sooner did We hear of the Duke's defeat, and of his willingness to acknowledge his multifarious misdeeds and return to Our obedience, than, notwithstanding his great and desperate rebellion, his obstinate perseverance in it, and the immense damage by him caused to Our subjects in the Low Countries—besides the harm which king Francis through his means and close adherence has done Us, such as preventing last year and this present one the assistance by land against the Turk, and his joining his fleet to that of Solyman—We have acted leniently towards him, restoring to him the duchy of Juliers, after retaking possession of Ghelders, without his having to pay Us for the expenses of the war.*

That, disengaged in that quarter, We have immediately thought of sending you to England for the purpose of telling the King that, having, as We have, a powerful and victorious army, very much incensed against the French, and this season not being yet so far advanced as to preclude some good undertaking or other, We send you to tell him confidentially and under reserve that king Francis, as he himself must know, took possession last year, and still preserves some towns of Ours in the duchy of Luxenburg, besides Landresis [in Flanders], and that not contented with that, he is now, according to the last news received, making all efforts to collect from the provinces of his kingdom, as well as from Italy and the Swiss Cantons, as large a force as he can again to invade Our Low Countries, so much so that We cannot do less than prepare for resistance and try to do him all the harm We can. We cannot at present determine when and by which side of the frontier We will invade France, but upon Our arrival in the Low Countries We will see on which side Our attack had better be directed. Indeed, We hope that with God's assistance and help We will give him a good drubbing, and before the winter sets in occupy some of his towns and keep him at bay until the spring, when We both will decide as to a joint attack.

Respecting the English soldiers on this side of the Channel, you are to request the King, as We have already done, the general-in-chief, or "seneschal," of the said forces, to be pleased that they do not move from where they are until Our own arrival in Flanders. Then We will see what can be done, and write to the King accordingly, that he may order his troops either to co-operate with Our army on the side of Picardy or withdraw them entirely, sooner or later, according to season and circumstances, as the King himself may determine.

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* "Luy avons accorde rendre son pays de Julliers en ayant la possession du dit Gheldres, et luy quicter et remectre tous les dits frais et interets."

But whereas this Our expedition against the common enemy is and will be for that king's profit and advantage, and for the better issue of whatever Our mutual plans may be for the future, you will very affectionately request the King in Our name to assist Us with the pay of one month only for this present year, which will probably amount to 150,000 crs., and that We should not have troubled him with such a request had it not been for the total impossibility of obtaining bills on Germany or the Low Countries, at any discount whatever, and Our having been quite unable, as he can well understand, though We tried to do so, to bring specie from Spain. We also thought that Our Low Countries would have assisted Us, as they have done at other times, and so they would now were it not for the great expense they have been put to by this last war against the duke of Clèves and the French.

Should Our brother, the King, withdraw his forces from Flanders, he will no longer have that expense to sustain. We will, however, continue to work for the common weal, as above said. We feel certain that Our very dear and good friend the King will attend to this very reasonable request of Ours, as We fully hope, from Our mutual friendship and alliance as well as his own generosity, that he will, since, thank God, he has abundant means to assist Us with the above-mentioned sum.

You will offer Our affectionate commendations to all the lords and personages near the King's person and give them notice of the above, urging them to back Our request, as you may think fit, trusting that you will do, in conjunction with Our resident ambassador, whatever you may deem proper to forward Our interests in that country, after which you [Chantonnay] will return to Flanders without loss of time.—At our camp before Venlo, the 12 of September 1543.

French. Original. pp. 5.

12 Sept. **228.** The EMPEROR to MR. DE CHANTONNAY.

B. Arch. de Bourg. Corresp. d'Ang., Vol. I.

Besides the above Instruction drawn out on purpose to be exhibited to the King and his ministers, if required, should Our resident ambassador in that country deem it fit and opportune, or should the King and his ministers wish to see what We write to him on the subject—though it would be rather a bad precedent to exhibit what We write confidentially to an ambassador of Ours—yet, should you and your colleague perceive that a refusal on your part would arouse the King's suspicions, you may show him the contents of Our

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confidential letter to the said ambassador; in which case the paragraphs of the one not to be shown will be written on a sheet of paper apart.

Should you be unable, in conjunction with Our resident ambassador (Chapuys), to induce the King to grant Us gratuitously the sum of money mentioned in the Instruction, you will try, after exhausting all your means of persuasion, that he may let Us have the money by way of a loan with interest, with a full promise and engagement on Our part to return the sum borrowed within four or five months' time, or as soon as We can send for, or bring the money from Spain or from the Indies, assuring the King that there will be no fault in the fulfilment of Our promise, and, if necessary, that We will give him a bond with Our obligation and assurance in writing.

French. Original draft. pp. 4.

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12 Sept. **229.** The EMPEROR to MASTER WALLOP.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Tres chier et bien amé,"—We are in receipt of your letter of the 5th inst. relating what passed between Our councillor, Cornil [*] Sceperus, and you, when the latter informed you of Our intentions and of the success of Our arms until then; and, although you must also have heard since of the advantages gained over the common enemy by Our cousins, the duke of Aarshot and count du Rœulx, and of Our going in person to join them at the head of Our army, We have no doubt that the two above-mentioned captains have already written to you to announce Our determination; and yet We have considered it necessary again to re-advise you of Our approach, which will take place between the 23rd and 26th inst. at the latest, requesting and begging you that, since time is short and there is such an appearance of good success, you may meanwhile remain with Our two said cousins, and not separate from them.[†]

We have despatched a gentleman of Our chamber as an express messenger to the king of England, your master, to advise him of Our determination as above, and We trust and have no doubt that on the receipt of Our message the King, Our good brother, will not only be pleased at it, but will readily approve of Our determination, and transmit to you his orders to that effect.—Venlo (Venloo), 12 Sept. 1543.

Indorsed: "Charles V. to Mr. Maistre Walop, captain of the English."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

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[*] "Concernant ce quavoyes pasee avec nostre conseillier messire Cornil Scepperus." *See* above, No. 224, p. 483.

[†] "Si vous avons bien voulu escripre ceste pour du tant plus vous assheurer de nostre approchement et determination destre devans du xxiv ou xxvi du present au plus tard au dit quartier de dela, vous priant et requerant que puisque le terme est si court, et l'apparence du bon effect que sen doit ensuyvre, veuillez cependant demeurer avec nos dits cousins sans vous separer."

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12 Sept. **230.** The SAME to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

" Venerable, chier et feal,"—On the 29th ult. We wrote to you an account of events up to that date that you might inform the king of England, Our good brother and cousin, of Our military operations, as the perfect amity between Us two demands. We now send the sieur de Chantonnay, gentleman of Our body (*gentilhomme de la bouche*), but as you will hear from his own lips, and by the Instructions of which he is to be the bearer, what his charge is and what he is to say to the King, We will abstain from writing any more about it, recommending you to do your best to forward Our views according to the tenour of the said Instructions.—At the Camp in front of Venlo (Venloo), 12 Sept. 1543.

Addressed: "To the ambassador in England in credence of Mons. de Chantonnay."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

13 Sept. **231.** KING FRANCIS to the LANDGRAF OF HESSE-CASSEL.

S. E. L., 47. Arch. Nat. of Paris.

"Most illustrious Landgraf and dear relative,"—We wrote to you on the 10th inst. of Our determination to send Our second son [the duke of Orleans] with an army to Luxemburg, We Ourselves intending to follow with the rest of Our forces for the sole and express purpose of assisting Our beloved friend and relative against the German Emperor and his tyrannical rule. Such was then Our intention, but now news has come to Us, both from the enemy's camp and from the Imperial Court, that the whole of the duchy of Juliers, after the occupation of Duram (Duren), its capital, has surrendered to the Emperor. We also hear that Henry, duke of Brunswick, without Our knowledge (*me inscio*), has undertaken to intercede in the Duke's favor, and has obtained from the Emperor what no one else but him could obtain, since his influence over the latter is considerable: that is, certain proposals of peace. Yet We hear also that the duke of Clèves is disinclined to accept the terms offered to him. He will neither go to Spires and appear before the Diet, nor will he furnish the provisions and money demanded of him from the bishoprics of Treves and Cologne, still less from his own dominions. If the above intelligence be correct and true, you may well judge what Our conduct must be under the circumstances and in this emergency. I shall patiently wait for the recess of the diet of Spires * until We know what has been decided there, and will nevertheless persist in Our resolution. Should the Duke agree to Our proposition, that part of the engagement which We took by Our letter of the 10th We at once are ready to fulfil; the other does belong to you. In which mutual engagement, if you will show Us what part you chose to take, We Ourselves shall not be in fault in ours, but will work and apply all Our power and faculties to it. Deliberate then whilst it is yet time, and whilst you possess friends and allies ready to co-operate with you, for We know of many who would willingly side with you [and yet are undecided because of their not knowing who are your allies].

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* "Dum exitus consiliorum Novesianorum appareat."

We have written to you for two reasons, the one that you may know that We shall never abandon the duke of Clèves and that whenever he asks Us for assistance in men and money he will never be left without if he demands it, nay, that We will rather postpone Our own affairs, even a sure victory over the English and Belgians, to attend to him.* The other reason is, that if We can in any wise aid you in finding out a remedy to the present evils, you may at once let Us know, that We may help to the realization of your plans; for We will work with all Our power and resources so that Our ardent wishes for the preservation of German liberty may at once become manifest.—Manehildis (St. Menehould), 13 September 1543.

Signed: "Francois."

Countersigned: "Bayard."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious and powerful prince, Our beloved relative the Landgraf of Hesse."

Latin. Original. pp. 2.

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16 Sept. **232.** The King's Privy Council to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Varia.*

Magnifice Domine, S[alutem] P[lurimam]. We are in receipt of reliable information stating that the garrison of Ardras is in want of provisions, and that the French have accordingly decided to revictual the town, having already collected a considerable force for that express purpose. Such is the news we have, and yet the King's Most Serene Majesty, having frequently experienced the stratagems of the French, is fully convinced that whilst they are giving out that they merely intend revictualling Ardras and its garrison, their real object is to invade Our Breduck territory, and perhaps

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* "Deliberate dum tempus est, et dum aliquos habetis qui vellent (*sic*). Video enim multos (nonullos ?) qui volent sed qui tamen vobiscum [non] faciunt. Scripsi vobis hic (hæc ?) duas ob causas, quarum una est ut videatis a me Clevensem ducem nec pecunia unquam, nec minus ope militum destitutum esse, si voluisset et velit (*sic*), meque ditiones proprias, certamque ex Anglis, Belgisque, victoriam reliquisse, ut illi adessem. Altera est si quid vobis præstare possim ad componendum incumbentibus malis (*sic*) id mihi in tempore significetis."

The original, now in the National Archives of Paris, was formerly at Simancas. A modern copy, a very incorrect one, by a French scribe, is in Bergenroth's Collection, vol. XXII., pp. 245-7.

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also attack the Church of Ouderwyck, and your own castle of Hannawaynes.*

In order, therefore, that the French may not carry out their plans of invasion; that your districts and ours, so fertile and so abundant in provisions, and yours especially may not, after the loss of the afore-said castle [Hannawaynes] be overrun by the enemy, but may be free from aggression, and able to offer resistance to the French, and that the road between Calais and Gravelines may be secured, His Most Serene Majesty thinks that the defence of the above-mentioned castle should no longer be intrusted, as hitherto, to raw levies of country people hastily made, but to veteran soldiers having long experience of warfare. Should these precautionary measures cause more expense than the Emperor's ministers [in Flanders] are able or willing to defray, His Most Serene Majesty, the King, is ready to undertake at his own cost the defence of the said towns and districts, and provide them with proper garrisons rather than let them fall into the enemy's hands.

The Queen of Hungary, your sovereign mistress, will better understand the importance of this our warning if she will cast her eyes on the enclosed plan of Hannawaynes and the surrounding country executed at home by one who is well acquainted with the locality.† We beg Her Most Serene Majesty to attach full faith to it, and in short most earnestly request her for the safety of Our master's subjects and her own, to have the said castle garrisoned with veteran soldiers, or else to intrust its defence to Us. Fare thee well and receive our commendations.—Woodstock, 16 of September.

Signed: . . . . Thomas Wriothesley = St. Winton. (Stephen, bp. of Winchester) . . . .‡ Antone Browne.

Indorsed: "Magnifico et Egregio viro D. Eustacio Chapuis Cæsareæ Majestatis Oratori."

Latin. Original. pp. 2.

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18 Sept. **233.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—This king having heard that the enemy, with a force amounting to 8,000 men, between foot and horse, has resolved within a couple of days or so to revictual the fortified town of Ardres, and wisely considering by the experience he has of the character and doings of the French, that after accomplishing their aim they are likely, with such a force as they have, to undertake something else, has ordered

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[*] "Patriam etiam de Breduck, si per nostram negligentiam licuerit, invasuros, et Ecclesiam de Ouderwyck, et propugnaculum vestrum de Hannawaynes expugnaturos."

[†] Ut autem tua D[omina] certius intelligat quanti momenti res sit hunc ad D[ominam] tuam mittit S^{ma} Majestas, qui in patria graphice depictum ipsius propugnaculi situm scite novit, et aperte demonstravite ?

[‡] Blanks for some of the names almost illegible.

his privy councillors to write to me the letter of which a copy is herein enclosed. He, himself, has shown me a map and design, pointing out the danger and inconvenience to arise were not the two fortified towns mentioned in the letter sufficiently provided with means of defence, observing that were the French to be successful, they will undoubtedly waste not only the Emperor's country on that side, but whatever else the English possess between Calais and Gravelinghes (Gravelines), will stop the intercourse of trade between Flanders and this country, as well as all messengers and couriers passing to and fro from one country to another. The King has now sent me word by the Porter of Calais and by another gentleman, who was the bearer of the map and design to which I allude, earnestly requesting me to beg and entreat Your Majesty to provide at once for the defence and security of the two mentioned towns by appointing trusty and experienced officers to command their respective garrisons; and that should Your Majesty wish, for the sake of economy and to avoid expense, to entrust the defence of those towns to the English, he (the King) will readily undertake the same and attend to it in such a manner that no apprehension may be felt on that side of the frontier. Such being the case, and should Your Majesty entrust the defence of those places to him, he will request you to arm them with some pieces of heavy ordnance, and order the peasants in their immediate neighbourhood to aid in the construction of bastions (*ramparts*) and any other defences that may be wanted, and besides command the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages to succour in case of need.

Such is the King's proposal. As the danger is imminent, as, in his opinion, which is also mine, the affair suffers no delay, and much time might be lost in sending messengers backwards and forwards, the King begs Your Majesty to look to that and inform, as soon as possible, the Deputy of Calais * of your determination.—London, 18 September 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 1½.

29 Sept. **234.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—As Your Majesty will particularly hear from Mons. de Chantonnay's lips all the news of this country, I shall not refer to them here, save to say that I beg and entreat Your Majesty as humbly as I possibly can to order the release from prison of sieur Bernard de Sainct Boniface, arrested at Rippemonde (*sic*), in whose behalf and favor some of this king's privy councillors have spoken to Mons. de Chantonnay, besides earnestly praying me to write, as I do, in his commendation.

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* That is, Lord Maltravers.

1543.

I cannot sufficiently thank Your Majesty for the payment of my arrears, &c.—London, 29 Sept. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

1 Oct. **235.** HENRY VIII. to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 10.

"Tres hault, tres excellent, et tres puissant prince, nostre tres chier et tres ame (*sic*) frere et cousin,"—Our very dear and most beloved cousin, the earl of Surrey, knight of Our Order, has applied to Us for permission to visit Your Majesty's camp. This petition We have readily granted, that We may through him have news of your successes, which We hope will continue to be prosperous, that he (the Earl) may at the same time acquire that experience in military affairs that will make him the true heir and successor of his ancestors.

We beg to recommend him most particularly to Your Imperial Majesty, praying you to order the captains and lieutenants of your army to help and assist in all things in which the said Earl may advance and improve his knowledge of military affairs.—Woodstock, 1 of October 1543.

Signed: "Your good brother and cousin Henry."

Indorsed: "To the most high, most excellent, and most powerful prince, Our very dear and very beloved brother and cousin."

French. Original, with seal in red wax. p. 1.*

1 Oct. **236.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 10.

"Monsieur, mon bon frère et cousin,"—The bearer of this my letter will be Messire François Bryan, knight, vice-admiral of England, and gentleman of Our Chamber, who is going to visit you, as well as to declare certain things of importance in my name. I beg you not only to receive him kindly, but credit him also in all he will say to you as if the words came from myself, your good brother and cousin.—Woodstock, 1 of October 1543.

Signed: "Henry."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

Oct. **236A.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl. 11.

"Sire,"—The bishop of London (Boner) and Master Bryant have called upon me saying that they have been charged with a mission to Your Majesty, which mission consists of the following points:

To visit Your Majesty and congratulate on Your prosperous victory over the duke of Clèves.

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* Follows a letter from the Privy Council to Chapuys, "à l'ambassadeur de l'Empereur," requesting him to write in favor of the earl of Surrey and of Master Bryan (Sir Francis Brian).

1543.

To report confidentially on the state of affairs in Scotland, which is more hopeful than when my son * was last in that country, owing to several lords, counts and barons having embraced the King's cause, and to the Cardinal himself having fled to the Continent.

The King trusts that in case of need Your Majesty will assist him according to the letter of the treaty, and the mutual friendship uniting you both.

Also that Your Majesty will completely interdict the intercourse of trade between your subjects and the Scotch.

The King of England wishes to know before hand what is to be done next year against the common enemy, and when and at what point of their frontier the French are to be assailed, so that he himself may prepare and make the necessary provision for the undertaking.

Previous to the duke of Holstein's alliance and confederacy with France, the king of England lived on good terms with the former, and therefore, he has reason to think that it would not be difficult for him to enter now into relations with the said duke. That (as he says) would be a blow struck against the common enemy, and if Your Majesty be pleased that he (the King) should interfere and take up the negociation,† he will undertake the task as the friendship he professes for Your Majesty demands. The above, as the privy councillors inform me, are substantially the items of the ambassadors' mission. I myself had invited them to supper at this Embassy; but they excused themselves on the plea that they will not quit home until they actually start on their mission. . . . . .‡

French. Original. p. 1.

3 Oct. **236B.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* 234.

Again recommends the case of the sieur Bernard de Sainct Boniface, detained at Rippemonde.§ The King himself spoke to Mons. de Chantonnay in his favor, and now the privy councillors have requested him (Chapuys) to intercede for him and ask for his release.—London, 3 Oct. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

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* "Dont ilz ont meilleur espoir quilz navoient quant mon filz y fut dernierement pour y avoir de[s] bons amys, sieurs, contes et barons." This is the first time that Chapuys alludes in his correspondence to a son of his, of whom nothing is known.

† "Et sil simble à vostre Ma^{te} quil sen doige entremectre, il le fera volontiers selon lexigence de vr̃e amytie."

‡ "Javoye pria instamment au souper les dits ambassadeurs, mais ilz se sont excusez [en disant] quilz ne bougeront mishuy (?) de leur logis." . . . . Thus closes the letter as if it were unfinished; it is besides unsigned and undated; though on the dorse, in a more modern hand, I find "8^{br} 1543."

§ "La relaxation du sieur Bernard de Sainct Boniface detenu à Rippemonde," as in No. 233; but Rippemonde is evidently an error for Ruremonde in Ghelderland.

1543.

4 Oct. **237.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl. 9.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—Ever since the departure for England of Mr. de Chantonnay, who must have informed you of the progress of Our arms until then, We have purposely delayed writing to you until Our arrival at this place, when We might more deliberately announce to you Our resolution to invade France. We fully expected to have been in Flanders on the 25th or 26th ult.; but We have been of late so tormented by gout * that We have been thoroughly prevented from proceeding on Our journey, and obliged to stay several days on the road, having at last reached this place with considerable fatigue and under most excruciating pains. Considering, however, that We may be compelled to remain here longer than We anticipated in order to recover completely from the last fit of gout, and that the season and fine weather are fast passing away; considering that We are being put to great expense by keeping up Our army, and that We have done all We could to take the field against the common enemy, We have now resolved, in order not to let the remainder of this autumn season and fair weather pass away, to march on towards Guise, leaving behind the duke of Aarshot to push on the siege of Landrechies, and at the same time secure the convoys of provisions for Our army. But as We have heard that the forces which the king of England has on this side of the Channel have, with his permission, shown a desire of joining Our army, We have instructed Signor Fernando de Gonzaga to conduct them to this place, where they shall not fail to be well received and favorably treated, as they deserve.

We have deemed it opportune and convenient to let you know of these particulars, and at the same time inform you that We will make all possible haste to place Ourselves at the head of Our forces as far as Our health, which is not yet entirely re-established, will permit. Meanwhile We will continually send you news of Our progress against the enemy, that you yourself may apprize the King with the incidents of the campaign We are about to undertake against the common enemy. You will likewise inform the King's privy councillors of the above facts, as well as of the fact that since our departure from Venlo the prince of Orange is gone to take possession in Our name of the duchy of Ghelders and county of Zutphen. We have reason to believe that by this time the Prince has already accomplished the mission We gave him, that he has been welcomed and well received everywhere, and that the States, the barons, the nobles, and the inhabitants of the towns and villages of those districts have all taken their oath to abide by the treaty concluded at Venlo.†

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* "Mais nous summes (*avons esté?*) depuys si travailles de gouttes (*sic*) de soste quil nous a este force seijourner aucuns jours et avecq tres grande payne nous remectre sur pied."

† The treaty took place on the 8th of September.

As far as We can hear, king Francis is still in the Luxemburg at the head of his forces, which are said to be very considerable, without, however, having achieved anything important save the taking of Luxemburg itself, which town was quite incapable of defence. He had threatened it for many days, as he is actually threatening Thionville and Metz. On the other hand, We hear that he has spread the rumour that he intends giving Us battle, although We do not see how he can come here where We are. At any rate, whether he does or not, We are confident that Our army will in the meantime achieve something of importance, and if he does come this way We shall give him a warm reception, and trust that God will assist Us and Our good right.

From Italy the news is that the marquis del Gasto, prince Doria, and Figueroa, Our ambassador in Genoa, wrote on the 17th ult. advising that Barbarossa, hearing of the approach of the forces which the former was leading to the relief of Nyce (Nizza), raised suddenly the siege of the citadel, and embarked hastily with the whole of his force, abandoning completely the town, and showing by his manner and words that he was much discontented with the French, who, he said, had deceived him, and taking by force on board his galleys great number of Provençaux and other Frenchmen. The remainder, fancying that flight only could save them from certain death, quitted Nizza in great disorder, so much so that though they had one port close by many of them were drowned in the attempt to reach the Turkish galleys. Before leaving the place the enemy had set fire to the town, one third part of which was burnt to ashes.* Letters received yesterday confirm the above news, adding that the garrison had been completely re-victualled, the citadel stored with powder and ammunition, and the town itself provided with a sufficient garrison for its defence, as well as for repairing the havoc therein caused by the enemy. As the aforesaid Barbarossa has sailed for and taken refuge in the islands of Diers,† it is to be presumed that the discontent and anger of that corsair cannot be so great as reported, and yet it can neither be so slight as to persuade Us that it will soon subside; on the contrary, it is generally believed that one of these days it will grow out and assume greater proportions, so that in the end

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* Owing to the many erasures and corrections which the original minute has—apparently in the handwriting of secretary Idiaquez, or some clerk or other in the Emperor's Foreign Office—the text of this passage is rather obscure. I transcribe it here as it is in the original. "Barberoussa, apres avoir entendu l'approchement des gens que menoit le dict marquis au secours de ceulx de Nyce, il leva incontinent le siege de devant le chasteau, et se rembarqua avec toute son armee en tres grande haste, habandonnant (*sic*) entierement la ville du dict Nyce, et demonstrant estre tres malcontent des dits françois pour l'avoir abuse, prenant par force grand nombre de Provençaulx et aultres des dits françois en ses galleres, et le surplus qui se pensoient saulver se retirrent en si grande desordre que combien quilz eussent ung port, partie d'iceulx se noyarent, ayant mis avant le partement le feug (*sic*) en la ville du dict Nyce, tellement que plus de la tierce partie fust bruslee."

† Les Isles d'Hyères, close to Marseilles.

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the French will lose the friendship of the Infidel and be thereby thrown into confusion to their great damage and disrepute, besides losing for ever their credit with the Turk.

True is it that prince Doria sent to Nizza twenty of his galleys under the command of captain Joannetino Doria, and that the duke of Savoy and the marquis del Gasto, who were on board, landed, and were enabled to introduce into the citadel provisions and ammunition. It is also true that four of the galleys having approached too near the coast, and meeting with foul weather, were unfortunately cast on shore; but most of the crews, as well as the artillery, were saved, so that only the galleys were wrecked, and there was no loss of human life. Prince Doria expected within a month or so to be able to launch four more galleys that he is constructing to replace those he has lost.

To put an end to this letter, We must say that We are really astonished not to hear of the result of Mr. Chantonnay's mission; since his departure from England We have received no news whatever from you. Perhaps the cause is that the King is far away in the country and cannot attend to business. However that may be, We request you to let Us hear as soon as possible the news of England, and We on Our side will not fail to advise Our movements.*—Binche, 4 Oct. 1543.

Indorsed: "The Emperor and King to the ambassador in England."

French. Original draft. pp. 3.

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4 Oct. **238.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—This king, as his privy councillors have just informed me, has ordered twelve good ships of his to be equipped and armed for sea.—London, 4 October 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

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5 Oct. **239.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to MR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monseigneur,"—As all those who are employed by this king on that side of the Channel are always welcome to Your Lordship,† especially if they happen to be of the quality and parts of Mr. de Briant,‡ present bearer, I consider it needless and superfluous for me to recommend him to Your Lordship. Yet the friendship which unites us, and the many obligations under which I am to him, compel me to request and beg Your Lordship to show him all possible favor.

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[*] The whole of this paragraph is, as I am informed, crossed over in the original draft, preserved in the Imperial Archives, indicating no doubt that it was not to be copied. Chantonnay's arrival at Ulm with letters from England had taken place on the 20th of July: *see* above, No. 187.

[†] "Pour estre tous ceulx que vont de la part de ce Roy de par dela les bienvenuz à v^re^ seigneurie."

[‡] Sir Francis Bryant.

1543.

For want of any news to communicate, I will tell Your Lordship something that will cause you mirth, namely, that the Scotch gentleman who resides at this court said the day before yesterday to my man that there was nothing King Francis desired so much as to be able to fight a battle with the Emperor on the frontiers of his own dominions, providing it were at a season like the present, because, should his men happen to lose it, His Imperial Majesty could not, owing to the approaching winter, prosecute his victory, and in the meantime he himself would recover from his losses and gather strength. The Scotch gentleman further said that king Francis had no doubt come to such resolution, in the hope that some favorable opportunity might spring up for him to give or accept battle,* being, as he is, rather desperate just now owing to the ill-success of his allies in Ghelders and in Scotland, and also to the fear he has of his own subjects revolting against him. Such is the construction given by the Scotch gentleman to whom I allude to king Francis' taunts, but I really believe that however much the latter may brag and boast, he will defer coming to close quarters as long as possible.

With regard to disturbances in Scotland, I do not think that affairs are in as desperate a state as Mr. de Chantonnay was told. The King and his ministers may have made exaggerated statements, for reasons and purposes which Your Lordship cannot fail to guess. Indeed, some days ago, when my man asked one of the privy councillors whether there was news from Scotland, the answer was that Scottish affairs were like a man seized with intermittent fever—one day well, the next bad.

I forgot to give to Mr. de Chantonnay the letter here enclosed,† of which, however, I sent a duplicate to the Queen.—London, 5 October 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "À Monseigneur de Grantvelle (*sic*) etc., chevalier, premier conseiller de l'Empereur."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

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7 Oct. **240.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monseigneur,"—Since Mr. de Chantonnay's departure,‡ this king has sent me a message purporting that the French had very earnestly applied for a safe conduct for their fishermen, and that he had not only refused it, but would not receive the ambassador. He, the King, had no doubt that if some such application were made in Flanders, the Queen Regent

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* "Et que à cela le pourroit enduyre quelque occasion ou advantaige que (qui'l) veist (qui'l vint?) à donner ou accepter la dite bataille."

† The letter alluded to may be that of the Privy Council to Chapuys on the 16th of September, No. 232, p. 491.

‡ Mr. de Chantonnay left England about the middle of July: *see* above, p. 441.

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would also refuse.[*] He has, moreover, ordered the fitting out and arming of twelve good ships (*navieres*), which, joined to the Flemish fleet, are to impede the trade of the French, and do them all possible harm, for should their trade and fisheries be stopped, it would be the greatest damage they could suffer under present circumstances, the French having, as this King has been informed, equipped for the purpose of fishing nearly one thousand small craft or boats.[†] I have already written to the Queen Regent on the subject, but as I consider the affair to be of importance I now add these few words to Your Lordship, and pray that an equal number of ships (*navieres*) be kept in readiness on that side so as to join the English fleet at Calais when required. Then half that force, namely, six ships on each side, will escort and protect our own fishing boats, whilst the other half will inflict as much damage as they possibly can on those of the enemy.—London, 7 Oct. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Mr. de Grantvelle, etc., knight, and first councillor of His Imperial Majesty."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

10 Oct. **241.** PRINCE PHILIP to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

S. E., L. 63, f. 19.

"Venerable y amado nuestro,"—Your letter of the 10th of August came duly to hand, and together with it the duplicate of the one you had previously written,[‡] as well as the report and papers appended, the answer to which Captain Nicool, who left this on the 16th of August, will take to you. Since then, by another messenger, who departed on the 9th of September, We have sent you a duplicate of the same, so that, supposing you are by this time well acquainted with general affairs, there will be little for Us to add, except that We are very glad to hear of the good news from the Emperor, from whom We have no letter but one from Ulm, of the 10th July; though We hear by other channels that he had arrived in Flanders and taken Dura (Duren) and other towns in the duchy of Juliers. We are anxiously expecting news of him and of his movements, and hope that whenever you get any fresh intelligence you will do your best to transmit it to Us.

Delighted to hear that king Francis' army has achieved so little against the Emperor's subjects and vassals in Flanders.

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[*] "Le reffusant tout à plat, point [ne] doubtant que du coustel de par dela se fera le mesme."

[†] "Et si a davantaige faict equipper douze bonnes navieres pour avec celles de Flandres empescher et addomager (*sic*) les dits françois le plus quil sera possible, bien considerant l'inestimable dommaige que viendroit aux ditz françois de leur interrompre et garder (gaster ?) la dite pescherie, pour la quelle, selon que le dit seigneur Roy est informe, ilz ont apprestez pres de mil bateaulx."

[‡] *See* above, No. 203, p. 455.

We confidently hope that with the latter's arrival in that country all the harm that King Francis might otherwise have done will entirely cease. You did well in informing Us of that king's good disposition, and of the prosperous turn his affairs with Scotland are taking. We are very glad to hear of it, and beg you to let Us know from time to time how he is getting on, for, nearly united as We are at present with him, and his alliance and confederacy with Us being so close, We cannot help feeling the greatest interest for him.

The news of this kingdom is unimportant; but from Italy and the Mediterranean coast the intelligence is that after the Turkish fleet and French army had been several days over Nizza, the town surrendered to them by capitulation. The inhabitants resisted gallantly two attacks, but the town itself was so weak that it surrendered. The castle, however, made a stout defence, so stout that, although the enemy tried to batter down its walls or undermine them, they could not accomplish their end, and therefore raised the siege, accomplishing nothing else than setting fire to the town, after which they returned to Tolon (Toulon) and Marseilles; so that it may be said that, until now, Turks and French united have achieved nothing important, but, on the contrary, have lost considerably in military reputation.

The coasts of these kingdoms are so well provided for and defended that, with God's help, the enemy will be unable to damage them. It is not known what their designs and plans are, nor whether they will carry those plans into execution, though, the season being already so far advanced, it is not probable that they will at present undertake any serious operations. Prince Doria, after visiting and revictualling the fortresses on the coasts of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, returned to Genoa with his fleet of 93 galleys on the 4th ult., and there is news here of his having entered the port of that city on the 6th. The Prince had with him 15,000 Spanish * infantry to add to the garrisons of those places, if necessary, and We know by letters from Genoa and other maritime towns that, although his fleet is inferior to that of the enemy, his experience of sea matters is so great and his galleys are in such good order, he will be able to harass the enemy so effectually that they will not dare to infest our coasts or to separate from the bulk of their fleet. It is said that the Turkish galleys will pass the winter in the ports of France, but this is uncertain. Should We hear anything about their movements, We will let you know.

We should consider it a special favor if the Imperial couriers, on their arrival in England with letters for Us or for the Emperor's ministers in these parts, were provided with

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* "Quinse mil infantes Españoles" are the words in the text, but the number is evidently exaggerated; 1,500, or perhaps 5,000 men would be a more adequate number.

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quick passage, and not detained there as the last one was. Should none of the "zabras" destined for that service be in England at the time, you must procure some other mode of conveyance. To the manager of the "zabras" at Bilbao or on the coast of the Basque Provinces orders have been sent not to allow one of them to return from England unless she brings despatches from the Emperor or from the queen of Hungary.—Valladolid, 10 October 1523.

Signed: "Yo el Principe."

Countersigned: "Gonzalo Perez."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

12 Oct. **242.** MR. DE GRANVELLE to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—Your letter of the 7th inst. announcing the refusal by that king of the safe conduct applied for by the French for their fishing craft, and at the same time his urgent request that the fleet of the Low Countries should be speedily fitted out for sea, has come to hand; immediately after which I forwarded your letter to the Queen Regent, and she has answered me that orders have been sent to Admiral Beures,* and to other private people both in Holland and Zeeland, to prepare and fit out the said warships, and that although Her Majesty is sure that by this time all have already gone out to sea, yet she has at all hazards renewed the order for them to sail off.

As to the King's refusal to grant the safe conducts, I think that he is perfectly right in doing so. You can assure him that on our side no safe conducts shall be granted to them. You may also say to the King and to his privy councillors, that the Emperor's army is now before Landrecis,† which we hope will soon surrender. Of whatever may happen on the arrival there of king Francis, who is still bragging that he will give battle to the Emperor, I will take care that you are immediately informed.

I have done everything in my power to forward the settlement of your arrears, for which your man came here, and will take care that in future you are regularly provided with

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* "La quelle me dit avoir desja escript à Mons^r de Beures (Bevres) comme admiral, et à autres particuliers en Hollande et Zeelande pour preparer les dits navyeres de guerre."

† According to Vandenesse's *Itinerary of Charles V.*, translated by the Rev. William Bradford (London: 1850, p. 542), the Emperor arrived before Landrecis on the 20th of October, proceeding in the same night to Avesnes, where a gentleman of king Henry's Chamber came to visit him in his master's name. On the 27th Mons^r de Granvelle was dispatched to the camp before Landrecis, owing to some misunderstanding which had arisen there between the Imperial commanders.

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sufficient means to represent the Emperor, our master, in that country.*—Binche, 12 October 1543.

French. Original. p. 1.

18 Oct. **243.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—This king has taken in very good part, and shown great pleasure at hearing the contents of the letter which Your Imperial Majesty caused to be written to me on the 2nd inst., as well as the information conveyed in that of Mons. de Grantvelle of the 4th. Of the pleasure and satisfaction shown by the King on this occasion, the enclosed copy of the privy councillors' letter to me will give sufficient testimony, and, therefore, will not dwell further on the subject, inasmuch as by this time I have no doubt that the sieur de [Sir John] Wallop, commander of this king's forces on that side of the Channel, must have acquainted Your Imperial Majesty with the orders and instructions he has received from his master respecting the attack on Landrecies and the prosecution of the war against France.

With regard to other news, Your Imperial Majesty must already have heard from Master Briant's lips how the cardinal of Scotland (Betoun), being informed of the military preparations made by this king to invade that country, has withdrawn to one of his ecclesiastical benefices that being the cause of several Scotchmen declaring in favor of this king; upon which the English on this side of the Borders had made a predatory raid into the districts and lands belonging to the Cardinal's adherents, and defeated with considerable loss a body of 1,000 cavalry that attempted to stop their march. Since then intelligence has been received that seven French ships, under the Patriarch of Aquileia, and a captain of king Francis' Scotch body-guard, have arrived on the coast of Scotland, having on board 5,000 landing men, 50,000 crs, 10,000 spears, 4,000 halbarts, and a large quantity of hackbuts, with plenty of powder and ammunition. It is added, that the Patriarch has already persuaded the Scotch to assemble the States of the Realm, that they may dissolve and annul the convention lately made with this king and the Scotch, promising them, if they do so, full absolution for breaking their oath. That is why I consider that this king must and will for the present attend to his affairs in that quarter, as he has the wish and the power to do.—London, 18 October 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 1½.

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* This last paragraph about the ambassador's arrears of pay is so effaced in Chapuys' holograph letter as to be quite unintelligible, but by referring to his despatch of the 15th of June (p. 390), and to a former one to the Emperor's Lord Privy Seal, wherein he complains that one of his secretaries had been two months in Brussels soliciting in vain payment of the same, I feel sure of having abstracted it rightly.

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21 Oct. **244.** The Emperor to King Henry.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Tres chier, tres excellent et tres puissant prince, &c.,"—We have purposely delayed writing and sending you news of Our doings until the sieur de Chantonnay had returned from your court, as We wished before all things to pitch Our camp within the enemy's territory and pass muster to Our army, so as to be able to inform you of the amount of Our forces and of Our plan of campaign, as well as of those of Our common enemy. But We have been of late so molested and tormented by gout, that We have been quite unable to attend to any military business [*] for several days until about a week ago We ventured to quit Binche and go to Mons, which place, still weak from pain and fatigue, We left for Beauvois, and on the ensuing day went to Quesnoy. From the latter town We started in the direction of Landreschies [†] to inspect Our army [‡] besieging that town, as the general-in-chief and the provost marshal of your forces [§] cannot fail to have informed you. After a careful inspection of Our army, divided, as it is, into two camps; after examining the positions it occupies, and the approaches to the two camps and to the town itself, the defences of the latter, and the works and trenches already raised by Our engineers, as well as gathering such information as We could concerning the plans of the enemy, who is said to be daily advancing—both king Francis and his two sons announcing and boasting that they are coming to the relief of Landrechies, and will soon offer Us battle—We have resolved to keep up the two army camps before that town, prosecute with vigor the siege thereof, and wait for more reliable intelligence respecting the enemy's plans. As, however, We have not yet recovered from Our last very sharp fit of gout, We came last night to this place close to the said town of Landrechies, from which We can establish speedy communication with Our army, and where We intend to remain until the town itself surrenders or the movements of the enemy require Our presence elsewhere.

Such are Our plans for the present, as Our ambassador has no doubt informed you by this time. Should there be any change in them, or should any important military event take place, you shall be immediately apprised of it. Pray believe Our ambassador's words as if We Ourselves were speaking to you.

We cannot, however, omit testifying to you of the good service which the general-in-chief of the English forces and the provost marshal, in their respective commands, are daily rendering Us, as well as the soldiers under their orders, who (We must declare) are truly a well trained and picked body of men, behaving very well in the field, and with such order and discipline that nothing more could be desired. Indeed, We are sure that whenever they come to hand with the enemy nothing shall be wanted on their part; they will do their duty.

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[*] "Mais la goutte nous à tellement faict la guerre que n'avons peu personellement entendre en l'autre."

[†] Elsewhere Landrecies or Landrechies, now Landrecis or Landrecy near Avesnes in the dep. of Le Nord (France).

[‡] "Jusques à ce qu'il y a huit jours que nous aventurasmes de partir de Binche, et convenir á Mons, ou pour nous trouver encoires deboli (*sic* faible ?) vinsmes à Beaurains et le lendemain au Quesnoy, et hier fusmes veoir nre. armee mise en deux camps sur Landreschies."

[§] Lord Seymour and Sir John Wallop (?).

With regard to your letter in commendation of the son of Our cousin, the duke of Norfolk, that he may be trained in military affairs and gain experience of war, We must tell you that he has already profited so much by the example of your own soldiers that he will hardly require further tuition, All Our people will regard him as his father's courage and merits and his own genteel manners, and your royal commendation,* deserve.—Davesnes (from Avesnes), 21 October 1543.

Addressed: "Charles V. to Henry VIII., king of England."

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

22 Oct. **245.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Tres chier, tres excellent prince, nre. tres chier et tres amé, bon frere et cousin, &c.,"—Since the return † of the sieur de Chantonnay We have purposely delayed writing to you until Our arrival at this camp, that We might inform you of the state of Our forces and the plans and designs of the common enemy. Gout, however, has molested Us in such a manner that We have been unable to attend to any other business than the care of Our health until eight days ago, when We ventured to leave Binch and come to Mons, whence, being still weak, We marched to Beauvois, and the day after to Quesnoy. Yesterday We went to inspect Our army, now before Landrecis, divided into two camps, as We have no doubt that the general in command, and the marshal of your forces, horse and foot, have already informed you. After reconnoitring the said town of Landreccis, and seeing how Our engineers are proceeding to work the approaches to the town, and what direction those works are to take, besides inquiring for news of the enemy and of his advancing to the relief of the place—which king Francis and his sons seem determined to succour, giving Us battle—

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[*] "Et quant à ce que nous avez escript en recommendacion du filz de nre. cousin, le duc de Norphocq pour le dresser es choses de la guerre, il a si bon example de vos gens quil ne pourra faillir den estre instruict et tous les nostres le respecteront comme merite la valeur du pere et le gentil cueur du filz, et nous oblige vre. recommendacion."

[†] The copy before me reads: "dois le retour devers *vous* du sieur de Chantonnay," but *nous* must be meant, for the ambassador, who was no other than Thomas Perrenot, had returned from London and was back at Ulm (in Wurtenberg) on the 20th of July. *See* above, No. 189, p. 441.

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We resolved to keep the said two armies in front of Landrechies, and prosecute the siege of that place until We hear what the enemy's plans really are, and what he will do next. As We have not yet recovered from Our last very sharp attack of gout, We came last evening to this place close to Landrechies, from which We shall be in daily correspondence with Our army, remaining here or going to the camp according as the movements of the enemy render it necessary. Of whatever We do you shall hear from Our ambassador residing at your court, as well as of any other news concerning the war. You may believe him as if We Ourselves were speaking to you.

Meanwhile We cannot do less than testify to you Our satisfaction at the good behaviour and admirable conduct in the field of the general and provost marshal at the head of your forces, as well as to the services of your men, who are really and truly a well appointed and disciplined band, doing their duty in the field and behaving altogether so gallantly as to leave nothing to be desired. Indeed, We are sure that they will do their utmost against the common enemy.

Respecting what You have written Us in commendation of the son * of Our cousin, the duke of Norphorc (Norfolk), whom you have sent here to learn the art of war (*pour le dresser es choses de la guerre*), We can only say that he daily receives so good an example from your own people the English that he cannot fail to get instruction. All Our men consider and respect him, as the father's well-known courage (*valeur*) and the son's gentlemanly behaviour (*gentil cueur*), as well as your own commendation of his person, rightly demand.—Davesnes (from Avesnes) the 22nd of October 1543.†

Indorsed: "To the king of England."

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

Oct. **246.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—The bishop of London (Bonner) and Master Bryant have called upon me saying that they have been charged with a mission to Your Majesty, which mission consists of the following points:

To visit Your Majesty and congratulate on Your prosperous victory over the duke of Clèves.

To report confidentially on the state of affairs in Scotland, which is more hopeful than when my son ‡ was last in that country, owing to several lords, counts and barons having embraced the King's cause, and to the Cardinal himself having fled to the Continent.

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* Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, son of the duke of Norfolk.

† Two drafts of the same letter are preserved in the Imperial Archives, one dated the 21st, the other the 22nd of October. Though differently worded, the subjects treated are the same. The latter, however, has emendations in Granvelle's handwriting.

‡ "Dont ilz ont meilleur espoir quilz navoient quant mon filz y fut dernierement pour y avoir de[s] bons amys, sieurs, contes et barons." This is the first time that Chapuys alludes in his correspondence to a son of his, of whom nothing is known.

The King trusts that in case of need Your Majesty will assist him according to the letter of the treaty, and the mutual friendship uniting you both.

Also that Your Majesty will completely interdict the intercourse of trade between your subjects and the Scotch.

The King of England wishes to know beforehand what is to be done next year against the common enemy, and when, and at what point of their frontier the French are to be assailed, so that he himself may prepare and make the necessary provision for the undertaking.

Previous to the duke of Holstein's alliance and confederacy with France, the king of England lived on good terms with the former, and, therefore, he has reason to think that it would not be difficult for him to enter now into relations with the said duke. That would be (as he says) a blow struck against the common enemy, and if Your Majesty be pleased that he (the King) do interfere and take up the negociation,* he will undertake the task, as the friendship he professes for Your Majesty demands. The above, as the privy councillors inform me, are substantially the items of the ambassadors' mission. I myself had invited them to supper at this Embassy; but they excused themselves on the plea that they will not quit home until they actually start on their mission. . . . . .†

French. Original. p. 1.

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24 Oct. **247.** SIR JOHN WALLOP to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

Begs respectfully to inform him that the king's treasurer has given him (Wallop) notice that the term of one hundred and eleven days, during which he and his men are bound to serve, is about to expire; but that, if he (the Emperor) wishes them to remain under arms, he can still retain them in his service by paying them.‡ From our camp, 24 of October 1543.

French. Original. p. 1.

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25 Oct. **248.** The EMPEROR to CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—The day before yesterday your letter of the 5th inst., brought by Master Briant, came to

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* "Et sil semble à vostre Ma^te^ quil sen doige entremectre, il le fera volontiers selon lexigence de vr̃e amytie."

† "Javoye pria instanment au souper les dits ambassadeurs, mais ilz se sont excusez [en disant] quilz ne bougeront mishuy (?) de leur logis." . . . . Thus closes the letter as if it were unfinished; it is besides unsigned and undated; though on the dorse, in a more modern hand, I find "8^bre^ 1543."

‡ "Apres ce temps ils ne sont plus à la charge du Roy, mon maistre, mais si l'Empereur veult les entretenir à ses gages ils demeureront à son service."

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hand. The bishop of London (Boner) came with him, and We gave them both audience. After presenting their credentials in the King's own hand,* the two English envoys declared their charge, which, after visiting Us in their master's name, consisted, as they said, of five different points.

The first, to congratulate Us on the prosperous success of Our arms against the duke of Clèves [at Duren], and the subsequent conquest of the duchy of Ghelders and county of Zutphen.

The second, to declare to Us the state of affairs in Scotland, which the King's ambassadors said was in much better condition than when the 'sieur de Chantonnay went over to England the last time. The King (said the ambassadors) was in hope of some sort of agreement being made with the Scots; should, however, French practices again prevail in that country, and should the arrival there of the patriarch of Acheleya (Aquileia) prevent his plans, he (the King) confidently trusted that We would assist him according to the treaty of closer friendship and alliance.

The third, that he (the King) wished to know as early as possible what Our plans were for next year's campaign against the common enemy, in order to be ready and prepared to take the field in person.

The fourth, to urge that Our fleet should join his in order to prevent the French from herring fishing. On this point the ambassadors did particularly insist, saying that up to this day We had not fulfilled the conditions of the treaty, and that Our combined fleets might already have inflicted great damage upon the enemy.

The fifth, and last, was that their master, the King, has received intelligence that the duke of Holsten (Holstein), who assumes the title of king of Denmark, since hearing of Our victory over the duke of Clèves, shows a desire of coming to terms with Us. The King (said the ambassadors) wished very much that We would listen to the Duke's overtures, as that might be the means of getting rid of an enemy in those quarters, and consequently of applying all Our forces against the common enemy. If We liked (added the ambassadors), the King, their master, would personally help in the affair.

To the above five points the sieur de Grandvelle has by Our order and in Our name answered as follows:—Respecting the *first*, he said that We were delighted to hear of the King's good health, and accepted his hearty congratulations conveyed by such a trusty messenger as Master Briant.

To the *second*, that We were pleased to hear that the affairs of Scotland were in better train than before, and presumed also that king Francis would do all he could to thwart their master's plans and molest him. Whatever the issue of those affairs might be, should Our assistance be required We would not be at fault, and would comply with the articles of the treaty as Our duty and the perfect friendship existing between Us demanded.

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* "Et avec les lettres en credence sur le dict sieur Briant de la main du roy."

To the *third*, that for the present it is almost impossible for Us to take a resolution as to what ought to be done in the next campaign, very much depends upon the success of the expedition in which We are at present engaged, the siege of Landresies, and the future movements of the common enemy either for the relief of that town or to give Us battle, as he is at this moment boasting that he intends to do. It is also necessary to know how other political affairs in Christendom stand, and likewise what are the Turk's intentions and plans not only on the side of Hungary, but of France also, where, and at the port of Tholon (Toulon), he has now a fleet. The Imperial Diet itself (said the sieur de Granvelle to the ambassadors) was one of the reasons which prevented Us from returning a categorical answer to the said third point of their charge, for wishing, as We do, to attend it in person, We might perhaps be prevented by circumstances and the state of German affairs at the time from carrying on Our plans of campaign. All depended entirely upon the causes above specified and Our own disposition at the time, according to which We must needs regulate Our movements. If We could, as We expressed, personally attend the Diet, We imagined that much good might be done to public affairs generally and Our own private and common ones particularly. Our personal attendance would also serve to gain and secure the affection of the Germans, who were daily giving Us fresh proofs of their attachment as well as of their indignation against the common enemy, and, therefore, that We fully intended to be present at the Diet unless We were prevented by circumstances.

To the *fourth* point the answer was—that on the very day that your despatch concerning the herring fisheries and the King's desire that the French should be kept off from them was received, We caused a letter to be written to the sieur de Bevres, Our admiral in Holland and Zeeland, commanding him to look to it. An answer has since come from him, reporting that out of the six ships which in obedience to Our orders he had destined for that service two had been wrecked, and the four remaining had sustained much damage at sea;* which report from Our admiral the said Master Briant then and there saw and read. We have since heard from the same sieur de Bevres that six more ships had been fitted out and joined the English fleet, and, moreover, fresh orders have been sent to the said admiral and to the naval

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* "Au quatrieme qui dois que nous escripvistes dempescher la pesche des arantz (*sic*) incontinent se fisrent lettres au S^r de Beures, admiral de la mer en Zelande et en Hollande, à ceste fin, et que le dict admiral nous a adverty comment il avoit envoye six naves (*sic*), dont les deux sont rompues et les autres mal traictees," &c.

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authorities in Holland and Zeeland to do all they can to prevent the French from fishing in those seas.

As to the *fifth* and last point, a declaration has in Our name been made to the abovesaid ambassadors respecting the many wrongs and injuries which the duke of Holstein has done Us, how he had last year allied himself with France and helped the king of that country, as well as the duke of Clèves, against Us, insolently provoking and challenging to war the inhabitants of Our Low Countries. We have since heard and understood that the said Duke, hearing of Our arrival here and of Our proceedings against Clèves, has shown signs of repentance, and seems inclined to treat. We have, however, refused to listen to his overtures unless We knew beforehand how and on what terms and conditions he (the Duke) intends to treat. Were these acceptable, We would still wait until those who had gone to Denmark on the King's part should return with an answer, and would then decide as to the course of action to be followed.* It was not desirable, however, for the king of England to take up cards in that affair, lest the Duke should thereby become more insolent. We deemed it more advisable to drop the affair altogether, and not advance one step more until We know for certain on what terms the Duke intends to treat. You (Chapuys) will thank the King for his kind offer and the good will he manifests for Our sake, assuring him that in this affair, as well as in any other in which We both are concerned as friends and allies, We will take care that nothing is done unprofitable to Our action against the common enemy, and that We shall not fail to advise him from to time of Our progress of the war, that he himself may shape his movements according to circumstances.

As far as We can gather from the ambassadors' mien and countenance when they heard this explanation of Our views from the lips of the sieur de Granvelle, We must say that they seemed satisfied at the answer that was made upon each of the five above-mentioned points. They tell Us that they have no doubt their master, the King, will approve of it. This they themselves declared, without making any further comment or remark on the subject.

Master Wallop, the commander-in-chief of the English, has, moreover, written to Us a letter to the effect that the period of four months stipulated by the treaty for the assistance of an English contingent in Flanders and the Low Countries has nearly run out, and that the treasurer [of Calais] has declared to him that after the expiration of that term he has no orders from home to continue to pay the men. He (Master Wallop) has given Us cognizance of the fact in order that, if We wish to retain longer the services of his men, We should provide means for their payment—which they would most willingly accept. On this point We have signified to the English ambassadors that, according to the mission entrusted to the sieur de Chantonnay, and the kind answer made by the King to that ambassador's overtures concerning the English contingent, We really expected, and indeed firmly believed, that should the English force remain in the field longer than the four months, the King, Our brother and ally, would retain them in his pay, inasmuch as Our present undertaking is principally directed against Our common enemy. Both the King's ambassadors and Master Walop, the general, ought to bear in mind that as Landrecis is being actually besieged by Our forces, and as king Francis boasts that he will shortly relieve that town and offer Us battle; as news come every day that he himself is approaching with his son, the Dauphin, at the head of considerable forces, if the intelligence be true—as We have no doubt it is—We could never be persuaded to believe that the king of England could advise or order the withdrawal of his men from the field at such a juncture, but would, on the contrary, retain them in his service, or else, when they returned to England, would again send them on at his own cost on such a service against the common enemy as that which they are now performing before Landrecis, out of which much honor and reputation may accrue to him and to his people. As it is, one way or other, the siege of Landrecis cannot last long; there is every appearance that the place will soon surrender. So Master Walop thinks, and if king Francis with his army approaches it, he may receive such a blow as to incapacitate him, and allow us to prosecute the war to advantage next year. At any rate, Landrecis once carried, the English can return home with honor and reputation.

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* "Et syl y avoit apparence, et que aucuns qui de sa part en avoient faict instance en actendoyent (*sic*) response."

No direct reply came from the English ambassadors to these remarks of Ours, nor did they offer any contradiction save saying that they had no mandate from the King, their master, to treat of that point, but would consult him thereupon, and let Us know his answer as speedily as possible. It was represented to them that personally qualified, as they were, and enjoying the King's confidence and credit, they might easily take upon themselves the responsibility of the measure, especially as the English commander, Master Wallop, was of Our own opinion, considering the pressure of time and circumstances, and hoped that the King would continue to pay his men. Nothing however was decided, the ambassadors absolutely refusing to incur the responsibility.

As the English ambassadors are pressing Us to reply categorically to their questions on the five above-mentioned points, We will no longer dwell upon them, trusting that you are hereby sufficiently instructed as to the answer you yourself are to give when personally interrogated by the King on the subject. You may, in addition to the above reasons

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adduce any others that may seem to you most fit and opportune to persuade the King to accept Our answer, such as it is, and be satisfied, since it is the sincere expression of Our sentiments of friendship towards him, as well as of Our perfect desire to fulfill the articles of the treaty, at the same time begging him for the good of Our common cause to continue the pay of his forces some time longer.

Respecting news of this camp, all We can tell you is that two good batteries of siege guns are actually firing upon Landrecis, and that We expect ere long its surrender. Should king Francis come to its relief at the head of his army, he will find the two divisions of Our joint army encamped before its walls, well provided with every necessary, and ready to accept battle should the French offer it. As We have no doubt that the [English] ambassador here with Us and Master Walop also will keep the King, their master, daily informed of every military event in these parts, We need not say any more about it, but refer you to the above particulars.—Davesnes (from Avesnes), 25 of October 1543.

French. Original draft. pp. 5.

22 Oct. **249.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—We send you herein enclosed the copy of Our letter to the king of England, written at the request of the commander-in-chief of the English force on this side of the Channel, Master Walop, who, to say the truth, is fulfilling admirably the duties of his charge. As to the marshal, he has shown himself colder and more difficult to meet than We should have wished; but this is merely intended for your own particular ear.

We also enclose the copy of that which, on Our return to this place from the camp [before Landrecis] on Saturday last, We wrote to the Queen, Our sister, informing her of the resolution taken by Us after a conference with Don Fernando [Gonzaga], the duke of Aarshot, and count de Rœulx, as well as with the English commander. According to the contents of that letter to Our sister you will speak to the King, and since he wishes Us to be open and frank with him as to Our plans, you will tell him as much about them as you may deem necessary and convenient.

Since Our return to this place, We have been informed that the Dauphin (Henri de Valois) is at St. Quentin, or in its neighbourhood, and that the Swiss, Germans, Italians, and Frenchmen of his army are encamped at one or two leagues' distance from that town, his intention being to do his best to succour Landrecis, and, if they can, take possession of Cambray. Yet it appears that the inhabitants of the latter town have obtained a safe conduct, and sent a deputation to the French camp to ask the Dauphin for reparation and indemnity for the flour mills, which his men have destroyed in the neighbourhood, and other damage done in the Cambresis. We have sent thither, at the request of the bishop of that see, six companies (*enseignes*) of infantry and five hundred horse for the defence of the town in case the enemy persist in their attempt to enter it. We must, ere long, hear what the result of their present movements will be.

We likewise send you the copy of a letter written by the duke of Orleans to the Landgraf of Hesse with the instructions * concerning it, and two more from the King, his father, to the said Landgraf, which you are to show to the King, as well as the Instruction appended to the latter, by which Instruction the king of England, Our ally, will see that king Francis is doing all he can to ally himself with the heretics (*les desvoyez de la foy*) as well as with the Turks, from which fact it is to be hoped that he will receive the punishment that his wretched doings deserve.—From Avesnes, the 22nd of October 1543.

Addressed: " To the ambassador in England."

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

27 Oct. **250.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl.

" Monseigneur,"—Your Lordship's letter of the 12th inst. could not have arrived more opportunely than it did for enabling me to answer the questions of these privy councillors in their letter of the 20th, both of which, letter and answer, are here enclosed.† Notwithstanding my reply to them, which I consider satisfactory enough, these privy councillors have again spoken to me respecting the equipment of the fleet of the Low Countries, as Your Lordship will be able to judge by their recent letter to me of the 25th, which is also enclosed.† Not only have they, as also the King, their master—who spoke about it to my secretary—taken in very good part the great care Your Lordship takes to keep them *au courant* of the Emperor's movements in Flanders and plans of campaign for the future, but they have applauded as very wise and convenient the measure of recalling the men besieging Guise, in view of the considerations (*respetz*) contained in Your Lordship's letter.

At Mons. Francisco d'Este's mishap ‡ these people have been

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* " En oultre nous vous envoyons une copie de la lettre du sieur d'Orleans au lantgrave de Hessen avec l'instruction y servante, et deux autres lettres du roy de France au dict lantgrave, lesquelles vous pourrez communiquer au dict sieur roy, et mesmes la dite instruction."

† No enclosure at all within the letter itself.

‡ " Quant au mesahu de Don Francisco d'Aste." Don Francisco d'Este marchese della Massa, son of Alfonse I., duke of Ferrara. Sandoval (*Historia del Emperador Carlos V.*, lib. XXV., cap. XXXIII., calls him *Don Francisco Aristino* [Aestino ?], and again (cap. XLV.) *Don Francisco de Aste, capitan general de los caballos ligeros del Emperador.* He was taken prisoner before Landrecis in October 1543, together with Mons. d'Isiesse, brother of Monsieur de Rin (Reu, Rœulx ?) and Alfonso Visal (?) " gentilhombre de la boca."

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much concerned, yet they imagine and hope, according to what Your Lordship writes, that it is perhaps convenient at times to sacrifice to fortune, as happened once to the Romans in their wars [with the Carthagenians], and as has been often experienced, as Your Lordship rightly observes, in the Emperor's affairs.

Certainly it would seem as if this king's affection for His Imperial Majesty were daily on the increase. There is, in my opinion, no fear of his refusing to send 15,000 men, perhaps more, across the Channel to the Imperial camp the day that it is decided to give battle to the common enemy, even if he should have to give each man four times his ordinary pay.*

The King has not approved of a certain foolish letter written by the earl of Surrey (Henry Howard), a copy of which I purpose sending to Your Lordship. He (the Earl) has received orders to abstain in future from making such reports. There is, however, no need, in my opinion, of asking for an apology or correction of the news conveyed in the Earl's letter, unless the officers in Flanders should ask for it, for otherwise the people to whom I owe my information and who have procured me a copy of the letter might be seriously compromised through it.

A report is afloat that a great embassy will soon come here from Scotland. The privy councillors do not know what it will be about, nor what the Scotch are wishing for. As soon as I can learn anything certain I shall not fail to inform Your Lordship.

I have to thank Your Lordship most gratefully for the favour shown to my man, who would have wished to be here with me and leave off his present pursuit till a better opportunity arises.—London, 27 October 1543.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: " À Mons. de Granvelle, etc., etc."

French. Original. pp. 2.

28 Oct. **251.** The King of England's Privy Council to [Vice-] Admiral Bryant.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 4.

" Monsieur de Bryant,"—After the usual commendations to your person, we, the assembled councillors, inform you that the King, our master, having maturely considered and weighed the state of the Emperor's affairs with France, as well as the probable issue of this campaign [*battaille*] against that country and after long debating the question whether hostilities ought to be prosecuted [during the winter] or suspended for a time, has decided that you, the [Vice-] Admiral, go and declare to the Emperor what his (the King's) opinion happens to be on the subject. You are, therefore, requested and ordered to look out for some fit opportunity or other of going

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* " Oeres quil leur deu bailler quatre souldres (*sic*) à chascun."

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to his camp or court, as the case may be, and after presenting to him our dutiful commendations, say that the King, our master, out of the particular love and brotherly affection he bears the Emperor, and considering also that the issue of this present war against our common enemy, the French—whether prosperous or adverse—is a matter that concerns equally the Emperor and himself, and, therefore, that all means of molesting and afflicting the foe ought to be carefully looked into and weighed, is of opinion that until next spring no invasion of France by the joint forces of the Empire and England should take place, for the reasons that will be stated hereafter. We hope that after you, Bryant* have signified to the Emperor our master's opinion in this matter His Imperial Majesty will take his advice in good part, as proceeding from the heart of his good brother, friend, and ally, who does not presume in the least to give him lessons as to the manner of conducting political or warlike affairs, but who wishes only to communicate his own fancies and ideas (*fantaisie*) on the subject, for him to choose and follow afterwards whatever course he may consider best, especially with regard to his honor and military reputation.

After a preamble of this sort, you will tell the Emperor that the King, our master, considering the very heavy and unbearable charges which king Francis has had to support so large a force as he has in the field; considering also that our master, the King, knows from authentic quarters that it will be almost impossible for King Francis to assemble and pay an equal force next year; for this reason and others, he (the King) thinks that it will be more profitable and advantageous for the Emperor and for himself to suspend hostilities for awhile, and not to engage in battle with the French unless it becomes evident and manifest that we have the advantage over the enemy, or that the Emperor is so provoked that he may not without injury to his honor and military reputation decline battle. This, we know, the Emperor would never consent to do, and yet the King, our master, having regard, above all things in the World, to his honor and reputation, earnestly recommends him to employ all means in his power to avoid encounters with the enemy.

If, however, the war could thus be prolonged for the French king to be obliged to diminish the army he has in the field; if he should be frustrated from achieving anything important in a military point of view, the King, our master, thinks and hopes that next year he himself on one side of the French frontier and the Emperor on the other, with their invincible power—when the enemy will no longer have his present forces and friends—he will be so assailed on various points of his

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* Sir Francis Briant, who, as will be seen, was accompanied in his mission by Edmund Bonner, the bishop of London.

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frontier that, with the help of God, he (king Francis) will suffer a loss and damage he will never recover from.

All this the King, our master, wishes you to represent to the Emperor in his name, though his great experience in military affairs, and his being so close to the enemy, will better enable him to judge whether this advice is to be followed or not, and whether honor and profit can be gained otherwise.—Ampthill, 28 October, 1543.

Indorsed: "Le Conseil d'Etat du Roi d'Angleterre à l'Admiral Bryant."

French. Original. pp. 2.

Oct. **252.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

The bishop of London and Master Briant have called on me to say that they have been appointed to go to His Imperial Majesty, and that their mission is as follows:—

1stly. To visit His Imperial Majesty and congratulate him on his very great success against the duke of Clèves.

2ndly. To inform him confidentially and under reserve of the state of affairs in Scotland, which is more hopeful than it was when my son was in the country, owing to the King having there many friends among the lords, counts, and barons of the country, and to the Cardinal himself having retired to the other side of the water.*

3rdly. That the King, their master, trusts that, in case of need, His Imperial Majesty will assist him in conformity with the treaty of closer alliance and mutual friendship.

4thly. That His Imperial Majesty will forbid the intercourse of trade between his subjects of the Low Countries and others with Scotland.

That the king of England wishes to know beforehand what is to be done against the common enemy in next year's campaign, and what part of his frontier is to be assailed first, that he may prepare and store provisions, &c.

That previous to the alliance and confederacy of the duke of Holstein with king Francis, the King, their master, had entered into an understanding with the former, and that most likely whoever could negociate with him might easily win him over, which would be so much gained against the common enemy. That if His Imperial Majesty approve of this, and the negociation be entrusted to him, he (the King) has no doubt something may be gained by it.

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* "Secondement. l'advertir confidemment de lestat des affaires d'Escosse, dont ilz ont meilleur espoir quilz navoient *quant mon filz y fust dernierement* pour y avoir de bons amys sieurs, contes et barons, et que le cardinal se soit retire dela leau." This is the first time that Chapuys mentions a son of his, who must have gone to Scotland on some private mission, and for the purpose of obtaining reliable information on the real state of affairs in that country.

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I (Chapuys) pressed the ambassadors to remain and take supper with me; but they excused themselves, saying that they were going home to prepare for departure.*

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "Fragment of a letter from the ambassador in England to Queen Mary."

French. Original. pp. 2.

29 Oct. **253.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep. P., Fasc.* 234.

Encloses copy of letters received from the Privy Council, by which Her Majesty, the Queen Regent, will be able to judge how much the King and his ministers insist upon the fleet of the Low Countries being fitted out and armed for sea, and sent to this coast according to the stipulation of the treaty. —London, 29 October 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

4 Nov. **254.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—On the 28th ult. I received Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 22nd of the same month, together with that addressed to this king,† and other documents therein referred to. Not finding myself in a condition to repair to Court I immediately sent my man thither for the sake of delivering the same into the King's hands, which he did, the King being so much pleased at the confidence and trust which Your Majesty continues to show him, by thus freely and openly communicating to him all Your projects and plans, that nothing more could be desired of him. Indeed, he finds the duke of Orleans' practices and deeds to be (as he says) most execrable and of the worst kind, sharing completely Your Imperial Majesty's opinion respecting that duke, namely, that sooner or later God will punish him for his multifarious misdeeds.

Since then, on the 30th, this king sent me Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 25th ult., which, after perusal, I forwarded to the Privy Council for the King's personal inspection. This I did in order to show still greater confidence, and at the same time that the King and his privy councillors should take cognizance of the remonstrances therein contained respecting the daily pay of the men serving on that side of the Channel, and hear also what he himself or privy councillors had to say on other military matters.

Without touching, however, on any other of the points of Your Majesty's letter to me, the privy councillors sent me word that I ought not to wonder at the King, their master, insisting so much on his refusal to give the foreigners in his service the amount of salary stipulated by the treaty, inasmuch as the period mentioned in that document was ready to expire, and that the promises made to Mons. de Chantonnay were conditional, their message to me intimating "that the King, their master, in case of a battle with king Francis would like to have on the other side of the Channel a large body of men of his own, whatever the expense might be." These or similar words, the councillors alleged, sprang naturally from the great personal affection which the King, their master, bore Your Majesty; I was not to take them as obligatory engagements. Yet in the end they have sent me word that, after reconsidering the matter, the King is about to send to his ambassadors at Your Imperial Majesty's court instructions to answer the application in a most satisfactory manner, and in such terms that Your Imperial Majesty will be fully convinced of his desire to be friendly and useful.

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* "Javoye presse instamment au souper les dits ambassadeurs, mais ilz se sont excusez en disant quil leur falloit aller à la maison et preparer pour le depart, et quilz ne bougeront de leur logis que pour aller en mer."

† The Emperor's letter to king Henry (No. 244) is dated the 21st.

The King has been exceedingly pleased at the good reception the earl of Surrey has met with at the Imperial camp. Indeed, his father, the Duke, is so grateful at this show of kindness on Your Imperial Majesty's part that he has been heard to say in public that nothing would be so agreeable to him as to find an opportunity of risking his person, his family, and his property for Your Majesty's service.[*]

The gentleman from Scotland who was here[†] has gone away with a present of 400 crs. from this king, but the ambassadors expected from that country have not yet made their appearance.—London, 4 Nov. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received at Cambray the 14th of Nov."

French. Original. pp. 2.

4 Nov. **255.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Your Majesty will find herein enclosed a letter of mine for the Emperor, giving him, as my duty is, the news of this country, and at the same time forwarding a letter from this king in answer to his of the 25th ult. In that letter, as Your Majesty will see, is a paragraph relating exclusively to the daily pay of the auxiliary force this king has actually sent across the Channel. The point is still unsettled and in the hands of the privy councillors, who,

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[*] "Le conte de Sorey, le pere du quel sen tient si tres tenu et oblige à vre. ma^{te} quil nest possible de plus, et à ce quil dit en publique, ne desireroit riens plus que de pouvoir exposer luy, sa personne, famille et biens pour le service de vre. ma^{te}."

[†] "Le gentilhomme d'Escosse questoit içy sen est party avec quatre cens ducatz de present, et ne sont encoirez arrivez les ambassadeurs quel on (que l'on) du dit Escosse."

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notwithstanding the remonstrances on my part, do not seem inclined to decide it in an equitable manner. As soon as I get their final resolution in writing, I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty.—London, 4 November 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 1½.

8 Nov. **256.** CHARLES V. to HENRY VIII., KING OF ENGLAND.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Most high, &c.,"—As We firmly believe that you will feel a singular pleasure at hearing news of Our prosperous march against the common enemy—of which We have no doubt you have already been informed by your own people, doing good service in this army—We have, nevertheless, considered it Our duty to advise you in detail of what has been done, as the perfect and indissoluble friendship existing between Us demands. To that end We expressly send to you the sieur de Herbois,* gentleman of Our chamber, to whose words We beg you to attach faith and credit. Begging you to let Us also know personal news of you, and of the Queen, Our good sister, We remain, &c.

French. Original draft. p. ½.

8 Nov. **257.** The SAME to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—We are now sending to England Our good brother, the sieur de Herbois, gentleman of Our Chamber, to declare unto the King Our victorious march against the common enemy and their shameful flight. That you may be better acquainted with the facts, We enclose copy of two letters which on the day before yesterday We wrote to Our sister, the Queen. The sieur d'Herbois has likewise received orders to visit first the Queen and ask her what he (the envoy) is to answer the king of England when interrogated on the subject of the fleet, and what she has done towards sending the war ships of the Low Countries to join the English fleet.—Ligny, 8 Nov. 1543.

French. Original draft. p. 1.

9 Nov. **258.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the PRINCE OF SPAIN.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

Your Highness' letter of the 25th of August,† with the duplicate of that of the 10th September, came duly to hand,

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* Elsewhere Mr. d' Herbays.

† *See* above, No. 208, p. 462, but the letter is dated from Valladolid, *the* 26 *of August.* As to the "duplicate of *that of the* 10*th September*," there must be some error of the scribe, who might perhaps have written *September* instead of August, for on the 10th of the latter month Chapuys wrote to the Prince the letter abstracted at p. 455 (No. 203); on the 26th the latter replied to Chapuys' despatch of the 17th, or rather the 12th, of July (No. 183).

and along with them so grateful a mention and acknowledgment of my humble, poor, and insignificant services in this country that I cannot do less than most humbly kiss Your Majesty's feet for it. I beg to be pardoned for not having answered both letters sooner, and reported on the news from Flanders, as well as from this country, as I might otherwise have done; but I could not do this, for there was then no trusty messenger, and now it is too late, as Your Highness must be sufficiently informed of the events in Flanders and the adjoining countries. Such being the case, as I have no doubt it is, I shall be brief; the more so that the bearer of this letter is in great haste, and ready to take his departure, whereas I myself am still suffering from my last attack of gout.

This king and his privy councillors were glad to hear of the good order and provision which Your Highness had caused to be made on the frontiers of Spain to mar the enemy's designs and prevent him from attacking us, which they certainly will not do if they know that we are fully prepared to meet them everywhere.

The King was also delighted to hear of Don Alvaro de Bazan's signal victory over the enemy's fleet.* The news came very *à propos*, and in good time to satisfy him and the members of his Privy Council, who somewhat complained of the Emperor, who, they said, had not yet armed the stipulated number of vessels (*naos*) with sufficient crews to attack the enemy with success.

The Princess also has been glad to hear of the affectionate regard which Your Highness entertains for her. She has commanded me to return Your Highness' compliments and commendations.

I beg Your Highness to pardon me if in my last despatch I forgot to allude to Mr. de Xantonay's (Chantonnay's) mission; it was no fault of mine, but of my clerk (*escribano*), who in transcribing the letter passed over the passage. Mr. de Xantonay on his first visit to this country came solely for the purpose of informing this king of the forces which the Emperor had sent to Germany and Italy, and at the same time ascertain whether this king would be ready and willing to undertake the invasion of France according to the stipulation in the treaty. This was then the exclusive object of Mr. de Xantonay's mission, to which the King answered that it was too late for such an undertaking on a large scale, but that if he himself could in any way worry and molest the enemy he would willingly do it. Mr. de Xantonay† came here a second time to inform the King of the conquest of the duchy of Ghelders,

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* About Don Alvaro de Baçan's fleet, and the defeat of the French in front of Coruña in Galicia, *see* above, p. 463.

† The name of this ambassador, who, as already stated (p. 425), came to England in June and departed in July, is here written in two different ways, *Xantonay* and *Xantoné*, that is, Thomas Perrenot, sieur de Chantonnay.

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as well as of the treaty subsequently concluded with the duke of Clèves, at which the King showed great satisfaction, immediately sending a gentleman of his Privy Chamber to congratulate the Emperor on his good success.

The news of this country is that the cardinal of Scotland has lately found means of depriving the governor of the kingdom of his office, and placing the administration of affairs in the hands of the Queen and his own. Soon after that, however, the Cardinal, hearing that the King was preparing to invade Scotland at the head of a powerful force, thought better of it, and, having withdrawn from Court, returned to one of his benefices. Meanwhile a good number of Scotch lairds and knights declared openly in favor of this king, at the same time that certain English on the borders made a raid, penetrated far into Scotland, and made great havoc in the estates and lands of the lairds and noblemen of the opposite faction hostile to the King's views. Matters being in this state, news has come that seven French ships, having on board the patriarch of Aquileia * and the captain of the Scotch body-guard of king Francis, with 500 infantry, 50,000 ducats, 10,000 spears (*picas*), 4,000 halberds (*halabardas*), a good many hackbuts, besides plenty of ammunition, has arrived on that coast, and it is reported that the Patriarch intends assembling the States, and will try to persuade them not to fulfil the contract entered into with this kingdom, Parliament granting them complete absolution from their oath. Notwithstanding all these obstacles this king perseveres in his plans, firmly believing that he will at the end be able to overcome them, and that whatever turn the affairs of Scotland take, he himself will not be prevented from joining in an invasion of France.

The French have requested this Most Serene Majesty to permit that between fishermen of both nations there be peace and friendship, on the plea that it is of importance to both countries. This king, however, has not only refused to comply with the French king's request, but has fitted out a number of fast sailing vessels to destroy and sink the multitude of small craft which the French have for that purpose. The King expects that the same thing will be done in France.

The ambassadors of Scotland are daily expected here. Should their mission be of importance Your Highness shall be informed of it as soon as possible.—London, 9 Nov. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Prince."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

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* The patriarch of Aquileia, that is, Mark Grimani, once commander of the Papal fleet. As to the captain of the French Scotch Guard of the Body, his name was Robert Stuart, sieur d'Aubigny.

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17 Nov. **259.** The EMPEROR CHARLES V. to KING HENRY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Tres hault et tres excellent, et tres puissant prince, mon tres cher et tres aime bon frere et cousin, &c.,"—As my cousin, the count of Sorey (earl of Surrey), is returning home, We shall be relieved from the necessity of writing a longer letter, since he himself will be able to tell you the occurrences of these parts. We will only add that he (the Earl) has afforded Us and Our men in the field good testimony of whose son he is, and will not be in fault in imitating the Duke [his father] and his ancestors, with such natural dexterity and gentle heart that there has been no necessity of teaching him anything, and that you will not give him orders that he does not know how to execute.—Valenciennes, 17 Nov. 1543.

Addressed: "To the king of England."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

19 Nov. **260.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—According to a letter received yesterday from Mr. de Grantvelle (*sic*) announcing to Us a visit from Our cousin, the duke of Lorraine,* the latter arrived here on the same day, about the hour of dinner. The object of the Duke's visit, as he himself informed Us, was that having, as a prince of the Empire and an affectionate servant of Ours, applied for and obtained permission to call and present his respects, he had undertaken the journey to come to Us. That since the occasion was at hand, and considering the evils and troubles likely to afflict Christendom † were this war between the king of France and Us to continue longer, and the Turk, who was daily gaining ground and becoming stronger, to invade Europe suddenly, and together with the differences in religious matters cause universal perdition in Christendom, he (the Duke) had determined to visit Us and see whether means could not be found to avert the impending evil. He (the Duke) was perhaps nearer to the danger than any other prince in Christendom, and as he had long known Us to be a prince always ready to listen to those inclined to peace, he had taken upon himself the charge of ascertaining how far We Ourselves felt inclined to listen to proposals which might be made with regard to that peace. That he therefore begged and entreated Us to lend Our ear, and look to the means of ensuring and effecting that desirable peace, stopping the effusion of blood, and averting the dangers which threatened Christendom on the side of the Turk, all the time protesting and taking God to witness that what he had just said sprung solely from his own individual desire of averting the dangers

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* Antoine le Bon, duke of Lorraine.

† "Et que puisqu'il venoit en taille considerant les maulx et troubles que journellement succederoint en Chrestienté," &c.

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of which he had spoken, and encouraged by the great affection We had always shown for the benefits of peace, and not in any way moved by the king of France or any other prince, from whom (he said) he had received no charge whatever.

Our answer to the Duke was thus conceived: We told him that he and the rest of the princes in Christendom knew very well how desirous We had always been of ensuring, observing, and keeping peace, and how We had recommenced war many a time (even nowadays) for the sole and exclusive purpose of ensuring a lasting peace; how frequently We had been baffled in Our attempts at conciliation, having never found in king Francis' promises and oaths that security which is so desirable and necessary in matters of that sort. King Francis (We said) had invariably broken his oaths, and, therefore, We could not at the present time discover any sign of his words and professions being more sincere than they have been hitherto. As to the troubles by which Christendom is now afflicted, and the Turk's threatened invasion, We Ourselves are in nowise responsible for them, for it is notorious everywhere that everything in Our power has been done to stop the former. It is no fault of Ours, but of other parties, whom the Duke knows well, who have promoted and still promote these troubles and invited the Turk to Europe.

The Duke thereupon replied that what he had said came exclusively from himself, out of his affection and love of peace, not at anyone's instigation, and that if We gave him permission to repair to the Court of France and ascertain what the King's ideas and intentions were as to that, he would go thither and try what he could do. Our answer was that there was no necessity whatever for that; since he said that his visit was a voluntary act of his own, not a commission or charge from another prince, We could in nowise grant him the permission he asked for, or in any way countenance his visit to the Court of France, and, moreover, that We could not and would not honestly and dutifully treat of peace without the consent and approval of the king of England and other allies and friends of Ours.

After this the conversation turned on other topics, without one more word being said on the subject. Since then We hear the Duke has spoken in the very same terms to the Queen, Madame Our sister, without adding or retrenching any word from the conversation he held with Us. He has, likewise, spoken with Mr. de Granvelle, who invited the sieur de Bryant to be present at the interview, the Duke having made the very same declaration in that ambassador's presence. Lastly, when the earl of Sorey came to take leave to return home, We Ourselves told him verbally what the Duke's errand had been and how We had answered his application.

The Duke returned again in the evening of the same day, and said by way of preamble to his speech (*avec preambule*) that he hoped We would take in good part his having made the first overtures for the peace, in order to show to the World how fond and affectionate of peace he himself had been and was, and what urgent necessity there was of it, and offering again to return to his estate through France, provided We consented to point out to him some way or other of putting an end to the present war, or let him know, at least, whether We were inclined or not to listen to proposals. Our answer was in conformity with what We had said to him on the previous day, that We declined altogether to propose means, or make overtures of any sort respecting peace, nor would We, as far as We Ourselves were concerned, encourage or give him a pretext, much less authorize him to go back to the French king on such an errand, especially having received information that the French were publishing that it was at Our own request that the Duke had come to Our camp.

After this declaration on Our part, which We have since renewed whenever the Duke has called, We have nothing to add on the subject save say that as long as the latter remains in Our camp We will insist on Our purpose, so that when he leaves to return home he takes no other answer to his overtures than the one We made on the first instance, and if We can to-morrow leave this place where We are encamped and go elsewhere,* that will be an honest and decent excuse for Our getting rid of this Duke and making him return home.—Valenciennes, 19 Nov. 1543.

24 Nov. **261.** King Henry VIII. to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Hoz., Corresp. Engl.

" Tres hault, tres excellent, et tres puissant prince, Our very dear good brother and cousin, &c.,"—Whereas We some time ago sent towards you Our trusty and well-beloved councillor, Messire Briant (*sic*), knight and gentleman of Our Chamber, that he might communicate certain particulars respecting the continuation of Our mutual friendship, and to reside near your person and in your camp, as long as you yourself are in the field, and We now hear that after the enemy's retreat and flight you intend giving your army some repose, as the season of the year requires, We have deemed it opportune and fitting to recall from your court and camp the above-mentioned Mons. de Briant, as well as Our trusty and well-beloved councillor, the bishop of London, in order to employ them in various other matters of Our service in this kingdom. We therefore request and beg you, most high, most powerful,

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* The Emperor's stay at Valenciennes lasted four days. " On the 10th (says Vandenesse) the Emperor rode into Cambray in full armour, and left a garrison in the castle. On the 15th he went to Valenciennes, and remained there till the 19th."—Bradford's *Itinerary of Charles V.*, p. 543.

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and most excellent prince, Our good brother and cousin, to grant to them both leave to withdraw from your court and come over to Us; instead of whom, and to replace them in their respective charges, We now appoint doctor Wotton, dean of Canterbury, who some time ago resided at the court of Our dearest and most beloved good sister and cousin, the dowager queen of Hungary [regent of the Low Countries]. The abovesaid doctor, being a man of great ability and good services, as well as inclined to the continuation of the friendship existing between Us two, We have decided to employ him near your person, whilst We have deputed Our trusty and well-beloved councillor, doctor Layton, dean of York, to replace him at the Queen's court.

We therefore beg you to attach faith and credence to whatever the said doctor Wotton may tell you in Our name, graciously granting him audience whenever he may apply for it, and believing him in all matters as if We Ourselves were speaking to you.—Ampthill, 24 November 1543.

Signed: "Your good brother and cousin Henry."

Addressed: "To the most high and excellent brother and cousin, the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 1½.

24 Nov. **262.** The Same to the Dowager Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232.

Has determined to recall Dr. Wotton, his ambassador [in Brussels], and send him to the Emperor's Court to fill the place of the bishop of London (Bonner), who has been recalled [to England] to be employed in other affairs of the service.—De nostre maison D'Ampthill, 24 Nov. 1543.

Signed: "Henry."

French. Original. p. 1.

27 Nov. **263.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—I have duly received by the sieur d'Arbays Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 8th inst,* containing the news of the shameful retreat and flight of the French king. Since then that of the 12th, with an account of the communications with the duke of Lorraine, has also come to hand. As the sieur d'Harbays† on his return to Flanders will inform Your

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* A duplicate of Chapuys' letter, answering one of the Emperor's of the 8th (which I have not seen), has on the dorse, according to a note taken by me many years ago: "Quil a reçu par le sieur d'Arbays or Arbayx les lettres du 8, annonçant la honteuse fuyte du roy français, aussi bien que celles du xxix. d'Octobre, contenant les communications eueus (*sic*) avec le duc de Lorraine."

† The name of this Imperial envoy is spelt in Chapuys' original letter in two different ways, *d'Harbois* and *d'Arbais* (Herbays?). That he was a native of the Low Countries, perhaps the same person mentioned in Vol. V., Part II., p. 342, as having been appointed to accompany Don Diego de Mendoza in his embassy to England, seems probable enough, but who he was, and for what purpose he was then appointed, I have been unable to discover.

Majesty, I have lost no time in acquainting this king's privy councillors of the contents of both letters.—London, 27 Nov. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

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28 Nov. **264.** The Same to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Your Majesty's letter of the 8th, with the news and discourse of the shameful flight of the French, came duly to hand, and was well received by this king, as Your Majesty will hear from the sieur d'Harbois.*

As to the affair of the war ships mentioned in Your Majesty's letter of the 9th, the King has spoken to Mons. d'Arbois the very words that he himself will repeat. The privy councillors and the Admiral (Russel) himself have expressed themselves in the same terms to my man; but having shown to them Your Majesty's letter on the subject, they have not renewed their complaints or made further reference to the subject.

Respecting the "*placet*" and consent of the passports and safe conducts to foreign vessels to trade with France, it seems to me as if there was no great difficulty of obtaining them for the future, these people having no reason whatever to allege for the refusal, as I have taken care to demonstrate to them, considering the liberty which they themselves pretend to have of granting them to whomsoever applies, as appears from the enclosed letter of the Admiral to me. I will not desist from the application whenever there is an opportunity, and whatever their answer may be will immediately inform Your Majesty thereof.—London, 28 Nov. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

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8 Dec. **265.** The Privy Council to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 234.

Have orders from the King, their master, to represent the case of one, Guillaume Bougins, merchant, whose ship has been detained by the bailli of Flussing.—6 Dec. 1543.

French. Original. p. 1.

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7 Dec. **266.** The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—You will hear from Our cousin the sieur Don Fernando de Gonzaga,† and will see by the Instructions of which he is bearer, the object for which We

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* Again, as in the preceding letter to the Emperor, *Harbais* and *Arbais*, which, from the very peculiar hand of the ambassador's secretary, might easily be read *Herbais* and *Arbais*.

† Ferrante Gonzaga, son of Francesco II., marquis of Mantua.

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send him to the king of England. We will make no further allusion to the subject, save recommend you to employ your well-known activity and zeal in forwarding the object of his mission, help and assist him whenever he may require it, and with your knowledge of men and experience of affairs in that country, direct him in his negociation. To that end, besides the holograph letter which We write to the king of England, We have ordered circulars to be prepared for his ministers and privy councillors with the names *en blanc*, which the said sieur de Gonzaga is to fill up and distribute among them, following in this particular your advice.—Bruxelles, 7 Dec. 1543.

7 Dec. **267.** The EMPEROR to the MINISTERS of the KING OF ENGLAND.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Tres cher et bien aimé,"—We send towards the king of England, Our good brother and cousin, Don Fernando de Gonzaga, Our cousin, for the cause mentioned in his credentials. We have recommended him to present you Our affectionate commendations, and pray you will continue the good offices towards rendering indissoluble the perfect and sincere friendship existing between the King, your master, and Us, and fostering the affairs We have in common, believing the said Don Fernando as implicitly as you would believe Us.—Bruxelles, 7 Dec. 1543.

Addressed: "To the very dear and much beloved ———."
"To Our cousin ———."
"To the Reverend Father in God, very dear and most beloved bishop of ———."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

7 Dec. **268.** INSTRUCTIONS to FERRANTE GONZAGA, PRINCE OF MOLFETTA, VICEROY OF SICILY, going to England.

P. Arch. Nat.
Pap. de Simancas,
Olim Di & 483, 74.
K. 1633 g. B.

You shall go to England as hastily as you can, and, in virtue of the credentials which We are now writing to the King of that country, will, conjointly with Our most faithful and beloved councillor and master of Requests in Flanders, communicate to him the substance of your charge, namely:—You will tell him that We thank him for the satisfaction and joy he has shown at the news of the recent success of Our arms in the country of Juliers against the duke of Clèves, as well as against king Francis, Our common enemy, as We wrote at the time, and lately again by the sieur Vertais.* We also informed you of the good offices and services of the King's general and the gentlemen officers who accompanied him, and the men under their orders, all of whom have acquitted themselves admirably, all the time protesting that they would have remained longer with Us had they considered it necessary: which behaviour and words, in compliance with the articles of the last treaty of alliance between the king of England and the Empire, is a sufficient proof of the perfect understanding and indissoluble friendship existing between us. Presuming, however, that the King and his ministers have been informed sufficiently and in detail of all the incidents of this campaign against Our common enemy, We shall forbear from giving a too prolix account of them. Should the King, however, wish to be particularly informed of any, he has only to ask and his wishes shall be fulfilled.

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* Verbais? Could it be the Hervais of former letters?

You will likewise thank the King for the great care and diligence he has displayed, and is displaying, in his warlike preparations for next year's campaign, as appears from the testimony of his own vice-admiral, the sieur de Bryant (*sic*), gentleman of his Privy Chamber, whom he sent to Us as ambassador, as well as from his own words to the sieur d'Harbois (*sic*), to which advice We could not attend at the time owing to the many pressing and important affairs We then had in hand; nor could We have answered that king's inquiries on the subject, inasmuch as when the said Mr. Briant came to Us We were in arms against the common enemy, and could not say for certain what the issue of the war might be, besides which We have since been prevented from disbanding Our army.* Besides the above, there was still another cause to delay Our answer to the King's invitation, which was the necessity under which We then were of attending the Imperial Diet and providing for the security of the Roman Empire, and on the other hand for that of Our kingdoms of Spain, Naples, duchy of Milan and other dominions, as well as of consulting the dowager queen of Hungary, Our sister, respecting the help and assistance which Flanders and the Low Countries (*les pays d'embas*) could afford in case of the preconcerted invasion of French territory.

All possible diligence having been used by Us for the attainment of the above objects, the affair being of such nature and importance, and one which requires both trust and secrecy, We have decided, after long and mature deliberation, to send you (Ferrante Gonzaga) to England and inform the King of Our intentions on these points. You shall begin by telling him that you are perfectly aware and cognizant of what has passed between him (the king of England) and Us in this affair of the invasion, and that We have chosen you to be Our representative near his person inasmuch as you are to be the chief minister and executor of Our orders in that respect, and that considering his great wisdom, long experience,

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* "Tant pour estre lors [que] le dit sieur Briant vint à preparer armées contre le dit ennemy, et incertain quelle seroit la fin, que pour avoir este depuys empesché à licencier l'armée."

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singular and clear understanding in all matters, and especially in military affairs, We not only defer to his judgment, but will approve any course he may suggest the better to annoy, offend, harm, and destroy the common enemy. Let then a final resolution be taken between His Serene Majesty and you (Gonzaga) as to that, and each of Us will at once proceed to make the requisite military preparations, so that by means of Our mutual intelligences We may be enabled to carry out so meritorious a work, and one so necessary for the service of God and the peace of Christendom, as the humiliation and discomfiture of Our common enemy.

We understand very well that the king of England may wish for several reasons that the common undertaking against France do commence next year, owing principally to the great perplexity in which king Francis now is, not only on account of the general indignation raised against him by the prelates, nobles, and gentlemen of France, as well as by the commoners and peasants, oppressed as they have been by past wars, and likely to be utterly ruined by that which he is now waging. King Francis is so weakened that neither he nor his ministers can procure men or money anywhere. This, in fact, is the proper season to attack him. King Francis, moreover, is so hated by his people, and generally so little respected by the rest of the Christian powers, owing chiefly to his wilful infraction of the last truce and recommencement of the war—by which he has crowned, as it were, and confirmed all his former infractions of oaths, promises, and engagements—that no one will believe him nowadays. In fact, were there no other cause than his dishonorable alliance with the Turk, whom he has openly called into Europe, and against the Christian Community, by land as well as by sea—since he has still the Turkish fleet at anchor in the ports of France—there would be ample reason for the king of England and Ourselves now invading his kingdom so as to prevent him from subsidising foreigners and infidels, without whom he cannot carry on war, for the king of England knows well, that owing to the last retreat and flight of the French [from Flanders] king Francis and his subjects have lost the assistance of the Turk, as well as of several [Swiss and German] captains, who, disgusted and unpaid, have quitted his service and gone home.

And certainly, all things considered, it would seem as if God had deprived Our common enemy of his senses, and reduced and brought him to such terms that he may be punished and chastized for the innumerable injuries that Christendom has had to suffer at his hands. That is why it is highly important at this present juncture to compel king Francis to acknowledge publicly his faults, and since experience has shown that no other means will be available to deter him from his damnable and insatiable passion for war, and that he cannot be relied upon in point of faith, law, truth, or security (*asseurance*) of any sort, but will persist as long

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as he can in his warlike propensities, and adhere to them, We again maintain that this is the fit opportunity to bring him to reason.

For the above alleged reasons, it is the more important to weaken (*supéditer*) and reduce king Francis to such terms that he may no longer hold up his head, and have the means of molesting and disquieting his neighbours all round; considering also that his nature is such that he will never as long as he lives cease to disturb the peace of Christendom, and carry on war with its princes and also with England, until he himself is placed "*hors de combat.*" In fact, were We not prepared to meet him, he would directly or indirectly employ all his means and use all manner of wicked and dishonest practices to grieve and damage Us, or at least, unless materially stirred and taken out of the state of perplexity and inaction in which he is at present, do Us all the harm possible, either by setting new intrigues on foot or reconciling himself with the princes and powers of Christendom who, for the present, through shame or fear, dare not favor him, and who, if attacked, will at once abandon and desert him.

Owing to the above reasons and considerations We have resolved to make offensive war on him, and have already begun to prepare and shall be ready on a short notice for the invasion of French territory, so that, with God's help, we may be able in common to stop king Francis in his career of ambition and insolence. For that object almost exclusively We now send you, Gonzaga, to him without loss of time, in order that, independently of other private affairs of Our own, which have been the cause of Our keeping you here, you may attend to this one, the most important of all.

As above stated, We intend to defer entirely to the King's advice and counsel in this particular matter. Indeed such are his wisdom and knowledge, as well as experience in political affairs, and such Our trust in him, that We have no doubt that whatever plan of campaign he fixes upon, that will be the best. This notwithstanding, and in order that the King may know what Our view of the matter is, We will subjoin, though under correction, a few observations as to the future campaign against our common enemy. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the very moment that king Francis perceives the danger in which he is likely to be from an invasion of our combined armies, he is sure, if he has not done so already, to extort from his own subjects, secular as well as ecclesiastical, violently and tyrannically, as much of their substance as he possibly can, bleeding them to death. Perhaps, too, some of the princes and powers who for political reasons of their own, their passions, sensualities, fear of chastisement, and other motives, might dislike to see king Francis' utter ruin, and the consequent pacification of Christendom, would be induced to assist and help him, if not openly and in public, at least secretly. To obviate that it would be needful to arm powerfully and in haste, and assail him suddenly and resolutely, so that he may have no time or power to resist the attack, much less carry on war to his advantage, but that his subjects may have the opportunity to feign despair, and his allies to abandon and desert him entirely.*

In order to accomplish this efficiently two powerful armies would be required, as the considerations and reasons above stated seem to imply. Indeed the time required for such two armaments, the difficulty of laying in stores of provisions for so considerable a force, and the consideration that the enemy, if attacked only on one side of his frontier, might keep on the defensive at less expense and with a smaller army, and by relieving other provinces of France have leisure to wage war elsewhere or cause molestation in other parts, is a strong argument in favour of the two armies assailing at once two or more sides of the French frontier, so as to bind together King Francis' hands and prevent him from doing further mischief. Thus it would be required that each of the two armies should be so powerful that should king Francis march at the head of his forces against one of them, the other may advance into the heart of France, and whilst the one repulses the onset of the common enemy, the other may gain territory.

Having maturely considered this point, and what force is required to prosecute a plan of campaign founded on such a base, We are of opinion that the two armies ought each to be composed at least of 36,000 foot and 6,000 or 7,000 horse, veterans and good soldiers, with a suitable artillery camp, both of field pieces and heavy ordnance for the siege of towns. On our part We offer to have within the time fixed for the enterprize the number of men above specified quite ready for service, that is to say, 8,000 Spaniards, including the 4,000 whose arrival in Flanders We announced a long time ago, all effective soldiers, besides 20,000 upper and 8,000 lower Germans.

As to the English army, which is really and truly very efficient (*qui à la verité sont belliqueux*), both as to infantry and cavalry, though not very numerous, but to which the King may add as many foreign recruits as he pleases, there can be no doubt of its accomplishing the preconcerted plan of invasion, whatever it may be. And as it appears to Us that a number of foreigners will be required to swell the ranks of the English army, We should recommend, saving the King's better advice, that 12,000 men should be recruited for the purpose in Upper or Lower Germany, besides 5,000 horse from the same countries, which force, both of infantry and cavalry, he (the King) can very easily procure

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* "Ny soit en son pouvoir guerroyer à sa volonte ni à son advantage, et soit occasion à ses susditz subjectz de soy mectre en faincte (?) desperacion, et à tous les autres de le delaisser et habandonner du tout."

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if he only sets about it in time—We Ourselves promising all the help and assistance he may wish for in that respect—and if the cavalry cannot be raised in time, to make over to him one half of that which We now have here, amounting to upwards of 6,000 horse, though, to say the truth, We should prefer that the King looked out for it elsewhere. However, as there might be no time for that, We still offer him half Our cavalry force, that is to say, 3,000 horse, well disciplined and trained to war, on condition that they shall be well and regularly paid from the King's treasury, so that their services may be the more efficient and valuable; and if besides that he wishes also to have some of Our Walloon infantry, We will let him have as many as We can spare, considering the extent of frontier that We shall have to defend against the common enemy.

Should the King, Our brother, or his ministers represent that according to the letter of the treaty We ought to furnish at Our cost 2,000 lanskennets and 2,000 horse, you will tell them that We would not in any way act against the prescriptions and rules of the treaty, which We intend to observe faithfully, but that really and truly We consider that in this part of the stipulation We have been taxed more than he is, for after all he (the King) is to gain more by an invasion of French territory than We Ourselves can. Besides that, the King ought to consider the immense expense to which We have been put by this present war with France, by which, successful as it has been, he himself has been greatly benefited and assisted against Our common enemy, not to speak of the large sums of money We shall have to spend, and have already spent, to defend Christendom from the Turk and his ally, the king of France. For the above-mentioned reasons, and others that We might adduce, We trust that the king of England and his ministers will not insist upon the exact stipulations of the treaty being carried out on this particular point, and will own that true friendship and alliance are more reliable than the words of the treaty.

With regard to the plan of campaign, and the answer which you (Gonzaga) are to make if interrogated on the subject by that king's ministers—though this in a manner depends upon the news from France, the forces which king Francis will have in the field, the precise spot or spots at which the joint invasion is to be made, and what Our common enemy may do, and last, not least, the circumstances under which that plan may be modified or altered—you will say that you are ready, provided the thing be kept secret, to listen to their advice on the matter, and hear what point of the French frontier they think ought first to be attacked. And should they insist, as they most likely will, on your speaking first and letting them know what will be the most fitting place for commencing the attack, you will tell them that in your opinion the province of Picardy is the fittest on many considerations, which for fear of prolixity We omit, but which are quite plain to the King and to his ministers, who, We have no doubt, will at once approve of the plan.

We shall only mention one of the many particular advantages likely to result from an invasion of France by the frontier of Picardy, which is, that it seems the most commodious and convenient spot for gaining the enemy's territory, and molesting him efficiently, as well as for the allied armies to march conjointly on Paris, thereby causing great surprise and terror to the French king and his subjects, who are not prepared for such an attack, and preventing the King from attending exclusively to the defence of his kingdom. Picardy is also the province of France where it will be easier for the allies to procure victuals, and where there are fewer castles and fortified places to stop the march of an invading army. Once traversed to the end, Paris will easily be reached, and can be taken, since it is not properly fortified. In addition to this, you may tell the King and his ministers that if the plan of campaign which We propose be adopted, Our common enemy will not be able to get assistance from the outside or make recruits in Germany or Switzerland, and if he does they will be young soldiers unaccustomed to war, whereas We, on the other hand, shall have every opportunity of pushing forward and accomplishing Our purpose, and according to circumstances and events prolonging the war.

As to the provision of ordnance, you will say that Our purpose is to take with Us no less than xvi. guns and xii. half-guns, iv. long culverins for battery, and besides these several more field pieces, to the amount of seventy in all. We prefer not to take more in order that Our joint army may move more quickly and not suffer delay on its march, and yet be able to reduce fortified places, if any occur, between Picardy and Paris. With the ordnance train will be a corresponding force to serve it, and about one hundred barges to construct bridges, and We are already enlisting from three to four thousand pioneers, a most useful and necessary complement for an army engaged in a war of invasion.

The same preparations have been ordered with regard to ammunitions of war, victuals, and everything else that may be wanted. Already provisions are being secretly stored at various places under various pretences, without letting people know their ultimate destination, whilst chariots and horses are procured for the ordnance train, and it would be desirable that the king of England thought of this in time and provided what is required in this line.

Should the King, however, need Our assistance in the way of provisions, chariots, or horses, you will tell him that We will help willingly to the utmost of Our power, and as far as these Low Countries will allow, impoverished and almost exhausted as they have been by the last war, besides the

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damages and heavy losses which their inhabitants have sustained at the hands of both friends and enemies,[*] and the sterility of the land during the present year, and that We trust that, for the sake of mutual affection and friendship, he will not ask Us to meet more than his actual wants and what We Ourselves can furnish. And in order that the King's demands in this particular may not exceed the limits of Our resources, it will be advisable that the King himself send here some commissaries of his to inquire into this matter, and see with their own eyes to what amount these countries can supply his wants. The sooner he does this the better.

We have no doubt that Our dear brother, the king of England, would wish to attend personally the proposed invasion. We firmly believe that the step would be a very important one, and contribute greatly to the success of the war, not only on account of this king's personal qualities, magnanimity, reputation, and experience in military affairs, but because it would undoubtedly terrify the king of France and his subjects. Yet on the other hand, considering the present state of England and everything else concerning Our common affairs, We should not dare to propose it.[†] However this may be, whether the King commands his army in person or not, We hope that he will attend to the above recommendations, and prepare his forces by sea and land so as to injure Our common enemy the most We can. And you (Chapuys) can assure him that We intend leading Our army in person; you are to request and beg him to correspond with Us frequently and let Us have news of his doings and preparations for war, as well as of such advice as his acknowledged experience in political and military affairs may from time to time suggest, assuring him that on Our part We will do the same.

Respecting the forces which that king is to provide for Our joint undertaking, and the part of France which had better be invaded, after a long debate on the subject, Our opinion and advice is that the fittest and most convenient spot for making the said invasion is the province of Picardy, on many considerations which We omit for brevity's sake, but which being known to you and to your colleague (Chapuys), you may detail and specify whenever you have an opportunity, although We consider it superfluous to insist on this advice of Ours, sure as We are that the King, who knows more of these matters than any living creature, will gladly receive it.

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[*] "Luy pourrez dire que le ferons très-volontiers de tout ce qu'en nous sera, et le pouront [sup]porter les pays de par deça, fort travaillez de ceste derniere guerre es dommaigies et degastz y faitz par amis et enemis."

[†] The whole of this paragraph is omitted in the French copy. In the Spanish translation it stands thus: "Nos tenemos por cierto que nuestro dicho hermano querria ser en persona en la dicha armada, y tambien conoscemos nos que importaria muy mucho por el respecto de su persona, y de la (su ?) magnanimidad y experiencia de las cosas de la guerra, y que esto seria de gran espanto é inconveniente al dicho enemigo y à su Reyno, como de grande reputacion para todo, y Dios sabe quanto lo querriamos. Pero de otra parte considerando lo que va en su Reyno, y atento à lo que concierne à negocios de entre él y my[no] nos querriamos adelantar à proponerlo; pero esperamos que en todo caso," &c.

We shall only touch here on one particular point connected with the said advice, namely, that Picardy seems to Us the most vulnerable spot of the whole French frontier, the most propitious for the advance of Our joint armies and the acquisition of French territory; the two invading armies marching at once on Paris, which movement, if rapid and successful, will astonish king Francis and fill his subjects with terror so that he will no longer have the means of raising money. The frontier of Picardy will likewise be the best place for the invasion, inasmuch as the province is fertile and provisions are abundant, besides which there are few fortified towns on it, so that if Our joint armies reach Paris, it will be found, with God's help, that the capital of France can be easily taken.

So that it is very important, nay, indispensable, in Our opinion, that the two armies join and march together as soon as possible, within the 15th of this present month at the latest. If this could be done even sooner it would certainly be better; the enemy might then be taken by surprise, whereas if he has time he is sure to hasten to make the first onset, attacking one or the other of Our armies so as to disconcert Our plans, and compel Us to be on the defensive, and perhaps, too, have to resist him in other quarters far away from Our base of operations. This is Our advice in case of invasion of French territory by the combined forces; but let the attack be sudden, and if possible before the 15th inst., if the stores of forage for the cavalry will allow it.

There is still another consideration for inducing the allies to follow the above-mentioned plan of campaign. Should the invasion of French territory take place soon king Francis could not easily enlist soldiers, and, if he could, they would not be of the best sort (*si bons*); hence there would be a better chance for Us to carry on the war successfully, and, if We find it convenient and profitable, prolong it indefinitely.

Respecting the fleet (*armée de mer*), which, according to the clauses of the treaty is to be respectively furnished by the allies, you (Gonzaga) must already have heard what We have said to Master Briant and other English ambassadors when interrogated on the subject. Our admiral, Mr. de Bèvres, has made it perfectly clear that last year during the war with France he did his duty in every respect, and if fault there was it was entirely owing to unfavorable weather and contrary winds, much to the regret of Our sister, the Regent. As it is the expenses of the fleet have amounted to a very considerable sum, and Our subjects in the Low Countries have sustained much damage and loss owing to the inclemency of the weather and the rough sea. Next year,

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however, We shall make such a provision that there will be no fault on Our side as far as Our Flemish fleet is concerned; on the contrary, anything to be done for the defence of the coast of England and that of the Low Countries, as well as for offence against Our common enemy, wherever he may be, shall be accomplished according to the letter of the treaty. Should more particulars be wanted, or should the King wish to know in more detail what the maritime forces of this country are, and what they can accomplish jointly with or separately from the English fleet, he had better send a commissary of his for the purpose. He shall be well received and every information he may require afforded him, since We are now in Brussels.

We have already apprized the King, Our brother, through Mr. Briant, his ambassador at this Our Court, of Our intention to go to Germany, as well as of the day on which We purpose taking Our departure, and as nearly as possible the day when We expect to be there. If need be, you may declare and explain to him the causes which oblige Us to undertake such a journey, namely, the resistance against the Turk and the settlement of public affairs in Germany, so as to put a stop to French intrigues in that country, principally with a view to the common profit and good issue of the undertaking in which we both are engaged, having particular regard to whatever may touch on his honor and reputation, as We are bound to do, and as the ties of our mutual friendship prescribe, taking care to keep him *au courant* of whatever may be done in that country respecting this and other urgent affairs.

You must not omit to say, whilst speaking to him on the subject, that as far as the Swiss Cantons and their League is concerned there are means sufficiently known to you and to him of practically preventing king Francis from making levies of men among them, nay even of detaching them from his alliance, or at least, should he ultimately obtain their help and assistance in men, managing things in such a way that their services may be late and insignificant, and we two in the meantime may profit by the delay and mature our warlike plans. That whilst We are at the diet [of Spires], We will take care that the States of the Empire therein assembled will write to the Swiss Cantons of the League, dissuading them from allowing levies to be made in their respective territories, or afford help or assistance of any sort to the common enemy of Christendom, who, as is well known, is the ally and confederate of the Grand Turk, and has actually that Infidel's fleet at anchor within the ports of his kingdom. But you will also tell the King that in order to insure the success of the above plans money must be spent, and that a sum of 25,000 or 30,000 crs. will be required, and that if he pleases to contribute with his share of the expenses, We will do the same on Our side. This is a condition on which you must particu-

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larly insist as a most important and vital point as regards the success of our common enterprize, as the confederated Swiss Cantons might on the occasion show an inclination towards the King, and perhaps, too, offer their services to him.

You may also tell the King confidentially that, if necessary, some undertaking might perhaps be planned on the side of Italy by making Our armies march through Piedmont into France about the 3rd of June, when our allied forces are about to invade that country. This you can, if the opportunity offers, explain to him in detail, so that if he approves of Our plans he may advise and tell you how far he intends to contribute towards the undertaking.

We have notified to the King, Our brother, the arrival at this Our Court of the duke of Lorraine and of the duke of Bar, his son, and the reason of their coming, and the audience We granted them at Valenciennes, what the Duke said, and Our answer to him, and how he went away without Our approving of his returning to France * and doing there what he pretends to be able to do. Since then the ambassador he had here ever since We entered the Low Countries this last time has also gone away. We have since heard that the Cardinal of Lenoncourt † had also entrusted to a gentleman who was returning from France, where he had been a prisoner, to propose to Us that should We feel inclined to treat of peace, there would be no question at all about Milan. To this proposal We would not listen, and the king of England, Our brother, may rest assured that We will adhere most closely to the conditions of Our treaty with him and faithfully observe all its clauses, not only as being Our duty, but as the singular and the very sincere friendship We profess to him binds Us to do.

You are to use all possible haste in delivering your commission and obtaining an answer from the King, in order to be back as soon as you can. Whatever the King's answer may be, you will make haste so as to meet Us here before Our departure from this town, which will take place at the latest the second or third day after the Nativity, for We cannot tarry longer here, so that before going to Germany We may make such provision as is required.

You will offer Our most cordial commendations to the Queen [of Hungary], Our good sister, and also to Madame Our cousin [Mary of England], and will thank Our sister for the very cordial friendship and favorable treatment of

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* "Et comment il se départit sans luy avoir voulu allouer occasion quelconque de repasser par France," says the original French. The Spanish translation, however, has it thus : "Y como se fué sin haberle [nos] querido aprobar la vuelta por Francia."

† "Que el Cardenal de Lenoncourt habia encargado á un gentilhombre *prisionero* que volvia de Francia de meternos adelante que si queriamos entender de tractar no se hablaria de Milan." The word "prisionero" (prisoner) is omitted in the French copy ; "ung gentilhomme présentement retournant de France."

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Our said cousin. You will, if possible, visit personally the Prince, my nephew, and bring Us news of his health, &c.—Brussels, the 7th of December 1543.

French. Original minute. pp. 14.

11 Dec. **267.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to MONSGR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monseigneur,"—About six days ago a worthy man of the name of Baptosard Guerche, a singularly clever surgeon and able physician, native of a place in the duchy of Milan called Le Rosch, was by this king's order confined to prison on the charge of his being suspected of asserting and upholding the Pope's authority in Church matters. Having been interrogated and examined by the judges on the subject, he has answered, as far as I hear, as befits a virtuous man and true good Catholic, wherefore it is to be feared that these people, in virtue of their statutes and laws, will sentence him to death unless His Imperial Majesty be pleased to interfere and write to this king a letter of commendation in his favor, besides another to me of credence for presentation to that effect. This latter might state that whereas the said Baptosard is a subject of His Imperial Majesty, and cannot possibly be accused of trying to persuade people to follow his opinions in the matter, whatever they may be, or of publishing or divulging the same so as to produce scandal, he does not deserve to be harshly treated thereby, and ought not to be interrogated and examined respecting his own private opinions in the matter, just as the King's subjects and others, who were never molested unless they gave cause for scandal, are not interrogated in Spain. Should the said Baptosard, when examined, have returned some imprudent or offensive answer to the interrogatory, His Imperial Majesty might ask the King to forgive and pardon him, and if he could not be allowed to reside in England whilst he holds his opinion, he should quit the country. I most humbly beg and entreat Your Lordship to do all you can in this affair, so important as it is for the service of God, the honor and reputation of the Emperor, and the danger to Master Baptosard and other subjects of His Imperial Majesty residing here in England, or occasionally visiting it, adding to the commendation and prayer in the Emperor's name such arguments and remonstrances as may seem most convenient to Your Lordship. And whereas the said Master Baptosard and many others who are personally concerned in this pitiable incident are my friends, I cannot do less than beg and entreat Your Lordship most humbly to take particular care of this recommendation of mine, and, above all, that Your Lordship be pleased to write and send me the letters as soon as possible, as otherwise there might be danger in the delay. And as I am confident, nay, almost sure, that Your Lordship, with your virtuous and religious kindness, will readily grant my prayer, I will refrain from saying more on the subject; yet I must not omit to say that together with the said Baptosard, and precisely on the very same accusation and charge, three of the most familiar friends of the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner) have been arrested and sent to prison, namely, the chancellor of the bishop of London (Boner) and two other honest men, who, from the very beginning, have boldly asserted their opinions in favor of Papal authority, and constantly affirmed that they are ready to die in support of it.

Though the chief and almost exclusive object of this letter be to interest Your Lordship in favor of Master Baptosard, I must not forget to acknowledge the receipt of your letter in commendation of Captain Christophle de Landenberg, who has been very well received at this Court, for, as one of my men whom I sent to accompany him informs me, the King is willing to take him into his service and pay the 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot under his command.

Great preparations are being made against the arrival of the sieur Don Fernando,* who, I have no doubt, will meet with a more splendid reception than any of His Imperial Majesty's ministers who have come here for a long time.—London, 11 Dec. 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."
Addressed: "To Mons. de Grantvelle, &c."
French. Original. pp. 2.

13 Dec. **268.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Monseigneur,"—After a good deal of contention (*disputes*) Captain de Landenberg's affair has been settled, more advantageously for him than I wrote on the 11th. The King has given him the command of 1,000 horse, 200 of whom will be men-at-arms, 300 hackbutiers, and the remainder lancers, besides 4,000 foot, of which force the said Landenberg is to be the sole commander and colonel (*coronnel*).

Since my last I have again sent my man to Court for the purpose of soliciting, among other things, the settlement of the affair of the safe conducts, about which Your Lordship was pleased to write to me lately, and I regret to say that notwithstanding the many pressing solicitations and remonstrances addressed by me to the privy councillors on the subject, all my attempts to make them share our views and grant our just demands have been useless, they (the King's privy councillors) alleging for their refusal the very same reasons and arguments adduced on former occasions, and maintaining that the most efficient way of carrying on war against the French is to deprive them of the intercourse of trade and of the barter of their own merchandize in Flanders and the Low Countries, as well as in England; and adding, moreover,

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* Ferrante Gonzaga.

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that they are in possession of intelligence from Rouen, through fifteen or sixteen English merchants arrested in that port, and afterwards liberated on "*parole*" on condition of an equal number of French merchants in London being set free,* that whoever could prevent the French from bartering their goods abroad, might be sure that ere long rebellion and strife would spring up in many parts of France. Already in several provinces of that kingdom the clothiers, and especially the cap makers, were beginning to grumble, and complained that for want of wool they could not work or live.† "Were we to grant your request on that score (said the privy councillors to me), it would be an infraction of the treaty of closer friendship and alliance, one of the clauses of which prescribes that the allies shall molest, annoy, and damage the common enemy in all possible ways, by depriving them of salt herrings and other articles of food, as well as of any merchandize from which they may get a profit."

For the above reasons these privy councillors have sent me very urgent messages, desiring me to beg and entreat the Emperor not to allow the safe conducts already granted to produce an effect contrary to the letter of the treaty, and although I have not failed, as was my duty, to reply to the arguments of these councillors as I deemed most fit, with other considerations which I omit for fear of exhausting Your Lordship's attention, the King and his privy councillors still persist in their determination, and for the present I see no chance of gaining a step in that line. Your Lordship will be pleased to let me know what I am to do next.

There is no further news from Scotland, but as soon as reliable intelligence comes from that quarter I shall not fail to inform Your Lordship of it, as well as of any other occurrence in this country.—London, 13 December 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Mons. de Grantvelle, &c."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received at Brussels on the 17 of December 1543."

French. Original. pp. 2.

13 Dec. **269.** SECRET INSTRUCTIONS to FÉRRANTE GONZAGA.

S. E., L. 438.

In addition to the former Instructions, which you (Gonzaga) may, by Chapuys' advice, show to the King's ministers, if required, with a view to establish greater confidence and obviate the scruples, which the English are in the habit of raising in matters of this sort, the following remarks and observations may be useful.

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* "Disant quilz sont certainement advertis par quinze ou seize marchans des leurs, questoient detenuz à Rouen, et nouvellement ont este renvoyez içy sur leur parolle, ou promesse de licencier en leur lieu dautant de françois de ceulx-çy arrestez."

† "Que quil que pourroit empescher les françois de contracter seroit certain de creer revolte en divers coustelz de France, car deja au dit royaulme les faiseurs de drapz, mais specialement les bonnetiers, commencent à murmurer car à faulte de laine ilz ne peulvent (peubvent) besongner, ni par consequent vivre."

It will be necessary, as you may easily conceive, to conclude and come to a final resolution on all points concerning the undertaking of next year, and ascertain with dexterity if there be any doubt or scruple in the mind of the King about it. Should there be any, you are hereby empowered and at liberty to have the matter settled as you may deem most fit and convenient for Our interest, so that We may not trust too much on that king and incur expense, should he at the eleventh hour change his mind and leave Us single-handed to fight the French. You (Gonzaga) can well understand that unless We get positive assurance that such a thing will not happen, We cannot make preparations for the invasion of the enemy's territories next year, lest by want of correspondence on the part of England, or through the stipulated force being unable to cross the Channel owing to bad weather, or the King suddenly withdrawing his army before the appointed time, to employ in Scotland or in some other country, We should be obliged to prosecute the war with France alone.

To accomplish that, you (Gonzaga) must try and ascertain as far as you can through Our resident ambassador in that Court, and the confidential friends and informers he may have there, what is the real state of affairs in Scotland, and whether there is any appearance of the present differences being settled to that king's advantage, or of their continuing so that war may break out between those two kingdoms, in order to calculate what English force may be required next year on the borders against the Scotch. Should such be the case, there can be no doubt that the King's ministers will forcibly remonstrate with you as to the importance of the affair, and the necessity of their master attending in the first place to the war with Scotland; but you can answer them that is the very reason why the King should assist with all his power to the undertaking against Francis, because, as the latter was the promoter of the last war against the Scotch, and is still the abettor and ally of the Scotch, it stands to reason that by attacking him at home and invading his kingdom, he will be placed out of condition for favoring them this next year and mixing himself up with affairs that do not concern him.

It will be requisite also to ascertain, if possible, who will be the general whom the King intends to appoint as commander-in-chief of his army, in case of his not crossing the Channel. This point is important, in order to gain his good will beforehand, and persuade him to do that which We think most fit and efficient for the fulfilment of his office, giving him to understand that We have been pleased with his appointment.

If after persisting to the very end in Our being exempted from the pay of the 2,000 horse, and as many lanskennets,

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that We are bound to furnish the King with, as stated in the Instructions, you should perceive no signs of the King granting Our demand, it will be needful for you to try another way, which is to induce the King to exempt Us from the payment of the said body of men on condition of Our again retaking them in Our pay, whenever the enterprize against France referred to in the same article takes place. But it would be advisable that before coming to contend with the King or his ministers as to who ought to pay for the said contingent of foot and horse, you should try to make the King understand that We shall not wait for the approval of the common enterprize against France to thank him most warmly for the compensation, should he grant it.

You will also endeavour to obtain, if possible, from the King a sum of money, however insignificant it may be, for the Swiss, if We are to enlist among them. This is much required.—Brussels, 13 December 1543.

French. Original draft. pp. 3.

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13 Dec. **270.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—Since my last I have again sent my man to Court about the safe conducts, but I regret to say that the answer he brings me from the privy councillors is anything but satisfactory; they persist in their refusal, alleging among other reasons that the most efficient warfare against the French is to deprive them of the means of offending Us, and that whoever could prevent the French from bartering their goods in the Low Countries and in England would ruin them and their manufacturers for ever. Already, said the privy councillors to me, rebellion and strife are threatened in many parts of France; clothiers and cap makers (*bonnetiers*) throughout the kingdom are grumbling, and maintain that for want of wool they will be obliged to shut up their establishments, &c.

After a good deal of disputation and talk, the affair of captain Landenberg has been definitively settled, more advantageously for him than I had reason to expect, when I wrote to Mons. de Granvelle the other day, that is to say, that this king gives him commission to raise 1,000 horse, 200 of whom are to be men-at-arms, 300 hackbutiers, and the remainder lancers, also 4,000 foot; captain Landenberg to have the command of the whole force without anyone being over him.*

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "To the queen of Hungary, regent in the Low Countries."

French. Original. pp. 2.

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* This paragraph, the first in Chapuys' letter to Granvelle, is there (No. 268, p. 539), differently worded. It stands thus: "Ce roy a donne charge au dit capitaine de Landenberg de lever mille chevaulx, dont les deux cents seront bardez, trois centz acquebutiers, et la reste avec lances. Et oultre ce quatre mille hommes de pied, de laquelle bande [il] sera chief et coronnel sans en avoir aultre sur luy."

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— Dec. **271.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Sire,"—I have received Your Majesty's letter of the 30th of November, brought by Don Fernande (Ferrante) Gonzaga, and perfectly well understand by the tenour of his Instructions, which I have carefully read, what his mission and charge is to be in this country. He (Gonzaga) is now writing to Your Majesty on the subject, and relating as minutely as he can what we have obtained from this king, and as I hope that very shortly he himself will be able to explain verbally all the incidents of the negociation, I will refrain from any commentaries.

Respecting Scotch affairs, as far as I can hear, they are not very favorable to this king just now, for the nobleman who takes the title of chief governor (*grand gouverneur*) of Scotland has lately leagued himself with the Cardinal [of St. Andrews] and others of the party opposed to this king's views. On the other hand, some of the noblemen who formerly held out for this king have lately been confined to prison, such as lord Machuel (Maxwell), captain-general on the Borders, who some days ago was fraudulently arrested by an abbot,* brother of the one who was once governor of Scotland. Having at his passage through this city [of London], on his return from France to Scotland, been well treated and presented with valuables by this king, he had promised when back in Scotland to work in favor of England.

Another loss has the King made in the earl of Lynns,† who bears the same name and arms, and is of the family of the late king of Scotland (James V.), once captain of the Scotch [guards] in France. Being discontented with king Francis, owing to the latter not keeping certain promises he had made him, the Earl was wavering in his allegiance, and rather inclined to quit the service of France and come over to England. Whilst in England, as I had occasion to write in one of my despatches, the Earl was well treated, the King having besides promised him the hand of his niece, the daughter of the late queen of Scotland and of the count of Douglast (Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus). When all his wishes had thus been fulfilled, the Earl suddenly interrupted his correspondence with this king, abandoned his party, and turned against him.

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* The abbot in question was John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley. He was a natural son of James, first earl of Arran, and brother of the present earl, now Governor of Scotland. The incident, which occurred on the 31st October, is noticed in the "Diurnal of Occurrents," p. 29.

† Lynns is evidently meant for Lennox. The entire passage reads thus: "Et le conte de Lynns, quest du nom, armes, et maison du feu roi d'Escosse, et capitaine dune partie des Escossais, estans en France, le quel, comme jay çy devant escript, pour quelque mescontentement quil avoit du roy de France, que ne luy observoit quelque promesse, estoit en variance de prendre le party de ce dit roy au moyen du bon traictement qui luy estoit offert avec le marriage de la niepce du dit seigneur roy, fille de la feue royne d'Escosse et du conte Douglast, a eu la reponse conforme à son desir, de sorte quil a entrerompue (*sic*) les practiques quil avoit avec le dit seigneur roy, et est retourné contre luy."

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Eight days ago an ordinance (*pregmatique*) was issued and promulgated in this city, forbidding the importation of goods and merchandize from France, though bought or transported from other countries, which is to me a proof that they do not intend granting in future passports and safe conducts for the carriage of merchandize, though, on the other hand, I cannot help thinking that the prohibition has been devised for the purpose of making money out of the licences they have granted or which may be granted in future.—London, December 1543.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. p. 1.

Dec. **272.** The Same to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 11.

"Madame,"—It would take me too long to describe the kind and honourable reception which the Viceroy of Sicily (Ferrante Gonzaga) has met with everywhere in this country. It would, moreover, be a superfluous task for me to undertake, as very shortly Your Majesty will hear the whole account from the Viceroy's own lips. *Suffice it to say respecting the execution of his charge, that after a good deal of altercation and dispute, it has been resolved, concluded and capitulated that this King will personally invade France on that side of Picardy most convenient to him, with a force amounting to* 35,000 *foot and* 7,000 *horse. It has, however, been impossible for us to obtain that the said force should be on the Continent before the 20th of June. This the privy councillors would never grant or promise, alleging that it was out of the question for many a reason, and especially for want of provisions and of forage for the horses, which could not be got ready for that time. They, nevertheless, expressed regret at their inability to comply with the Emperor's wishes, whose movements, they said, they wished to accelerate as much as possible. Perceiving the councillors' obstinate refusal of this most important point, we no longer insisted on it, and yielded in part, as otherwise a rupture of the negociations might have ensued.*[*] *It was, moreover, finally agreed and settled that during the transport of the English troops from England to Calais, the Emperor's warships, with the stipulated number of sailors and armed infantry on board, should join the English fleet in the Channel (Estroit de Mer), for the greater security and safe passage of the English army.*

It has also been agreed and settled that this king will contribute 20,000 ducats towards the expenses of the war in Piedmont, though on condition of the Emperor sending here

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[*] "Mais lon ne les a peu tirer de se obliger destre la dit' armee toute en France avant le XX de Juing, non point quilz ne voulsissent acceler[er] lemprinse, mais pour l'impossibilite que y est pour pluseurs respectz, mesmes à cause des fourraiges, et si leur a faillu (*sic*) accorder ung (ceçy ?) cas, ou aultrement tout alloit en rompture."

1,000 Spaniards—all of them hackbutiers—to serve for three months on the frontiers of Scotland; 600 of them to be paid by the Emperor, and the remaining [four hundred] by the King.*

We have also tried, though in vain, to make the privy councillors undertake the gaining over and enlisting of the Swiss. All our efforts however have been unavailing; they have resolutely declined, saying that they will have nothing to do with them.†

Respecting Scotch affairs, they are not going on prosperously for the King just now, as far as I am given to understand, for the lord, who called himself "Grand Governor," has again made alliance with the Cardinal and others of the party opposed to the King, and so have done some others who formerly stood for the latter, such as Milord Machuel (Lord Maxwell), one of the most important personages in Scotland, lately appointed governor and captain-general of the Borders. This Machuel was fraudulently taken prisoner by an abbot,‡ brother of the said late Governor of Scotland. Though at his passage through this city of London, on his return from France, he was well treated, and received presents, and promised to do many things in favour of this king, yet, as above said, he has joined the contrary party. The same may be said of the count of Lynns (earl of Lennox), who bears the family name and arms of the late King [James V.]. He was formerly captain of a portion of the Scotch Guard in France, but, as I wrote on a former occasion, being discontented and at variance with king Francis owing to the non-observance of certain Royal promises and engagements, he decided to come over to England, and take this king's part, induced no doubt by the promise of a marriage with the King's niece, a daughter of count Douglast (Douglas) and of the late queen of Scotland. This count Lynns (earl of Lennox) having since received a favourable answer to his claims in France has also become a turncoat, and broken off his relations with this king.§

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* "Avec condicion toutesfois de luy envoyer icy ung mil Espagnolz durant trois mois, harquebusiers, pour la garde des frontieres d'Escosse, et que diceulx sa ma^{te} doibje soubdoyer les VI^{c} et luy la reste."

† "Lon a mis à ceulx cy en terme la practique de gaigner les Suysses, mais ilz nen tiennent compte non plus que de riens."

‡ "Entre les quels est Mylord Machuell, lune des personnes de plus importance du dit Escosse, gouverneur et capitaine general des frontieres, le quel a este frauduleusement prins par un abbez (*sic*) frere du dit jadis gouverneur, non obstant que passant par içy en revenant de France, il eust este bien traicte et presente et quil eu[st] promis de faire beaucoup de choses en faveur du dit roy." The abbot in question was John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, a bastard brother of the Earl of Arran.

§ "Et le comte de Lynns, quest du nom, armes et maison du feu roy d'Ecosse, et capitaine dune partie des Escossais estans en France, lequel, comme jay cy devant escript, pour quelque mescontentement quil avoit du roy de France, que [ne] luy observoit quelque promesse, estoit en variance de prendre le party de ce dit roy au moyen du bon traictement que luy estoit offert avec le marriage de la niepce du dit Sieur roy, fille de la feue royne d'Escosse et du conte Douglast, a eu la response de France conforme à son desir de sorte quil a entre-rompues les practiques quil avoit avec le dit sieur roy et sest retourne contre luy."

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About a week ago a warrant (*prematicque*) was issued and proclaimed here forbidding the importation into this kingdom of all French goods or merchandize, even if previously purchased in, or taken to another country, which measure seems to me a sign that these people are not inclined to allow passports or safe conducts,* though, on the other hand, I imagine that the principal object of the prohibition enforced by the said warrant is to have cause and occasion to make money out of the licenses that may be applied for.—London † . . .

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, partly ciphered, pp. 2.

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* "Que nulle danrre (denrée) ne marchandise de France puist (puisse) entrer en ce royaulme oeres quelle eu[t] pieça este achaptee et conduite en aultre pays, que nest indice quilz veuillent alouzer [alonger, allouer?) nulz passeportz."

† The date is left blank in this way: "London, le ———," after which, in a more modern hand, *Decembre* 1544, has been added. This, however, is a mistake, for Gonzaga was only a few days in England in December 1543, as appears from his Instructions and the Emperor's letter, as well as from Chapuys' despatches announcing his arrival in London.

APPENDIX.

1541.
March. **273.** The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl., 9.

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—Both your dispatches of the 5th inst. and 22nd ult. have come to hand, and been forwarded by Us to the Emperor, Our lord and brother, by express messenger, in order that he may be acquainted as soon as possible with the news of that country. Should the innovations you speak of in mercantile matters take place, We Ourselves shall know how to act in retaliation; but still We should like to hear beforehand the Emperor's view on the subject. That is why We have forwarded to him both your dispatches, as well as a copy of the papers appended to them. We hope, however, that with a little patience We shall be able to make the English understand that it is their interest to leave matters as they are now, and not make innovations in trade likely to affect the merchants of both countries alike. As soon as you can ascertain what those innovations are, and what sort of measures are likely to be introduced into the English Parliament, We request you to inform Us thereof, because We are sure that if the measures are, as you imagine, injurious to the trade of these Low Countries, the Emperor, Our brother, will no doubt instantly retaliate in Spain, and the English will have to look twice before they venture upon such an arbitrary course.

The Court-master (Consul) of the English, residing in this city, called the other day on the President of the Imperial Privy Council * to inquire whether the Emperor, Our lord and brother, had, or had not, ordered the revocation of the edict proclaimed some time ago in these Low Countries. The President's answer was that nothing of the sort had happened; he (the President) had not heard of the edict having been revoked. He said more; he told the Court-master that it was quite unreasonable for the English to ask for the revocation of the edict unless their king consented first to moderate, if not revoke altogether, his late ordinances in matters of trade, and allow the merchants and shipowners of the Low Countries to purchase in, and freely export from, England all manner of goods and merchandise. Without some preliminary concession of this sort (observed the President), there was not the least chance of the Emperor consenting to revoke or modify the edict of which the English complained.

Hearing this, the Court-master of the English merchants replied that the King, his master, would never consent to that, upon which the President argued that English merchants ought to bear in mind that from time immemorial they had been more favoured and better treated in the Low Countries than those of any other nation in the world, nay, better than the Spaniards and the Dutch themselves, who were besides the Emperor's subjects. The English (added the President) had never been hindered or prevented from trading with these Low Countries, and although commercial treaties between nations had often been modified or altered, We Ourselves had never done this with respect to England, until the English themselves obliged Us to adopt measures of retaliation.

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* Dr. Schore (?).

Unless the people of England choose to live on good terms with Us, as far as the intercourse of trade is concerned, there is no saying what mischief the recently proposed innovations may make; they may be the cause of still stronger measures being adopted on Our side as means of retaliation. Indeed, were the English merchants trading with the Low Countries to lose the privileges they have hitherto enjoyed in virtue of past treaties, there is no saying what mischief might ensue, for certainly it would be a long while before they recovered them.

We have expressly entered into these details in order that you, Chapuys, when interrogated by the Privy Council on the subject, may know what Our intentions are, and shape your answer accordingly.

And whereas the rumour which, you say, has circulated there in England of the Emperor, Our lord and brother, being on the point of ordering the revocation of his own edict, promulgated by way of retaliation, has probably originated and been spread in England for the express purpose of pleasing certain of the King's subjects, We need not tell you how expedient it will be under present circumstances to delay for a while the question of the revocation, and make in the Privy Council a solemn declaration in conformity with His Imperial Majesty's views and Our own as above stated, the more so that most likely the Emperor, Our lord and brother, has by this time signified to the Bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner) his intentions and wishes in the matter.

We therefore lay before you the above considerations that you may use your usual discretion in this affair, and, if interrogated on the subject, answer whatever you may deem most proper and convenient, and especially procure some delay; for, if you can in the meantime obtain from that king's ministers that a day be fixed for discussing the bases of a new treaty with these Low Countries, We have no doubt that We shall after all be the winners.*

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

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* This is evidently the draft of a letter of queen Mary to Chapuys. It is undated, and wrongly placed among papers and dispatches of the year 1542, with this note in the hand of a clerk in the Archives at Brussels: "Lettre de la Reine de Hongrie à l'ambassadeur en Angleterre, du mois de May de 1542."

1542.
19 April. **274.**

The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P. Fasc. 233.

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,"—We can fully understand the reason why you have been prevented from fulfilling the charge entrusted to you by the Emperor, Our lord and brother, in his letter of the 14th ult., owing to the English refusing to consider as sufficient the powers which We sent you in obedience to His Imperial Majesty's commands. Indeed, We should never have intervened in the matter had not the Emperor, Our brother, positively ordered Us to do so. It is, however, out of Our power at present to add anything to the Instructions contained in Our letter to you of the 31st of March.* Indeed, unless We hear again from Spain,† We cannot possibly say more about the affair. You are therefore to temporize as long as you can with the king of England and his Privy Councillors, and wait for fresh instructions from the Emperor, which cannot tarry long if, as We are informed, Monseigneur de Grantvelle (*sic*) has already taken his departure from Piedmont for the Imperial Court [in Spain]. You may allege this as an excuse, as well as the fact that a Spanish courier who left [Barcelona] for Piedmont, with letters for the Emperor's Lord Privy Seal, was stopped and arrested in France, and that another, who went to Italy by sea, found, on his landing at Genoa, that the Lord Privy Seal had already sailed off for Spain, in consequence of which the Imperial ambassador to that Republic (Suarez de Figueroa), without opening the letters or taking cognizance of their contents, had returned them to Spain. All these things put together have been the cause of a most lamentable delay in the business of which you have charge, as well as in other affairs concerning the government and administration of these Low Countries, so much so, that We cannot do otherwise than have patience and wait for fresh and fuller instructions from the Emperor, Our brother, which instructions, as We said above, cannot fail to arrive shortly.

On the other hand, information has reached Us that in the last English Parliament a motion has been made and carried forbidding the export of valuable woollen cloth, unless prepared, dyed and thoroughly dressed‡, which prohibition will eventually

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This statement is altogether wrong, for allusion is made in the letter to dispatches from England of the 6th and 22nd ultimo (*du mois passé*), and there are none of Chapuys' with those dates in 1542. Besides that, the revocation of the Emperor's edict on navigation and trade with England, so strongly insisted upon by king Henry and his ministers, had already taken place in May of that year, whereas in March 1543—probably the date of the draft—Henry's ministers were still pressing for the revocation. (*See* Vol. V., Part II., Nos. 152 and 153, which happen to be in reality the two letters alluded to in the above draft.)

* *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 481–7.

† The Emperor, according to Vandenesse's "Itinerary of Charles V." p. 532, was then at Valladolid.

‡ "Daultre part nous avons eu quelque advertence que au dernier Parlement d'angleterre auroit este conclut que on defendroit de mener hors d'angleterre aulcuns draps de valeur ne fust [il] quilz fussent entierement parez (*sic*) taintz et accoutrez."

1542.

turn out to the damage of the merchants of these Low Countries, accustomed, as they are, to import English woollen cloth, have it dressed and prepared, and then sell it here or elsewhere. Indeed, the measure proposed would be so injurious to the Emperor's subjects in these parts, that instead of the closer alliance about to be contracted between the two nations being beneficial to both, there is fear of the present negociation receiving a check through it. You shall, therefore, whilst trying to ascertain if there be any truth in the report, and letting matters remain as they are at present,[*] seize every opportunity of privately representing to some of the King's privy councillors how injurious the said measure would be to the trade of England with foreign countries, and especially with Flanders and the Netherlands, and how seriously it would affect and impede the treaty of closer friendship and alliance now being negociated.—Brussels, 19 April 1542.

Addressed: "To the Imperial ambassador, on the 19th of April 1542, after Easter."

French. Original, entirely ciphered.

1543.
8 Feb.

275. The Count of Alcaudete[†] to the Emperor.

S. E., Africa.

From Oran, where I was preparing for the expedition to Mostagan, in pursuance of Your Majesty's instructions and orders, I had occasion to write. As the river Chuquisua, owing to the late rains, was unfordable; as provisions in Oran were becoming scarce, and it would have been imprudent to place the forces under my command in jeopardy, I was obliged to come to Tremecen (Telemsen), where our friend and ally, Muley Boabdila (Abu Abdillah), was then and is now ruling. There was still another reason for my deciding to march on Tremecen, namely, that Muley Mohamete (Mohammad) was then in treaty with Cenaga (Sinan-Aga), as Your Majesty may have heard by my preceding dispatches.

I left Oran on Monday, the 27th of January, and after two days' march from that city rain began to fall in torrents, so much so that during three consecutive days and nights it hardly ever ceased pouring. Notwithstanding that I marched till about three leagues from Tibida, where we found a good number of Moors disposed to prevent our advance and to fight.[‡] On Friday, the 2nd, the enemy took up position on our rear-guard and began to attack us. Their force amounted to about 1,500 lances and seven or eight thousand foot, who, just as we were crossing a narrow pass, attacked our rear-guard so furiously as to pierce with their lances some of the horsemen in the rear. The captains in command of it were Don Martin de Cordoba, my cousin, elder brother of Andres Ponce, and Don Francisco [de Cordoba], my son; they had under them fifty lances each, besides a company of infantry composed of gunners (*escopeteros*) and cross-bow men (*ballesteros*). Seeing from the rear-guard, where I was at the time, that the Moors in large numbers were attacking our rear, I detached my son, Don Alonso, with the two companies of Don Juan de Villareal and Don Alonso Hernandez, making in all 100 lances and 200 more detached horse (*hombres sueltos*). This help was most opportune, for when they reached the spot the Moors were already fighting hand to hand with the Christians. An engagement took place, during which many of the former were slain before they could turn round and leave the field, which they did soon after. On our side, God be praised for it, we had only one man wounded. The battle over, we marched until we reached a spot half a league from Tibida, where we encamped.

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[*] 'Vous ferez bien dascentir ce quen est, et si trouvez convenable en pourrez touscher a aulcuns du Conseil en particulier, afin quilz y ayent regard et ne fassent nouvelleté."

[†] D. Alonso de Cordoba y Velasco, co. de Alcaudete, about whom *see* Vol. VI., Part I., p. 373.

[‡] "Y hasta tres leguas de Tibida no pudieron juntar caudal de moros para pelear comigo."

On the following day information was brought to me that the enemy was waiting in ambush to dispute the passage of a river in those parts, and that an immense number of Moors of this kingdom were on the other side of the river prepared to give us battle. The news was received with great pleasure by the men, sure as they were that God had given us the opportunity of obtaining a signal victory over the enemy. Having raised the tents early in the morning, and inspected the disposition of the ground, I placed my men in battle array and went on. On my arrival at the river I found the Moors were there in large numbers, cavalry as well as infantry, and so formed and distributed on both banks as to be able to attack us on four sides; yet so confident and spirited were the men when they first saw the enemy, that they begged to be led on, as if the Moors were not men like ourselves. As soon as I saw on which side the enemy was likely to attack us, I divided my small force into four squadrons. To Field-Marshal Don Alonso de Villareal I gave the command of the right and left wings, space between for the luggage. In the van-guard I placed 1,500 infantry (*hombres sueltos*) and 200 horse, together with 50 hackbutiers (*arcabuzeros*) or archers (*ballesteros*), this force to be under the command of Alonso Hernandez, my nephew, and Luis de Rueda, governor of Oran. In the right wing another of my nephews, Don Mendo, commanded, and in the left Field Marshal Don Alonso de Villareal. In the van-guard were the cavalry squadrons led by their respective ordinary captains, whilst the commanders of the whole force were, on the right, my son Don Alonso, with a few knights of the Military Orders (*cavalleros*), and on the left, the above-mentioned Don Juan de Villareal. In the centre (*batalla*) was another of my nephews named Don Juan

Pacheco, with the rest of the cavalry. I myself, with the royal standard, rode in the midst of them, ready to help in case of need either the van-guard or the wings.

In this manner we marched to the bank of the river, which happened to be much swollen owing to the late rains. We met there a number of Moorish riflemen (*escopeteros*) and mounted archers. Our men, after saying their prayers, dashed into the river, which they crossed deliberately with the water up to their breasts. This was done by the infantry as easily as if they were passing the river over a bridge. With still greater ease and rapidity did the cavalry cross. Once on the other side, the men formed themselves into a squadron, charged the Moors, put them to flight with considerable loss, and pursued them to the foot of a mountain close by, where they had an entrenched camp of their own, fancying that they could prevent our passage. Meanwhile, I was on the river bank waiting until the whole force had crossed over. This being done, and perceiving that the enemy did not dare to attack us, I continued the march to Tibida, where we arrived on Saturday, the 3rd of February, at night. According to all accounts, the Moors, who tried, though in vain, to defend the passage of the river, numbered 5,000 lances, and from 13 to 14,000 foot. Their loss was considerable; we ourselves had only one man killed and three or four wounded among the very first who crossed the river.

The night of Saturday, and the following Sunday till the hour of noon, I encamped in front of Tibida, owing to my having plenty of food for the men. There was also another reason for my halting at that spot. I wanted the men to dry their garments thoroughly, and rest and refresh themselves after so much fatigue and fighting hand to hand with the enemy for three consecutive days. Sunday night was also passed in a strong camp near this city, owing to a large number of Moors having suddenly made their appearance in the neighbourhood, and to the intelligence brought by the scouts that the King [of Tremecen] intended to come out and give us battle. That very night I sent him a challenge in writing, defying him to come out and fight, but having heard that on the preceding days, Friday and Saturday, I had defeated twice the "caid" of the Benarax,* on Sunday night he (the King) and most of his people left Tremecen, taking away with them their wives, their sons and property, went up to the Sierra (mountains), deposited there their valuables, and returned [to Tremecen]. Meanwhile I was marching towards the city. On the road thither I met some Moors, who told me where the enemy intended to make a stand, and where the king of Tremecen, himself at the head of all the forces of his kingdom, besides 300 or 400 Turks, lately arrived from the frontiers of Tunis, and other places in Barbary, was encamped.

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* "El alcayde de Benarax."

My preparations for the approaching battle were as follows:—I gave the command of the van-guard on the right to my son Don Alonso, and, with other captains under him, the left to Don Juan de Villareal. In the centre, with the banners and standards, I placed half the infantry, with their respective captains and volunteer gentlemen; the hackbutiers and sharpshooters (*tiradores*) being placed on both sides of the force, as was done at Tibida. I myself was in the centre with about 400 lances, whilst Don Mendo, my nephew, Don Alonso de Villa Real, with 1,500 men (*sueltos*), supported the cavalry right and left. The command of the rear-guard was entrusted to Don Francisco, my son, with seven or eight more knights (*cavalleros*) of the Military Orders under him.

So many were the Moors, that I dare not make a guess at their number for fear of falling short of the mark. Orders were issued for each man to do his duty in the position in which he was placed; no one was to ask for help or assistance except in cases of extreme necessity; if required they were to apply for it by means of express messengers, not verbally, for fear of the renegades in the Moorish camp, who understood Spanish, becoming thus aware of the weakest point for them to attack. The Moors, on the other hand, made also their preparations, and disposed their forces in the following order:—In the vanguard they had the standard of the king of Tremecen, with upwards of 1,500 lances of the royal guard, principal citizens, and a few of the Benarax, besides 2,000 cross-bow men (*scopeteros y ballesteros*), some archers, and an immense number of foot in the rear-guard. They charged us with upwards of 3,000 lances, two-thirds of whom were picked men (*gente erugida*) having shields (*adargas*), besides 400 or 500 cross-bow men (*scopeteros y ballesteros*) and horse and foot. The onset was terrible, for the Moors, thinking that the right wing was the weakest point of all, had chosen it for their attack. They accordingly came on, their cavalry in front and their infantry behind. So numerous were they that I assure Your Majesty that it looked as if the small force under my command was to be completely surrounded; but, so elated were our men with their late successes, that, though the enemy was within a hackbut shot, the Christians considered themselves invincible. In this manner we marched to the foot of a mountain, where a considerable force of the enemy lay in ambush. Then and there the King's riflemen (*escopeteros*), with about 200 lances, charged most vigorously, as if they cared nought for our small band. A Moorish rifleman (*escopetero*) then rode in front of his squadron, and, coming up to the spot where Don Alonso de Villareal was, challenged him to single combat. Seeing which from the place where I was, and observing that the Moor had advanced a considerable distance from his own squadron and approached our ranks, I concluded that he was about to desert his companions and turn Christian; and, yet, soon after

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I plainly saw him aim with his gun (*espingarda*) at Don Alonso, who, little intimidated by it, spurred on his horse, rode at the Moor, and slew him before he had time to apply the fire to his matchlock.* After this the Moors fired a volley at us; so tremendous it was that I thought they would have killed a good number of us, but God would not permit that one single man of our host should be wounded or hurt. I nevertheless pushed on with the van-guard, and saw the Moorish cavalry retreat. That convinced me, as I had suspected from the beginning that there was somewhere in the neighbourhood of that hill some ambush of the enemy. I immediately sent orders to the commanders of the force, that if they saw me go forward with the van-guard, they were to follow behind at a short distance without stopping to skirmish unless actually obliged; if, on the contrary, they saw the Moors in great number attack me in the rear or on the sides, they were to advance in order and do their best to relieve me. A similar order was sent to the centre, where the royal standard was, as well as to the rear-guard.

Having then said our prayers we advanced towards the hill, of which, as aforesaid, the Moors (*escopeteros*) had taken possession, but before we reached it there came out of an ambush thereabouts a body of Moorish cavalry and infantry, who charged us with great fury and courage and their usual war cries. I myself was then in the van-guard with Don Martin [de Cordoba], my cousin, and several more knights. So sudden and fierce was the attack, and the enemy so superior in number, that we had all of us to fight hand to hand with the Moors. Indeed, we were so hard pressed at one time, that had not Don Juan Pacheco, who was with the royal standard in the centre, come to the rescue with fifty lances, we should not have been able to repulse the enemy, as we did in the end.

All the men, horse and foot, as well as the volunteers (*gente sueltoa*), did this day perform feats of valour such as never were heard of before. Not only did we slay on this occasion most of their captains and principal men, besides the greatest part of the Turks, and numbers of their infantry, but we pulled down two of their standards, one of which was taken, whilst the other was picked from the ground and carried away by the Moors, owing to Don Martin's horse having been killed under him.

My said cousin had slain with his own hand the Moorish standard bearer (*alferez*), and seized the colours, when his own horse fell pierced by an arrow. This might have proved fatal to Don Martin; had not some men come to his assistance, he himself would have been killed by the Moors. As it is he lost (as aforesaid) the standard which he had won.

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* "Yo pensé que se venia [á] tornar cristians, y puso la mano en la cara para tirar à don Alonso, y él (este?) arremetió y matole antes que pudiesse dar fuego."

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The fight in the van-guard lasted for upwards of two hours and a half; in the rear-guard only three, because the enemy, finding that they could not break the rear, lost courage, and their attack on the centre was comparatively feeble, besides which Don Francisco, my son, behaved so well, that although he himself was wounded at the beginning of the fray, as well as many of his captains, the Moors could never make him retrace one single step. As the enemy's attack in the van-guard had been unsuccessful, and we were victorious everywhere, I sent to his relief two companies of volunteers (*gente suelta*) under Don Mendo, my nephew, and Don Juan de Villanueva, who, arriving on the spot, did great execution among the Moors with their cross-bows and hackbuts,* so much so that the enemy took to flight and went away. In short, after the battle my small band was in as good order of march as at the beginning.

Again on the road [to Tremecen] about 2,000 lances of the enemy made their appearance as if they intended to attack us. I sent against them a force of cavalry and volunteers (*gente suelta*), but the Moors would not wait; they all ran away, and one hour after not one was in sight. All the time the King [of Tremecen] was out of his capital, about one league from the spot where this last battle was fought. On the defeat of his army fire signals (*ahumadas*) were made to him, and he fled. Indeed, I do not hesitate to say that had I had on that occasion 1,000 lances more, and had the King dared to wait for us and accept battle, I should have gained a more signal victory over the enemy, and covered the field with the bodies of 20,000 Moors. May God be praised for his allowing me to achieve for His service, and that of Your Majesty, that which I have been desiring for so many years back, namely, such prosperous success for the Christian arms, and such an overthrow and shame for those of the Moors, that our superiority over them may for ever be established; for I do really believe that they are now completely powerless and can no longer resist Your Majesty's armies.

All the knights under my command have behaved admirably, and performed great feats of valour. There was scarcely one who did not fight single-handed with three or four Moors at a time, some of them with many more. This I can aver to Your Majesty, for being so few in number, when compared with the Moors, I had every opportunity of observing what each man did individually. Of the Christians only eight were slain, none of them of note; the wounded were ten or twelve, among them two knights (*cavalleros*). I hold it as a miracle that, riflemen (*escopeteros*) being so numerous among the Moors, not one of our men should have died from shots, and that there should be only three wounded, also that the greater part of the killed and wounded should have been

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* "En llegando estas compañias, hicieron les [á los Moros] mucho daño con las ballestas y arcabuzes, y retiraronse [los Moros]."

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from cross-bows, though the Moors had scarcely one hundred men so armed.*

I arrived in this city of Tremecen half an hour before sunset, and as the men were leaving the ranks to sack it, I did all I could to keep them outside the walls. That night I encamped with the whole force in an olive plantation (*olivar*) outside Tremecen, lest the men in attempting to sack the city should kill each other in the dark, or should deposit their arms at the doors of the houses, and the Moors should come and take them away.†

Tuesday morning I myself entered the city quietly ‡ and without noise. After giving order that all articles of food should be collected and stored in a building, I did my best to persuade the inhabitants, who had fled from the city in the first instance, to return home and take service under Your Majesty, so as to leave matters in the best possible order before returning to Mostagan.

This last point once settled, I will dispatch to Your Majesty in haste my son, Don Alonso, that he may report on the whole.—From the Mexuar § of Tremecen, 18 February 1543.

Spanish. Draft. pp. 7.

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13 June. **276.** The Duke of Florence's Bond.

S. E., Italia, L.
B. M. *Add.* 28,492.
f. 48.

The Most Illustrious Cosmo de' Medici, duke of Florence, engages to pay to the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor Charles V., king of Spain, etc., the sum of 150,000 gold crowns (*scutti d'oro*), the very moment that the keys of the castles of Firenze (Florence), Leghorn, Pisa, and others, are delivered unto him according to agreement.—Pavia,|| 13 of June, 1543.

Spanish translation from the Italian.

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* "Tengo por gran milagro que haviendo en la hueste enemiga el numero de escopteros que he dicho no se hallasse hombre muerto de escopeta, ny heridos mas que tres, y que la mayor parte de los muertos y heridos seau de ballesta, y cuando es bien sabido que no trahyan cieu ballesteros."

† "Y porque la gente se me desordenava por entrar al saco, hize gran diligencia en detenerlos, y alojarlos aquelle noche en un olivar cerea de la ciudad, porque no se matasse la gente en la ciudad siguiendo la noche y no me dejasse las armas à las puertas [de las casas ?], y me las llevasen los Moros."

‡ "Martes por le mañano entré en la ciudad quedo."

§ Mexuar (in Arabic *meshwár*) means council-room, seat of government, palace.

|| According to Vandenesse's "Itinerary of Charles V.," p. 536, the bond was signed at Pavia on the 12th. The delivery, however, must have taken place shortly after, for, as it will be shown hereafter, on the 4th of the ensuing July the Emperor, writing to Juan de Vega, his ambassador, says to him: "The Duke Cosmo has always been sincerely attached to Our Service, and We in return have constantly favoured and protected him. Lately We have given orders for the castles of Pisa, Leghorn, and Florence itself, which we held on security, to be delivered to him." Besides which, a modern Florentine historian adds: "Dopo haver Cosimo accompagnato l'Imperatore sino al stato de Milano, se ne ritornò à Firenze, ed il 3 di Juglio prese possesse della Fortezza [di Firenze] di dove ne uscirono le truppe Spagnuole, e per procuratore prese possesse delle fortezze di Pisa e Livorno (Leghorn), il che finalmente lo rese Principe independente."—*Compendio della Storie Fiorentina. Firenze*, 1811. 8°, p. 119.

1543.
27 June. **277.** CAPT. POLINO to the GOVERNOR OF TERRACINA.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
C. 23, *Fasc.* 111.

Assures him that the Grand Turk has given orders to Barbarossa not to attack the domains of the king of France, nor those of his allies.

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.*

1 July. **278.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P. *Fasc.* C., 23.

Beg him to write to the officers in charge of the "commissariat" in Flanders to prepare and get ready eighty good-sized waggons (*carriages suffisantz*), furnished with draft horses and every other thing else required, as well as one hundred and sixty more horses of the class called "limoniers" to drag artillery, ammunition, and covered carts (*clos chariotz*), the whole train to be at Guisnes for the 16th inst.—London, 1 July 1543.

French. Original. p. 1.

4 July. **279.** KING HENRY to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Rep. P. *Fasc.* C., 23.

Informs her that he has recalled one of his ambassadors, that is Messire Thomas Seymour, who is to come back [to England], leaving behind his colleague the dean of Canterbury (Nicholas Wotton).

Signed: "Henry."

Addressed: "To the Dowager Queen of Hungary."

French. Original. p. 1.

10 July. **280.** KING HENRY'S PRIVY COUNCIL to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch.
Corresp. Engl., 11.

In obedience to the King's commands, and in his name, We beg leave to inform you of the military preparations which the kings of Denmark and Sweden are making. It is reported that they have already twenty warships at sea, and intend, as it is rumoured, assailing the coasts of Holland and Zeeland.

In two or three days the King Our master's fleet will be ready to go to sea. Please let Mr. de Chantonnay know of it that he may report to the Emperor.—10 July 1543.

French. Original. p. 1.

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* This is inclosed in another of King Henry's Privy Council to Chàpuys, dated Aug. the 7th, which is preserved in the Imperial Archives of Vienna. It is in Italian, a copy of it was procured by the king's agent in Venice (Harvel ?) and forwarded to England. As to Polino himself, his true name was Antoine Paulin, baron de la Garde, at the time Francis' agent in Constantinople. *See* Vol. VI., Part I., pp. 406, 464.

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10 July. **281.** KING HENRY to the DOWAGER QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. Corresp. Engl.

She may dispose of 40,000 ducats, which he is willing to lend to the Emperor for the expenses of the war against the Turk.—Hampton Court, 10 July 1543.

French. Original. p. 1.

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4 July. **282.** The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to JUAN DE VEGA, his Ambassador at Rome.

S.E., L. 1. f. 93.

The Marquis de Aguilar,* Our late ambassador in Rome, having petitioned Us to employ him somewhere else, and to appoint another person in his room to represent Us in that court, We have selected you, Juan de Vega, to fill his place near the person of His Holiness the Pope, &c.

Ever since Our landing at Genoa you have had cognizance of, and taken part in, most of the political affairs treated of and discussed here in Italy, chiefly those relating to Rome and the interview (*abocamiento*) which We held with His Holiness at Bossa,† since you yourself were one of those selected to treat with His Holiness' deputies. You must, therefore, be well informed of the present state of public affairs in Christendom, of the proposed meeting of the General Council at Trent, of the defence and resistance against the Turk, the war with France, and other matters, public as well as private, concerning Our Imperial person and dominions. But though We consider you, owing to your above-mentioned intervention in those affairs, sufficiently well acquainted with the state of politics at present, yet We must remind you of what passed at Our conference (*abocamiento*) with His Holiness and his ministers at Bossa, in order that you may proceed in the mission on which you are now sent with perfect knowledge.

And to begin by the conference (*abocamiento*) with the Pope, We declare that notwithstanding the mistrust and suspicions cleverly instilled into His Holiness' mind respecting Our treaty of alliance with England and other particulars, of which you have since been informed, the interview, as you saw, was cordial and friendly on both sides. We gave His Holiness ample reasons to justify Our conduct with respect to the King of England, and proved to him that We could not under the circumstances have acted otherwise, and His Holiness seemed quite satisfied with Our reasoning.

In a like manner Our personal communication with His Holiness, the conferences which you and other ministers held

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* Don Juan Fernandez Manrique left Genoa for Spain in June. *See* above, p. 384.

† "Bossa," thus in the original draft, of which I have obtained a copy from Simancas; but *Bassetto* or *Bussetto* must be meant.

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with the Papal deputies on the proposed peace with France, the assistance against the Turk, the General Council of the Church, the disposal of the duchy of Milan, Ascanio Colonna's affair, the creation of cardinals, the daily abuses, grievances, and wrongs (*suirazones*) of the Apostolic See against the prelates and churches of Our Spanish kingdoms, and last not least, the compensation due to the bishop of Valencia, passed off very well.

Concerning the peace with France, His Holiness the Pope tried to influence Us, as you saw, by various ways and offers which as many well-intentioned and zealous persons, even the cardinals there present, have since owned, were not only insufficient, but more general and uncertain than those proposed on former occasions, especially as His Holiness gave Us to understand that the offers did not proceed from king Francis or by his will, only that he (the Pope) imagined that the King would approve of them. We excused Ourselves from listening to such offers and conditions, all the time touching lightly on the reasons and arguments that served most Our purpose, saying, among other things, that We saw no security nor trust in a negociation of that sort, which We peremptorily and at once refused to entertain. Otherwise (We said), matters being in the condition in which they were and still are, people might say that proposals of peace, under the circumstances, were only intended to deceive Us, make Us lose time, and impede all remedy against the Turk and against king Francis. Even if the latter had then chosen to part company with the Infidel, of which, however, We saw no sign or appearance, this would have been of no use at all to Us. The Grand Turk (Solyman) has already advanced so far that he cannot retreat, since he has actually reached Bellgrado (Belgrade), whilst his fleet is in sight of the coast of Messina. To these arguments of Ours neither the Pope nor his cardinals had anything to reply, thus showing plainly enough that all admonitions and persuasions on their part were merely intended to accomplish their mission of peace with little or no hope at all of bringing it about.

Then We tried to persuade His Holiness to declare against king Francis, since (said We) the truce of Nizza had been professedly infringed by him, and he had also done other malicious acts, such as being in actual league and confederacy with the Turk, and bringing him down against Christendom at large. The Pope, however, excused him (king Francis) by saying that he was not quite sure of the above-mentioned confederacy and alliance between the King of France and the Grand Turk having been effected, and suggesting that We had better wait until the galleys and galleons of France (*las galeras y galeazas*) ready to sail from the ports of that country had actually joined the Turkish fleet. That was perhaps the fit time for the declaration, though His Holiness still insisted particularly on the inconvenience and danger of making it at this

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juncture, and on the harm which it might entail upon the Holy See, for should he (the Pope) make it as requested, king Francis might perhaps out of spite forsake his obedience to the Church.

Perceiving that the Pope could not be persuaded to issue the declaration asked of him, We urged him to make at least some sort of manifestation of his readiness to help against the Turk by sea, as well as by land, and that in consideration of the imminent danger in which Christendom lay, and the great expense We have already sustained, and are likely to sustain in future, against king Francis and the Infidel Turk, he should help Us with men and money. His Holiness then engaged to send to Hungary 4,000 Italian foot, adding that he could not possibly furnish a larger contingent owing to the necessity in which he was of providing for the defence of the maritime towns on the Mediterranean coast belonging to the Church. He also made use of fine words respecting his own help and assistance by sea, in case it should be wanted.

With regard to the General Council, His Holiness' deputies at the conference proposed in his name the suspension thereof until the present troubles in Christendom had passed away, and the Turk's powerful fleet had sailed off from these seas. They also proposed that instead of Traento (Trent) another place should be designated for the meeting of the Council, that town being (they said) notoriously badly situated, unhealthy, and insufficiently provided with food, suitable lodgings, &c., besides open to suspicion (*sospechosa*) to many people. To this proposition Our ministers objected, alleging that at the diet of Ratisbon His Holiness' deputies had been the first to name Trent as the most commodious and fit place to hold a Council in. Now that the necessity of a Council of the Church was greater than ever, the States of the Empire insisted upon its being held immediately, and We Ourselves could not consent to its suspension, nor to the proposed change without consulting them first thereupon, both they (the States) and Ourselves having conjointly made an application for it. Indeed, before introducing an innovation in that particular, it would be requisite to consult the States of the Empire lest more confusion should be created in the affair than there is at present, and the people of the States be thrown into a state of exasperation through it.* The above considerations in an affair of such importance His Holiness promised to take into account, and, after hearing the report of the cardinals assembled at Parma for the purpose, take his final resolution on the whole.

Respecting the State of Milan, after the Papal ministers calling the attention of Our deputies to the heavy and dangerous charge imposed upon their master, the Pope, of declaring war to king Francis on account of that duchy, and the unnatural indignation ot king Francis and his people on hearing of that declaration against him and them, and of a war proclaimed to expel them out of Italy, the Pope's ministers did nevertheless hint that they would make no difficulty as to that and other points connected with it. Of the duke of Castro's proposition no particular mention was made, nor was any difficulty raised about it; neither was there any remark made respecting the form of the investiture, or the nature of the fief. With regard to the fortresses and castles, the Papal ministers agreed to their remaining in the hands of trusty persons and governors appointed by Us, provided in the deed of investiture no mention was made of the said security,* lest the rest of the princes and powers of Italy should think that by doing so We want to retain possession of them indefinitely. With regard to Parma and Plasencia (Piacenza), they proposed that a legal investigation should be made as to whether those two cities are or are not dependencies of the State of Milan, because if they are, there will be no difficulty in incorporating them, whereas if they are found to belong to the Church, His Holiness will not take them away; by which words the Papal deputies meant, as We presume, that His Holiness would be glad that means were found for their incorporation with the State of Milan. As to the price to be paid for the investiture, there was a great difference between the sum offered in the first instance [by Pier Luigi Farnese] and the one afterwards proposed, for although the Papal deputies described the investiture as a most important act, extolled Our willingness to facilitate the cession of the Duchy, and showed great desire that it should take place, yet when it came to fixing the sum, they merely said that they would do their best to pay down one million of gold pieces at such dates as might be fixed upon beforehand. Having, however, represented to them the great difference there was between this sum and the two millions originally offered, it was agreed that they will see on their side what more they can do, if We Ourselves promise to look out for the means of splitting the difference. We have already written for the opinion of councillors and other persons, whose advice We intend to follow in these and other matters, so that after two or three months at the utmost We shall be able to state what Our resolution on the whole is. All this has been done with a view not to take any definite engagement in the matter, nor destroy the hopes which the Pope and his family may have conceived, and in the meantime decide what is best and most convenient for Us to do. We must also add for your information that the Pope's ministers, when questioned as to the price offered by them for the investiture, affirmed that the offer of two millions never came from His Holiness,† but from the

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* "Y que seria muy necessario que antes que se inovasse cossa alguna con los dichos estados, por no hacer cossa de mas grande confussion, ó por ventura de extrema desesperacion."

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* "Con que se hiciesse de manera que en la dicha investidura no se haga mencion dello."

† The copy has "Su Magestad," which is decidedly a mistake of the writer or copyist. "Que la oferta de los dos millones no habia procedido de *Su Magestad* (r. Su Santidad), mas que los que habian hablado en ello, se habian alargado."

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people commissioned to that effect, who had by far exceeded their instructions.

In the Colonna business His Holiness and his ministers are satisfied that a marriage between his own grand-daughter and Ascanio's son should be arranged, as by that means the differences existing between the two families, and the expenses of the war against Ascanio (for which His Holiness claims to be paid), might be settled more favourably. As far as can be gathered His Holiness insists upon being paid, and will not abate his demand unless the proposed marriage be effected. As soon as We can ascertain what Ascanio Colonna's intentions are, and what his son (Fabricio) thinks of it, We will try and do Our best in that affair.

If that marriage is effected, of course all negociations respecting that of the Duke of Orleans must fall to the ground. Most probably His Holiness will go on negociating without coming to a final resolution until he sees the turn present affairs will take, and whether the investiture of Milan is given over to his grandson in the manner and form and for the price he offers; though, on the other hand, if We are to believe what his ministers say, and the intelligence We have received from other quarters, there is little appearance of that marriage being concluded, especially since the Pope has refused to give Parma and Piacenza as a dower for his grand-daughter, and, even if the Pope makes an offer likely to tempt the King of France—such as to help and assist him in his wars—We do not think he will ever carry it out, however inclined he may be to do so, in order to avoid expense, and not get into new difficulties.*

Respecting the creation of Cardinals, His Holiness, despite the persuasions and arguments of Our ambassadors, seems still determined not to bestow any hats on prelates of Our various realms without first giving two to the French. Indeed it is rumoured that his intention is to give one to the brother of Mr. de Hannibalt, and another to the brother of the French ambassador residing at the Roman court, all the time giving Us to understand that should We treat with him, he might (*podria*) appoint as many as eight of Our subjects, whether Germans or Italians, who would therefore be at Our devotion. We have replied that We much prefer having no cardinals at all in the college than to furnish His Holiness with an occasion for appointing more Frenchmen, since king Francis alone has already more cardinals than all the rest of the Christian princes put together, so much so, that when a new Papal election comes to take place, he will be able to make a Pope entirely to his own taste; God knows what people the French are to be trusted with such a power! In conclusion, this point of the cardinals' hats remained unsettled, though His Holiness promised to act in the matter in such a way that We shall have no reason to complain, and both Santa Croce and Farnese—the two cardinals appointed by His Holiness to treat with Our ministers—assured the latter that were We to treat with His Holiness about Milan, and should he in consequence declare against France, he would act in this and other matters at Our pleasure. To these assurances on the part of the two cardinals, Our ministers did not fail to reply that the creation of cardinals had nothing to do with Milan and its investiture; it was an entirely independent matter, and it was quite unnecessary to lay down conditions about things to which His Holiness was bound by honesty and reason.

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* "Si el Papa no passa mas adelante á offrescer alguna assistencia particular al dicho Rey de Francia, en sus guerras, lo qual es de creer que no hará aunque tuviese voluntad para ello, por excusar gasto y no se obligar à mas grande peso."

With regard to the harm and injury * done to Spain [in ecclesiastical matters] His Holiness and his family (*los suyos*) did certainly shew great resentment at the warrant (*pragmatica*) issued by Us, whilst on Our side We have represented to him, in the most moderate and respectful terms, the just causes We had for issuing the said warrant, and how scandalous and intolerable were the grievances of which the Spanish prelates complained, so much so, that those who came over with Us to Italy, begged His Holiness to remedy the many abuses and extortions complained of. It was definitely agreed between His Holiness and Us, that you (Vega) should hold a conference with the deputies appointed by him, and devise means for the remedy of the grievances complained of, His Holiness at the same time giving Us to understand that the grievances in question would be redressed. It is for you (Vega) to solicit and procure the required remedy in conformity with the Instructions of Our Council of Castillo, as well as the memoranda of the prelates themselves herein inclosed, or which may be sent to you hereafter.

Respecting the archbishop of Valencia, His Holiness and his ministers, as well as the rest of his cardinals, did certainly shew much displeasure and sorrow at hearing of the offence done to him, as well as to the Holy Apostolic See and the Church in general. They did not fail to speak with the greatest reprobation of the fact that a dignitary of the Christian Church should have been obliged to pay a heavy ransom, besides being kept under restraint, unless he paid down the excessive sum demanded of him.† His Holiness has promised to dispense the Archbishop of any promissory oaths he may make, and We on our part have taken the engagement, that on his arrival at Parma His Holiness will lay the whole affair before the Sacred College of Cardinals that they may well consider the affair, and will himself decide according to their deliberations. All this His Holiness has agreed and promised in full to do; it is for you, Vega, to

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* "Agravios y sinrazones."

† "Y vituperaron reciamente el rescate que le han hecho pagar, y la obligacion en que quieren tener al dicho arçobispo, y han ofrescido de dispensar en el en todas promesas."

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remind His Holiness of his promise; for as the affair was discussed in Consistory, it was then and there surmised that similar acts of violence might, perhaps, be practised upon especial members of the Sacred College of cardinals, and the threat must needs produce its effect.*

In short, We endeavoured at Our conference to persuade His Holiness that We wished to live in good harmony and intelligence with him, to help and assist him in anything concerning his own authority and the welfare of Christendom, to continue to be the protector of his family without scruples of any sort, trusting that he and his family will reciprocally do that kind of work which is most conducive to those ends. As far as We can judge from appearances His Holiness and his ministers seem contented and satisfied with the arrangement; the only difficulty that remains is that His Holiness is very ambitious of the prosperity and aggrandizement of his family, and his own relatives are very desirous of it. This will be a matter of consideration for Us, and We shall act according as they themselves do, and as the course of events may dictate.†

As future events shall determine Our tone of conduct, We will write to you frequently as to what you are to say and do in your negociations with His Holiness. Every day and hour novelties and changes occur in politics, which render it necessary, according to time and circumstances, to change Our advice. We recommend you to take especial care, now and in future, to keep on good terms with His Holiness' ministers, and by all means in your power which you may consider profitable try and maintain good relations, agreement in Our line of action, and goodwill between Him and Us, which is not only very important and necessary now for Our own private affairs, but likewise for those of Christendom at large, and those of Italy in particular. You (Vega) shall be on the alert and try to ascertain what attempts are being made there in Italy by princes, powers or private persons, to thwart Our plans, so that such attempts, if made, may be defeated and counteracted in the best way possible according to time and circumstances, all the time assuring His Holiness in Our name that as far as We are concerned We shall do Our best, and never fail in acting as may be most convenient and proper for the continuance of Our mutual good relations as aforesaid. You shall, moreover, take care to call the attention of His Holiness and of his ministers and cardinals to public affairs and to Our own, and admonish the latter to look upon them with such interest, as is befitting and reasonable.‡

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* "Y la cosa se ha hablado de manera que podrian entender que se podria usar de hazer otro tanto especialmente contra algunos cardenales."

† "Sobre lo qual se mirará de ussar segun los terminos que tenran, y el successo de las cosas lo mostrará."

‡ "Assegurando à Su Sant^{d} para este effecto por nuestra parte de lo que à Nos tocará de hacer, y que en ello no habrá falta en ningun tiempo, y diziendo lo que mas à proposito conviniere para conservarla como está dicho, no dexando por eso de avisar à Su Sant^{d} y amonestar à los suyos para que las cosas publicas y nuestras sean miradas como es razon."

There is no need for Us to recommend to you the Duchess of Camarino's affairs.* We trust that you will take the same care of them as if they were Our own. You shall, however, attend most particularly to what you may deem most convenient and suitable to secure her remaining in His Holiness' favour and on good terms with the Papal family; and let this be done in such a manner that His Holiness and his family may hold her in the esteem that she deserves, and that no displeasure (*sin sabor*) comes to her from that quarter. This you shall endeavour to accomplish and procure by dint of wise talking with and proposing to the one and to the other of the parties what you may deem just and reasonable, taking care that as far as Our daughter herself is concerned, no novelty be introduced in her household, nor provision made therein from which she may receive displeasure or harm. You are to take particular care of that, and see that Our said daughter, and Lope de Guzman, the chief of her household, may be completely satisfied on all points. Let, however, this be done with dexterity and discretion.

You must have heard of the treaty and capitulation lately made between Us and the Most Serene king of England, and what passed between Us and His Holiness on account of that, and likewise what was said in the conferences We had on the subject. In conformity with that You will try and do Your best to prevent the Pope from proceeding *de facto* and urgently against that King at the request or instigation of king Francis, or assisting the latter against England on the plea that the King of that country has denied and still denies his Apostolical authority, for the differences and enmity now existing between the kings of England and France have nothing in common with the Pope, but have arisen out of the failure by king Francis to pay money and interests due, and other causes, as We are informed.

With regard to the Venetians, their Republic has made with Us a league and confederacy for the defence of the duchy of Milan, and although of late years they have been strongly, and in various ways solicited and requested by the king of France and by the Pope also, to break that friendship and unite with them, the Republic has constantly refused to listen to and enter into negociation with them, declaring that they intend to remain faithful to Us, and keep Our friendship, as their acts have since proved. On Our side everything has been done to preserve that friendship and gain time (*para entretenellos*) as it is fit and convenient to do. You are, therefore, to continue in that path, availing yourself for the purpose of the intelligence possessed by Our ambassador to the Republic, Don Diego de Mendoza, by whom We Ourselves are fully informed of whatever occurs there, as well as of any negociations they may enter into with the Turk or with other powers. It must, however, be observed that

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* Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter, first married to Alessandro de Medici, duke of Florence, and afterwards to Ottavio Farnese, duke of Camarino.

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although they (the Venetians) must always be told and assured that We entirely trust in them, and firmly believe that they will keep their engagements faithfully and be Our good friends and confederates; though they must be also told that in case of need they will be attended to, and helped by all suitable and convenient means, yet it is very important to keep a vigilant eye on them, and prudently and artfully watch their movements, which are always directed to their own profit and gain. Indeed, it is a known fact that the Signory of Venice has been at all times, and at this moment more than ever, solicited by the king of France and also by the Turk, as above said, to forsake Our friendship and alliance and make a league against Us. Even the Pope, as We are told, has often solicited the same from the Venetians, asking them to make a league with him on the plea that Italy must needs be defended against foreign aggression. It is very important that, conjointly and in common with Don Diego, you (Vega) keep watch over the Venetians, and should His Holiness resume the past negociations with their Republic, you are to take care and prevent anything being done or concluded in that line without Our knowledge, for there are plenty of reasons for that; besides which it is highly important for Our Royal and Imperial crowns, as well as for the minor Italian powers, that a league of the kind be at any rate prevented. Nor could the Pope on the above considerations, and owing to the obligation under which he stands to Us by former treaties *(conciertos)*, as well as by the fief of Naples, take such a step without Our intervention and participation (*comprehension*) in such a league.

Genoa is under the Holy Roman Empire, and consequently under Our protection, and therefore that Republic having always shown affection for Our service, We have constantly attended to its protection and defence, and intend doing so in future. You, Vega, are to do the same in Our name, and favor it to the utmost of your abilities. Prince Doria being the sort of person you know, it is very important that as far as the preservation of the Republic itself, the defence of Our duchy of Milan, and Our general service in Italy are concerned, you treat him with respect and confidence, writing frequently to him and informing him of all occurrences and events likely to disturb the peace of Italy, at the same time trying to please him in any particular thing he may require of you; for Prince Doria is a person of such quality and parts that he must needs be considered and attended to in every way personally and politically.

The duke of Ferrara, though married to a sister of the king of France,* has shewn and is still shewing goodwill towards

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* The duke of Ferrara (Alfonso I. d'Este) died in 1534. He was succeeded by his son Hercole II. (b. 2 April 1508, d. 3 Oct. 1558), who, in 1527, married Renée, second daughter of Louis XII., king of France, and Anne de Bretagne. Claude, the eldest, had since 1514 been married to François, count of Angoulême, and duke of Valois, who succeeded Louis XII. on the throne as Francis I. of France.

Us and Our affairs, and We, on the other hand, have shewn trust and reliance in him. You are accordingly to manifest towards him and his subjects that same confidence with which We treat him, but at the same time be exceedingly watchful and vigilant (though without shewing mistrust), so as to see how he will act in future. Should you have any suspicion about him, you, Vega, are to let Us know immediately. Meanwhile, should the Duke happen to ask you for any favour at Rome, either with His Holiness or with his cardinals, you shall render such offices as may seem to you most convenient, so as to let him know that it is Our intention to befriend and protect him, being as he is a vassal of the Holy Roman Empire for Modena, Rezzo (Reggio) and Rubiera, and also in return for the friendship he has hitherto shewn towards Us. This, however, to be done in such a manner that His Holiness may not take offence, and that the Duke may perceive that We wish him well and intend to protect him.

The Gonzaga of Mantua have always been, and are now particularly attached to Our service. We implicitly trust in them, and firmly believe that whatever may be the course of political events, the Duke * and his family will continue as hitherto to serve Us affectionately, not only out of gratitude for the favours We have bestowed on them, but also on account of the close relationship which now unites Us to him, the present Duke having married one of the daughters † of the King of the Romans, Our brother. In short, you, Vega, are to favour the Duke's affairs and those of his family at Rome as if they were those of a prince belonging to Our own family.

For the duke of Florence We did lately what you must have heard of. Not only did We place him at the head of his Ducal State, and protect him afterwards in the possession of it, but We have since delivered to him the castles of Florence and Liorna (Leghorn), which We held as security. We are sure that the Duke fully acknowledges this and other favours of Ours, and therefore he is to be helped and assisted by you in whatever he may need or that may be requisite for the pacification and preservation of his state, and especially in any ecclesiastical business he may have at the Roman Court, shewing him and his ministers that trust which he well deserves.

The Republic of Sine (Siena) has always shewn affection for the Holy Roman Empire and for the Emperor, Our predecessors, as well as for the Catholic king of Spain (Ferdinand), Our grandsire of glorious memory, and for Us; but by cause of the parties, enmities, and feuds that have arisen amongst its citizens, several riots and revolutions have naturally occurred, bringing in their train death, loss of property

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* That is, Francesco III., who succeeded his father Frederico in 1540. He died on the 21st February 1552, and was succeeded by his brother Guglielmo.

† That is, Francesco Gonzaga III., married to Catharine of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand, king of the Romans.

and other damages, so much so, that had We not interfered from time to time and tried to set the Sienese at peace, helping them efficiently when they were in need, the ruin of their Republic would surely have been accomplished.

A few years ago the duke of Malphi,* by Our appointment and in Our name, resided among the Sienese, and managed to keep them in order and at peace. After him came count Sfrondato, the Milanese senator, who was also there in Our name. We are now sending thither Don Juan de Luna, who by enforcing the laws and ordinances now in force in the Republic, will keep the citizens at peace and in tranquillity. With him you are to live in harmony and good intelligence, and should he have to apply to you for favor and help in affairs concerning the community, or likely to promote the welfare of the inhabitants, you are to help and assist him with your influence [at Rome], always bearing in mind that the Pope has constantly kept his eye fixed on Siena, and has at times spoken to Us about certain property of his, and even solicited Our co-operation to that effect. This, however, We have always refused, owing to Siena being a dependency of the Holy Empire. Should the Papal ministers or the Sienese themselves speak to you on the subject, you will refer them to Us, without entering into particulars or stating your opinion in the matter, lest the Holy Father or his family should entertain further hopes, or the suspicions and fears which the Sienese still have of Our giving them up to the Pope should be strengthened.

As to Lucca, its citizens are living at peace with each other, and are quiet. Though the inhabitants are chiefly in mercantile relations with France, they have always shewn respect and consideration for Us and for the Holy Roman Empire, and whenever they have wanted and applied for Our help and protection, We have willingly granted it to them. You, Vega, are to treat them like the Sienese.

The duke of Urbino † has constantly shewn affection to Our service, and gratitude also for what We did for him when We conferred on his brother the Duchy of Sora in the kingdom of Naples. This We did, believing that he and his family would for ever remain in Our service; nor have We been mistaken in Our calculations. The Duke has hitherto done his duty towards Us, and We have protected him and favored him whenever there was need. Though he has openly made a contract with the Venetians, and entered the service of their Republic, We are not afraid of his turning against Us, though it may be said that some time ago a rumour was afloat that he was in secret intelligence with king Francis, and likely to enter his service soon. The Duke, however, is still in that of the Venetians, and no objection has been raised on Our part. It is incumbent upon you (Vega) to show confidence and trust in him and in his agents, and to go on favoring him as much as possible as long as he continues friendly.

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* Piccolomini, duke of Malphi (Amalfi). *See* Vol. VI., Part I.

† Guidobaldo II., from 1535 to 1578. He had a brother named Giulio della Rovere, who in 1549 became cardinal and archbishop of Ravenna.

College of Cardinals.—

The duke of Castro (Pier Luigi Farnese), previously to his father's elevation to the Pontificate,* had employment and pay (*essiento y provision*) from Us. He has since then shewn great attachment to Our person, and done good offices for Us with his father, the Pope. On that account, and principally out of respect for His Holiness, besides bestowing on the Cardinal his brother, the archbishopric of Montreale, We granted to him (the Duke) an annual pension of 15,000 ducats, payable in the State of Milan, and also conferred on him the marquisate of Novara. After that We gave to his son,† the duke of Camarino, the hand of Madame Margaret, Our daughter. He (the duke of Castro) has always shewn Us due gratitude. You shall take particular care to shew him every consideration and trust, communicating to him such of Our own affairs as you may deem convenient to reveal according to time and circumstances, and soliciting his help for the good issue of affairs, having regard to the terms the Pope may use, and the favorable or unfavorable disposition which he himself may manifest.‡

The very same conduct is to be observed by you with regard to cardinal Farnese, the Pope's grandson, as well as cardinals Sanctafiore and Sancta Croce. This, however, to be done with the care and vigilance recommended by Us in similar cases.

With Our viceroy at Naples (D. Pedro de Toledo y Osorio, marquis de Villafranca), the marquis del Gasto, Our governor in the State of Milan, and commander in chief (*capitan general*) of Our armies in Italy, at this present moment carrying on war in Piedmont, you shall keep up close and confidential correspondence, informing them both of whatever may come to your knowledge at Rome, or from other countries likely to affect Our present views, political plans, or affairs in which We are now engaged. The same to be done with the ambassador now residing, or who may hereafter reside for Us in Venice, and with any other, and each of Our ministers in Italy.

We say the same respecting the person whom Our brother, the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), may now or in future have to represent him in that capital. Besides keeping on the best possible terms with him, as is proper and due, you shall communicate without reserve all our plans and negociations, and at the same time help and favor him in whatever

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* Pope Paul III. (Alessandro Farnese) was elected in 1534. Pier Luigi was his son.

† Ottavio, who, in 1538, married Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter.

‡ "Y ayudaros de él para la buena enderesce (*sic*) de ellos, teniendo respecto á los terminos que usará el Papa y el contentamiento ó por el contrario que él tuviere."

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he may need, so that he himself may reciprocally help you in your negociations. If, however, you should deem it necessary, you may address yourself to the king of the Romans, directly and without his (the ambassador's) intervention, especially if the affair be a personal one concerning the said prince and king, Our brother. With the ambassadors of the Italian powers now residing, or who may reside in future at Rome, such as those of the republics of Venice, Genoa, Siena and Lucca, or the dukes of Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino, and others, you shall keep on courteous terms, showing friendship and trust in those whom you know to be sincerely attached to Our person, trying to gain over those who may not feel disposed to favor Our views, and above all endeavouring to secure the success of Our political schemes.

As to the ambassador of The Most Serene king of Portugal, Our brother, you shall communicate confidently with him as the representative of a Sovereign, who has always been, and still continues to be, Our friend.

You shall take care to keep up epistolary correspondence with queen Mary, Our sister, who is now governing for Us Flanders and the Low Countries. It is fit and convenient that she be informed as quickly and as often as possible of all events occurring there [at Rome], and especially in France, likely to affect or disturb Our political plans; and should she want at Rome any help in ecclesiastical affairs for herself or Our subjects in those countries, you shall do your best towards the accomplishment of her wishes.

The people of Rome, and the courtiers—Ascanio Colonna, and the rest of his family, have always been sincerely attached to the crown of Aragon, and to Our own of Spain. It is, therefore, incumbent upon Us to protect and favour them, and make them feel that We hold them in esteem and appreciate their services. This, however, must be done cautiously, with a certain moderation, and in such a manner as not to give offence to His Holiness, or arouse his suspicions. As to Ascanio himself, and his own private affairs, let Our conversation with the Pope, the substance of which is already in your hands, with other papers and memoranda, be a guide for your conduct. In short, should the Pope persist in the prosecution against Ascanio, you will receive orders from Us as to what you are to say and do. We need scarcely add that all the Colonnese, in or out of Rome, as well as all others attached to Our service and to the Holy Roman Empire, such as the Sienese, the people of Forli, the inhabitants of Viterbo and other Italian towns, are to be treated by you with similar attention and courtesy.

Towards the rival factions of the Orsini, you shall act as you can, talking to, and treating with them according to time and circumstances; you shall do your best to gain some of them over to Our party, or at least try that they do not become Our enemies.

Our advocates and solicitors at Rome.—For many years past Our ambassadors and ministers in that city, have been assisted in legal and ecclesiastical affairs by Alonso de Cuevas, a worthy man (*buen hombre*), who has served this office for many years. But as the accumulation of business at Rome might one of these days be such as to require more hands, you shall make enquiries among the Spanish community at Rome, and look out for trusty and experienced lawyers to replace him in case of his death, or help him in his labours if alive.

Respecting the affairs of Our lordships (*Señorios*) of Flanders and Burgundy, you shall assist and favor, as much as is in your power, the ecclesiastic whom Our sister the Dowager queen of Hungary may name, in substitution of the dean of Antwerp, taking of course particular care that all business at Rome of Flanders and Burgundy be quickly and satisfactorily dispatched through his agency.

Every year, on St. Peter's day, We are obliged to present to His Holiness and to the Apostolic See, in acknowledgment of the kingdom of Naples, one white steed, richly caparisoned.* To this end a sum of one thousand ducats is yearly remitted to Our ambassador at Rome, that he may purchase the said steed, have it caparisoned and kept in readiness for St. Peter's day. The money for this year has already been provided for; and the white steed has most probably been presented by Conchano. In like manner it is customary to present to His Holiness, on that very day and occasion, a sum of 6,000 or 7,000 ducats by way of annuity (*de censo*). Our viceroy at Naples, Don Pedro de Toledo, marquis de Villafranca, has received orders to this effect, and We have no doubt that he will attend to it punctually. Should he, however, tarry in making the necessary provision, it will be your duty to solicit and urge him to fulfil this important item of the deed of infeudation (*infeodacion*), so that every formality is complied with.

Some Neapolitans, who, having embraced the French party, were once judicially prosecuted and declared traitors, fled from their native country, and took refuge in Rome, a free city. Hitherto Our ambassadors and others have taken care that those exiles (*fueruscitі*) should do no mischief, and by applying to the Pope personally in Our name, have succeeded in having them expelled therefrom under some pretext or other. We are not aware of there being now at Rome any such exiles (*fueruscitі*), but if there are, it shall be your duty to deal with them as dexterously as your predecessors in that embassy have done, so that Our authority be upheld and Our service complied with.

The protection of the churches of Castille has been entrusted by Us to Cardinal Farnese,† and that of Aragon to

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* "Una hacanea blanca guarnecida."

† Alessandro Farnese, Paul III.'s grandson.

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the Cardinal of Mantua. Cardinal Cibo has the protection of those of Germany. To each of those cardinals protectors you can apply for help and assistance when required and convenient.

As to the prince-electors and German Lutherans, it will be your duty to be vigilant and watch their movements, so as to ascertain whether they are or are not in intelligence or treaty with Rome or with France, with the Grand Turk, or with the party opposed to that of the king of the Romans in Hungary. Should you hear of any such intrigues, you are to let Us know immediately, so that We may in time apply a remedy to the danger threatening Christendom at large and Our own affairs in particular.

The business of the Holy Office of the Inquisition at Rome must likewise be attended to; Doctor Taurique, its present proctor (*procurador*) will inform you of any solicitation he may have addressed in the name of the Holy Office, or of the Grand Inquisitor,* for which he requires your help and assistance.

The Marquis de Aguilar, Our late ambassador, had often been written to by Our command, with orders to try and procure the expediting of certain affairs belonging to churches, monasteries, and private individuals of these Our realms and lordships. Should any of them be still pending, especially those relating to the reformation of the Religious Orders, and monasteries in Our kingdoms of Castille, Our chapel and royal hospital, as well as the University of Granada, you shall do your best to obtain from His Holiness a prompt and favorable decision thereon.

Conchano the Secretary, who after the departure of Our late ambassador (Marquis de Aguilar), took charge of Our affairs in that Court, is consequently well informed respecting the above and similar applications, and others of less importance. He has been ordered to remain [at Rome] two or three months by your side, so as to instruct you in any particulars and sundry minor matters which have passed through his hands. You shall ascertain through him who among the Pope's ministers and cardinals, as well as principal men in Rome, are sincerely attached to Our person, and who are not, that you may know those in whom you can trust, and how you are to behave towards them.

You shall continually keep Us well informed of the course of affairs in that capital, either through the ordinary post of Rome and Naples, or, if the urgency of the case requires it, by express messengers dispatched in all haste, and you are likewise authorized to draw bills on the general Post Master to the amount required for such service.

The preaching of the bull of the Holy Crusade, in these Our Spanish realms, was of old granted to the Catholic

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* At this time D. Fernando Tavera, who died on the 1st of August 1545.

Sovereigns (Ferdinand and Isabella), Our predecessors, as it was also to Us who have succeeded them. This grant was generally made every three years, and its yieldings were and have been employed in the war against the Infidel, and the defence of Our frontier towns in Africa. Just now His Holiness has reserved the grant, as well as the bull, for the works (*fabrica*) of St. Peter. According to Conchano's last dispatch on this subject, there is every probability of the bull and breves being issued very shortly. Should there be any delay in this, it will be your duty to display all activity, and urge the expedition and delivery of the bull and papers joined to it, and once in possession of them shall address the whole to Our ambassador Figueroa, at Genoa, that he may, according to orders, forward the whole to Spain.

We did once obtain from the Apostolic See the concession of the fourth and a half fruits of all ecclesiastical rents in Our Spanish dominions, by means of a subvention towards the war against the Infidel. The present Pope lately confirmed the said concession, and when the marquis de Aguilar left Rome he brought with him to Spain the Papal bull and breves to that effect; but there remained still behind certain breves for the cardinals in that country which are indispensable for the Clergy in general. Conchano had orders to see to that, and procure that the breves should be expedited as soon as possible, as without them the execution cannot take place. Should the breves not be ready on your arrival at Rome, you will take care and solicit that they be at once drawn, signed, sealed, and forwarded to the Prince, Our son, in Spain.

Together with these Instructions you will receive two letters addressed to yourself, and another of credence for His Holiness the Pope, in which We beg him to grant that We may take possession of, and sell to Our profit, all the vassals and rents of the monasteries and abbeys in Castille, prepared as We are to give them in perpetuity such annuities (*juros*) in money, as will be equivalent to the ecclesiastical revenues enjoyed by the said monasteries and abbeys. The whole of the money derived from the sale to be spent chiefly in Our African frontiers and in war with the Infidels, as well as on other matters of urgency at this present moment,* the Papal concession to be made out in the same form and manner as the one which Pope Clement [VII.] once granted Us for the sale of the vassals and property of the Military Orders. A similar concession is now wanted from Pope Paul, only that it would be desirable that in exchange for the annuities (*juros*), which some monasteries and abbeys still possess on the royal revenue, they should get as equivalent a certain portion of the rents of the dismembered ecclesiastical benefices (*prestamos*)

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* "Para que nos podamos ayudar desto para los gastos de la provision de las fronteras de Africa y guerra contra infieles, *y otros gastos que de presenta se nos afrecen.*"

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that may happen to become vacant, with a view to the said annuities (*juros*) returning again to Our Royal Chamber, as will be better explained in Our letters.*

The above two concessions being most important for Our service, you are particularly requested to attend to them most carefully, not allowing the thing to drop until the grant has been obtained, and the bulls and breves made out. Should you meet with difficulties in the matter of the annuities (*juros*), you must still insist on the sale of the vassals and property belonging to the monasteries and abbeys of Castille, so that at least one part of the grant take effect as soon as possible.

We need not add here that respecting the injuries and wrongs which the Apostolic See is daily inflicting upon Our Castillian realms,† you are to do your best to procure the remedy thereof according to the memoranda and reports which Our Privy Council or the prelates themselves have already sent or will hereafter send you.

The dispensation procured for the marriage of Our son (Prince Philip), with the infanta of Portugal (Doña Maria) was defective in many places, owing to the names of some of their relatives having been mis-spelt. The breve itself was sent back to Rome for the errors to be corrected, and Conchano, the secretary, writes that another breve has been made out and will be sent forthwith. But as in the opinion of Our councillors it is important that the amended dispensation should be first sent to Us here, to have it torn in Our presence, you will take care that this be done before the bulls and breve for the Prince's marriage are expedited.

Some time before Our departure from Castille We wrote to the marquis de Aguilar to procure from His Holiness certain breves for the conversion and instruction of the Valencian moriscoes; but as the Marquis left Italy soon after that, We have not heard any more about it. Should Our request to His Holiness be dormant, let it be renewed and reproduced, according substantially with the papers then sent to your predecessor, because the matter is urgent and of the utmost importance for the security of that kingdom.

Azequia [Imperial Canal] of Aragon.

A Papal breve is wanted for the bishop of Elna, whom We have now presented to the bishopric of Lerida,‡ at the same time authorising him to punish (*castigar*) certain officials of the kingdom of Aragon, who were found guilty in the visitation and enquiry made by Our order. The papers and documents relating to this, and to the two preceding points, must be in the hands of Conchano, who will tell you whether anything has, or has not, been done about them. It will be your duty to see that every one of these three, or any other pending affairs, be despatched quickly, and as favorably as possible.

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* "Y assi mismo para que en lugar de los juros que tienen de las rentas reales algunas abbadias y monesterios se les anexen de los prestamos que vacaren otra tanta renta para que los dichos juros buelvan à nuestra Camara Real como mas particularmente vereis por las dichas nuestras cartas."

† "En lo que toca à los abusos, agravios y sinrazones que por la Sede Apostolica se hacen cada dia á nuestros reynos de Castilla, etc."

‡ Martin Valero, who, however, died before taking possession of his see, or executing the Emperor's commission. *See* Gams' *Notitia Episcoporum, &c.*

The expedition of bulls and breves, bearing on matters of Our own person, generally takes place gratis. Should money be required for things relating to Spain, you shall draw on Our treasury as is the custom and as Conchano will tell you.

Together with these Instructions You shall receive the presentation that We have thought fit to make for the churches of Segovia, Calahorra, Lerida, and Elna.* You will beg for their respective bulls, and procure them without loss of time, lest the interested parties should suffer from the delay. Where the provision of other Castillian churches is still awaiting His Holiness' approbation, you had better solicit the despatch of the bulls, &c.—Trent, 4 July 1543.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Idiaquez," with Seal.

Spanish. Original. pp. 36.

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* For Segovia, Antonio Ramirez, who occupied the see till his death in 1549; for Calahorra, Juan Ramirez, after whose death in December 1544, Juan Bernal Diaz de Luco, or Lugo, succeeded. For Lerida, Martin Valero, who died before taking possession of his bishopric, when Fernando Loazes was appointed.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 1, No. 1. The Emperor's powers to Chapuys are not to be found in Vienna, as are most of the papers belonging to his reign, but in Brussels, in the Archives of the Ducal House of Burgundy, where Gustav Bergenroth saw them, and had them copied for his own Collection of Letters and Papers (Brit. Mus. *Additional* MSS. 28,593, Vol. xxviii., f. 126). They are placed immediately before the Emperor's Instructions to his ambassador, bearing the date of the 2nd of May 1542; but as Chapuys himself, in his despatch of the 16th of April of the same year (Vol. VI., part I., p. 497), tells us that on Wednesday, the 14th, he went to Greenwich at the desire of the Privy Councillors for the express purpose of exhibiting to them his powers from the Emperor, and that on entering the Council Room he found to his great dismay that his secretary had given him a document very similar in context, though not the one wanted for the occasion, and that, having made his excuses, the privy councillors were satisfied with hearing from his lips the nature and substance of the missing official document, it is natural to conclude that what his secretary gave him was queen Mary's original powers in the Emperor's name, which had already been declared insufficient (Vol. VI., part I., pp. 502, 507), instead of those granted at Valladolid on the 2nd of May. The Queen's and Chapuys's excuses for the delay of ample powers from Spain may seem at first sight plausible enough, and yet the impatience of king Henry's privy councillors in a matter of such political importance had also its reasons. The Emperor's powers, alleged Chapuys, had in the first instance to be supervised, if not entirely drawn, by Granvelle; they were afterwards to be forwarded to queen Mary, the Regent of the Low Countries, to suggest such additions or amendments in them as she considered necessary for the intercourse of trade, etc. Granvelle was then at Genoa, where, on his return from Siena and Milan, he had been obliged to take refuge in consequence of the attempt made by French cruisers to capture the galley on board of which he was sailing for Barcelona. To Genoa, therefore, were the powers and papers sent for Granvelle's supervision; but when they arrived that minister had already sailed for the coast of Spain, and Suarez de Figueroa, the Imperial agent in that city, not considering himself authorized to open the parcel, sent it back to Spain. On the first day of April, Granvelle landed at Barcelona, and therefore could hardly have examined the powers before that date. Such explanation of the delay would be natural enough, were it not for certain discrepancies as to facts and dates which do not altogether dispel the suspicion that the tardy arrival in England of the Emperor's powers to Chapuys was not an accident, but done on purpose. On the 10th of June, six weeks after their being signed at Valladolid by the Emperor, they came to London, inclosed in a letter of the Emperor to Chapuys, which letter and powers the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner) put into the Imperial ambassador's hands. Sir Henry Knivet, Henry's ambassador in Spain, was the bearer of them; as he was returning to England through France, he fell ill, was obliged to stop at Orleans, and send his servants on with the letters and papers which Edmund Bonner, his colleague in the embassy, had entrusted to him (p. 23).

p. 18, par. 1, line 5. "Addressed to Councillor de St. Moris." This St. Moris, or St. Maurice, as elsewhere written, was a connexion on the female side of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle. His name was Jean; he had married the sister of François Bonvallot, abbot of St. Vincent, whose other and elder sister, Nichole, was married to the Emperor's Lord Privy Seal. He had, in 1540, been Imperial ambassador in France, and now we find him, in 1542, in the employment of the king of the Romans on a mission to Henry, which mission had no other object than to ask assistance and help against the Turk. St. Maurice being at the time in Spain upon urgent business of the Queen Regent in the Low Countries, Chapuys was requested to substitute him in his charge, which he did, though the application was at first refused.

p. 21, line 6. "Before the Bishop's departure for Flanders." "*Avant le depart de l'Eveque de Waistmestre pour Flandre*"; such are the words of the copy before me; but is it likely that Thomas Thirlby, recently appointed ambassador to the Emperor's Court in Spain, and who was to embark at Bristol or some other port on the south-west of England, should go first to Flanders? Most probably the allusion made by Chapuys to his own return from Flanders in July of the preceding year (Vol. VI., part I, p. 259) was the cause of the mistake, and that the Bishop's departure for Spain was really meant.

Most likely Chapuys's secretary—for the letter is not holograph—or else the deciphering clerk at Brussels, mistook *Spain* for *Flanders*, thus rendering the passage unintelligible. I have not seen the original; but I am almost sure that it stood thus: "Et que pour ruminer davantaige iceulx points avant le partement du dit evesque [pour l'Espagne] et aussy affin que les dits deputez puissent veoir ce que escripvois à sa dite maiesté en faveur et avancement des dites affaires le dit sieur roy m'a faict prier de non partyr d'auprez de luy (ou ay tousjours esté dois mon retour de flandrez) jusques à ce que le tout soit resoulou, ce que espere sera dedans demain."

p. 40, par. 2, line 20. "A good position in Denmark to the Emperor's nieces." The words are: "*que le duc de Holstein a dernierement offert une bonne position au Danemark aux nieces de l'Empereur.*" Kristiern, or *Christian* II., the dethroned king of Denmark, had been married since 1518 to Isabella, daughter of Philip of Austria and of queen Joanna of Castille, and therefore sister of Charles V. After the dethronement of her husband in 1523, Isabella led a wandering and miserable life, claiming in vain the Emperor's protection against the usurper. She died in 1527, leaving two daughters, *Dorothea* married to the Elector Palatine (Frederick), and Kristierna or *Christina*, who in 1533 became the wife of Francesco Maria Sforza, last duke of Milan, after whose death in Oct. 1535, she was again married to a son of the duke of Lorraine, who succeeded to that dukedom in 1544. Frederick I., who in these pages is generally designated as duke of Schleswig and Holstein, not as king of Denmark, reigned over the latter country till his death in 1534. He was succeeded by his son, Christian III., who in 1545 was finally recognized as king of Denmark. It was he, no doubt, who, in order to obtain from Charles the said recognition, made the offer alluded to in the text.

p. 69, No. 34. "The Queen Regent's Instructions to Messire Eustace Chapuys and Master Jehan de le Sauch." The second gentleman named in these Instructions had already been in England in 1525 and made part of the Imperial embassy in this country. This time, in July 1542, he came again to help Chapuys in the negotiation for a closer alliance, defensive and offensive, between Henry and the Emperor, at least in that part of it which particularly concerned the Low Countries, such as the intercourse of trade, the defence of Belgium should it be invaded by the French, etc.

p. 81, No. 38. "Chancellor Poyet to Mr. de Tournon." Poyet (Guillaume) was the son of a barrister (avocat) at Angers in France (dep. Maine et Loire). He gained reputation as a lawyer by pleading before the Parliament of Paris the cause of Louise de Savoie, king Francis' mother, who pretended to have certain rights to the confiscated estates of the Constable of France, Charles de Bourbon, slain at the siege of Rome in the Emperor's service. As a reward for his pleading (*plaidoyer*) in favour of that princess, Poyet was appointed "avocat general au Parlement," then "president au Mortier" of a court of justice, and lastly "chancellier." His ability in procuring funds for the Royal Treasury during king Francis's wars against the Emperor gained him the favour of that monarch; but having, as it appears, followed the party of Anne de Montmorency against that of the admiral of France (Philippe de Brion-Chabot), he fell a victim to Francis's capricious humour, was sent to prison and condemned to a heavy fine.

p. 113, line 2. "His (Fallaix) Instructions which he will show you." Falaix, Fallaix, or Phallaix, for his name is written in three different ways, was herald to the Order of the Golden Fleece under the appellative of "Toyson d'Or"; he was besides "esquire" to the Emperor in Flanders. His Instructions on this occasion were to try and procure from Henry assistance in men or money against king Francis, who, having unexpectedly, and without previous challenge, declared war to the Emperor, was on the point of invading Flanders. He came to England again in June 1542, for the express purpose of taking to Francis, conjointly with the English herald Garter, king Henry's and the Emperor's formal declaration of war against Francis.

p. 113, par. 2, line 1. "With regard to Tournehem and La Montoire." These were two small towns in Artois, afterwards called French Flanders. The name of the latter is variously written in Chapuys's correspondence, sometimes La Monterie, and at others La Moutiere, and even La Moutheria.

p. 140, line 3. "The French themselves." There is at the end of the sentence an unnecessary and erroneous repetition of certain words, which should have been left out, as being contradictory of the former statement. The entire sentence to be altered thus: "For it might happen after all that the French, themselves, would afford us an opportunity of shutting them out of their own country."

p. 140, line 19, at the end. The words "[in London]" are evidently out of place, and should have been inserted in the preceding line as follows:—"For the purpose, offering in the meantime to remain here [in London] as hostages, and to stake their lives for the fulfilment of the treaty."

p. 209, note †. There were two cardinals of the Farnese family during the sixteenth century: 1st, *Alessandro*, born in 1468, cardinal in 1493, and pope in 1534, as Paul III. He died in 1549, aged 81. 2nd, Alessandro, son of Pier Luigi, du. of Castro, and therefore grandson of the preceding; born 7th of October 1520, cardinal in 1534, died 1589. This is the one alluded to in the note, though, by a mere slip of the pen, he has been wrongly designated as "son," instead of "grandson," of pope Paul. Besides these two there was a third Alessandro Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza, son of Ottavio, duke of Camerino, and of Margarita, the Emperor's natural daughter, but better known in history as Alessandro di Parma, the general of Philip II. of Spain.

p. 212, par. 3, line 8. "My information is (I answered), that the duke of Florence [Gonzaga] has sent thither [to Genoa] one of his secretaries." Such is the literal translation of the Spanish text; but there must be error or omission of words in the passage, for the Gonzaga were never dukes of Florence, but of *Mantua*, whilst the name of the duke of Florence was

Cosmo *de' Medici*, who at that time was ruling over great part of Tuscany. Most likely the paragraph, most of which is ciphered, ought to be thus amended: "My information is that the duke of Florence, Cosmo de' Medici, sent thither one of his secretaries, and that the duke of Mantua [Gonzaga] did the same, but I believe that they and the others went thither merely for the purpose of congratulating the Emperor upon his safe arrival at Genoa." *See* Bradford, *Itinerary of Charles V.*, p. 536.

p. 213, par. 2, at the end. "And about M. de Granvelle's journey to Mantua for the purpose of the Diet." The words in the original Spanish are: *y sobre el viage de Monseñor de Granvela à Mantua para el proposito de la Dieta;* but it is to be presumed that by "Diet," the Pope in his inquiry meant that of Nürnberg in Bavaria, in which that minister took so conspicuous a part. No Diet or assembly was held at Mantua, which, though an Imperial city, was within the pale of the Italian Peninsula: a sort of thing which the German princes mostly disliked and always resisted, besides which the Emperor, as appears from his letter to Chapuys of the 30th of May (No. 145, p. 359), had some time before ordered his Lord Privy Seal to meet him in that city, where he himself stayed from the 27th to the 29th of June. As to the duke of Alburquerque (Don Beltran de la Cueva) and his secret mission, nothing is known. Neither Sandoval, the historian, nor Lopez de Haro, the genealogist who wrote about that chivalrous Spanish grandee, says one word concerning his mission to Rome.—*Nobiliario Genealogico de los Reyes y Titulos de España.* Vol. II., pp. 348–50.

p. 213, par 3. "The law-suit with the Genoese bankers." As early as the year 1526, perhaps before, the duke of Sessa, D. Luis Fernandez de Cordoba, Charles's ambassador at Rome, and count du Rœulx, his High Steward in Flanders, borrowed from certain Genoese bankers a sum of money, pawning as pledge and security for the payment of the same one diamond-ring, belonging no doubt to the Emperor, besides silver-plate and wearing apparel, the property of Andrea Doria. Notice of the jewel occurs already in 1533 as being still in the hands of a Genoese merchant, who would wait no longer for his money, and threatened to dispose of the pledge. (Vol. V., part I., p. 409.) Doria's "silver plate" and other effects were redeemed about that time, or shortly after, but the redemption of the principal jewel, and the payment of interest on the loan, gave rise to a law-suit, in which the marquis de Aguilar, then at Rome, as ambassador, had naturally to interfere on the Emperor's behalf. As Sessa, the ambassador, had died at Rome in 1527, and as the diamond ring and other jewels of the Emperor's had been pawned in his and Du Rœulx's name, it was necessary that the heirs-at-law of the former, and the Emperor's lord high steward, should lay claim to it after paying capital and interest. Of the jewel itself, no particular description is anywhere given; sometimes it is described as a "diamond ring," at others as a "valuable gem." Emperor Maximilian I., Charles's grandfather, is known to have once possessed a jewel of inestimable value, a fleur-de-lis set in diamonds, which he also pawned to Henry VII. of England for the purpose of carrying on war against the Venetians. As to the arch-duke Ferdinand, his grandson, more than once had he to pawn his jewelled gold crown to defray the expenses of his Hungarian and Turkish wars.

p. 229, last line. "The secretary of the Privy Council called at this embassy." In the note § corresponding to the above sentence, the Secretary is said to have been most probably "Sir John Mason," who, though at this time only a clerk in the Privy Council, had been formerly Henry's "secretary for the French tongue," and is occasionally called "second secretary to the King's Privy Council." There is, however, no particular reason to suppose, in this instance at least, that it was he (Mason) who took the King's message to the Imperial ambassador, for Thomas Wriothesley, the first secretary, was in continual communication with him respecting the treaty of alliance against France.

p. 238, No. 99. Though bearing the date of the 28th January, the letter (No. 99) is substantially the same as that of the 17th, only that it has by way of a postscript, entirely ciphered, and dated the 28th, the paragraph beginning :—"Madam,—After writing my letter on the 17th, the King's secretary (Sir Thomas Wriothesley) came to this embassy, etc." There are two copies of it, both in the handwriting of Chapuys's secretary, one of them being thus endorsed :—"Copie des lettres de l'ambassadeur de l'Empereur en Angleterre du 27 (*sic*) de Janvier 1543, *ou à la Royne en Flandre*," which would seem to imply that one of the letters, at least, was meant for the Emperor's perusal. As the latter was already in Italy preparing to wage war on France, it was the duty of his ambassador in London to inform him of whatever report concerning Francis and his ally the Turk might reach England, and as in most cases the passage of couriers through France was thoroughly interdicted, the Imperial ambassador had naturally to address his despatches through Flanders, to be afterwards transmitted to the Emperor in Italy.

p. 244, par. 2, line 14. "Inasmuch as the recovery of Marano, which belongs to the king of the Romans, is stipulated in the treaty of alliance." Marano, a fortress and port of Friuli on the Adriatic, in the Northern coast of Italy, or Lombardo-Venetian territory, was first taken from the Venetians by Charles V., and by him made over to his brother Ferdinand, then archduke of Austria and afterwards king of the Romans, who kept it till the end of 1541, when two Italian adventurers, aided by another named Spagnoletto, managed to surprise the garrison, consisting only of 40 men. Whether the enterprise, which proved completely successful, was planned by the above-mentioned, or what is more probable, had its origin in king Francis, then on the point of breaking the truce of Nizza and declaring war to the Emperor is uncertain, but the fact is that Francis accepted the offer, took the town under his protection, provided it with a French garrison, and kept possession of the place until the peace of Crêpy, when it was again restored to Austria.

p. 262, No. 109. Of Granvelle's letter to Chapuys, dated Nürnberg, 5th March 1543, two different drafts are preserved, one partly ciphered with the postscript at the end of it, another with decipherings but without the postscript. It is quite evident that instead of "Depuis cestes escriptes ay reçu celles de l'Empereur *en Italie*," the deciphering clerk ought to have read *par la voye d'Italie*, for Charles did not embark at Barcelona until the 1st of May, and landed at Savona on the 24th, Corpus-Christi day. *See* Bradford's *Itinerary of Charles V.*, pp. 535, 536.

p. 262, par. 3. "His [the Emperor's] departure from Madrid was fixed for the day after St. Matthias." Vandenesse's *Itinerary* does not always agree as to dates. According to Bradford's translation (p. 535), "Charles arrived at Madrid on the 30th of December 1542, stayed there until the 9th of February, and for the first time conducted the Crown Prince, his son, to the High Court of Justice. He left Madrid for Alcalá on the 1st of March." This is, perhaps, the proper place to observe that the dates given by Vandenesse do occasionally differ when compared with those mentioned in the letters and despatches abstracted in this Calendar. After all the Emperor may have fixed his departure for Barcelona on the 24th of February, anniversary of the battle of Pavia, or on the day after,—a usual and favourite practice with him whenever he had to start on some warlike expedition, especially against his inveterate enemy king Francis—but he was most likely detained a few days longer in order to invest, as he did, his own son (Philip) with the necessary powers to govern Spain during his absence.

p. 281, line 12. "Avecque *deux cents* (*sic*) chevauls et *mille* (*sic*) hommes de pied dont les quatre mille sont de la Haute Allemagne," are the words in the draft or minute; but there must be error, for the cavalry and the infantry seem equally out of proportion; 2,000 horse and 10,000 foot soldiers would be more adequate. Had the quantities been expressed in numerals the error might be easily explained, but being as they are in letters, there is no excuse for the blundering clerk who drew out the report.

p. 288, par. 2, line 12. Sittard or Sittaerd (Sittaërt), in the duchy of Juliers, three miles from Heinsberg, was the spot where the engagement took place. It may be that the news communicated to king Henry by the agent of Clèves in England, or by the French ambassador in England, was somewhat exaggerated (p. 310), but, on the other hand, it must be owned that neither queen Mary's letters to Chapuys, nor the "Advices from the Emperor's camp," under No. 126, p. 304, nor the semi-official report sent by the Council of Flanders (No. 171, p. 424–5), convince the readers that the engagement was a signal victory of the Imperialists over the enemy. Indeed, the historians of France, and among them Father Daniel, the Jesuit, speak of it as of a shameful and complete defeat of the Imperialists. *Le mois de Mars de cette annee* [1543] (are his words) *commença par la sanglante defaite de Philippe de Croys, duc d'Arscot, qui après avoir ravitaillé Heinsberg, fut atteint au retour par Martin Rossen, général de l'armée du duc de Clèves, aupres de Zittard, taillé en pièces avec perte de trois mille Imperiaux tuez sur la place, d'un plus grand nombre de prisoniers, de tout leur bagage et de toute leur artillerie.* (*Histoire de France*, Amsterdam, 1720, 4to., 2nd ed., vol. III, p. 381.) Of course Sandoval and the Spanish or Italian historians of Charles' reign give a very different account.

p. 300, No. 126. "Advices from the Emperor's camp." The statement made at the very beginning of the paragraph that the Emperor's army before Heinsberg amounted to 10,000 foot and 24,000 horse, is a gross exaggeration; the 20,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry of the semi-official report (at p. 288) addressed by the duke of Aarschot to the president of the Council of Flanders for transmission to Chapuys and Chantonnay in London, seems a more adequate force to meet an enemy at the head of 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse. The report, moreover, said to come from the Emperor's camp, is unfinished, and has no date. As stated in the note to the following page (425), it seems to have been addressed to some friend in Brussels, who most likely forwarded it to Chapuys, with other papers and letters relating to the engagement at Sittaërt.

p. 302, par. 2, line 1. "The Ambassador of France." In the corresponding note at the foot of the page, it has been stated that as Marillac had left at the beginning of April, and was by that time at Calais, detained until Henry's ambassador, Sir John Paget, had safely returned to England, his successor must have been Mr. de Morvilliers. That is a decided mistake, for only a few pages before (p. 296) Chapuys wrote to queen Mary of Hungary "that Marillac had left for France, and that his successor in the embassy, having on the 1st of April received letters from king Francis, counted upon seeing the King on that very day; but that through his going to Court first, the Frenchman had been prevented from having his audience." There is some doubt as to who may have been Marillac's successor in England; perhaps D'Orthez, or Mr. D'Aspremont (certainly it was not Morvilliers); but these and other points I purpose to discuss in the Introduction to which I refer the reader.

p. 307, par. 2, line 8. "That they did actually help to the taking of Castilnovo by the Turk." This sentence being in complete contradiction with the preceding, it is quite clear that the negative *not* should be inserted between the words *did* and *actually.* We are not in possession of the original draft sent to Chapuys, specifying the demands to be made from king Francis at the time of the intimation and delaration of war by the allies, but it is natural to suppose that, finding the accusation insufficiently grounded, the Emperor should wish it to be omitted, as it really was, in the declaration of war by Toyson d'Or, his herald. *See* pp. 411–3.

Castilnovo was taken by the Turks at the end of August or beginning of September 1539, just about the time that Francis was meditating how and where he would again commence war against the Emperor. It was then rumoured that his galleys, under the baron de St. Brancard, who some time before had, according to report, been at Constantinople, had helped the Turks to take that fortress, which, though formerly belonging to the Venetians, happened to have at the time a Spanish garrison.

p. 315, par. 2, line 3. "For the twenty ships laden, some with wine and others with pastel." This is not the first time that the word *pastel* occurs in Chapuys's correspondence, especially since the conclusion of the treaty of closer alliance between England and the Empire, its ratification in May 1543, and the declaration of war to king Francis. As about this time both king Henry and queen Mary, the regent of the Low Countries, had an interest in preventing the trade of provisions, as well as of gunpowder and war ammunition, I naturally concluded that *pastel* in connexion with *vin* was meant for "biscuit," the more so that in a Spanish despatch to the Emperor, dated the 27th of May, and alluding to the capture by the English of several ships of the Guicciardini laden with wine and *pastel,* the latter word happens to be translated by *bizcocho,* or *galleta.* This error, however, has since been corrected, owing to the kind assistance of Mr. James Gairdner, of the Public Record Office, who not only pointed out the mistake to me, but added other valuable suggestions, which I fully acknowledge, and am exceedingly thankful for. "Pastel" in French means "woad," or dyer's woad, or woad-waxen, the *Genista tinctoria,* much used by cloth dyers in the xvth and xvith centuries.

p. 327. The Queen's letter to Chapuys (No. 138) should naturally have been placed before that ambassador's despatch of the

12th; although its date, as stated, is, Maëstricht, 11th May 1543. There is no reason to suppose it to be, as one of Chapuys' clerks states on the dorse:—"Lettre pour l'ambassadeur reçue à Londres après lui avoir ecrite (*sic*) celle du 12 May." Readers of these calendars, moreover, must have observed that at times letters addressed by Chapuys to the Emperor through the regent of Flanders, to be forwarded to Spain or Italy, are often to be found in duplicate, and that even then the dates do not generally agree. In the present case, however, there can be no doubt, for the letter begins with the word "Madame."

p. 368. "Lartigue's report." The name of the Frenchman who informed king Henry's ministers respecting the best mode of effecting a landing in Brittany, and perhaps also getting possession of some of its fortified towns, is variously written Lartige, L'Artigue, and Lortigue. D'Aspremont, who seems to have succeeded D'Orthez in the French embassy—if he was not the same ambassador under a different name—calls him Lartigue (p. 367), whilst at p. 373 the paper containing the "names of the captains of men-at-arms, etc.," is distinctly signed *L'Artigue*. That he was a Frenchman, perhaps also a native of La Basse Bretagne, where, as I am assured, a family of that name is still to be found, cannot be doubted, and yet it is surprising that Chapuys, always so diligent in procuring information about France, and who never failed to report on Henry's warlike plans, should only mention him once (p. 459) as capt. L'Artigue. Nor is it less remarkable that both Aspremont's original letter, and L'Artigue's principal paper (*dessing*), pointing out the weakest points on the coast of Brittany, should be still preserved at Simancas in Spain, whilst the latter's report "on the strong places in France which had at the time a garrison and a governor," and a third giving the names of the captains of men-at-arms throughout France, should be in the Imperial Archives of Vienna. The only plausible conjecture is that Aspremont's letter of the 7th of June, and L'Artigue's report on the coast of Brittany were intercepted and sent to Spain, and that the other two papers under No. 152 were drawn later on in the year when the invasion of France by the allies was about to take place.

This, however, may be said about the papers themselves. No French historian that I know of alludes to them, and I have in vain looked among the general historians of France, and particularly those of Bretagne, for the name of Lartigue, or for an account, however slight, of his stay in England. It might after all turn out that this L'Artigue or Lartigue was only the captain or master of some French vessel or another captured by the English at a time when king Henry ordered his fleet to go out to sea and seize every privateer that could be found in the Channel, and that having been taken prisoner, he became an informer against his own country.

p. 374, No. 153. "From San Remo, in the Riviera of Genoa, We wrote to you on the 23rd ultimo giving you an account of Our voyage thither." No letter from San Remo has been preserved in the Royal Archives of Simancas, or if it is there, Bergenroth did not have it copied for his collection. San Remo being on that coast, between Savona and Genoa, the Emperor might possibly have landed there, and written the letter to his son Philip to which he himself alludes, describing his voyage thither, perhaps also his stay before Marseilles, and so forth. Yet Vandenesse's account makes no mention at all of San Remo, saying only that the Emperor landed at Savona on Corpus Christi Day, and that on the following Friday, towards four o'clock in the afternoon, he set sail for Genoa, where he remained till the 2nd of June.

However this may be, it seems very natural that immediately after his landing in Italy the Emperor should officially announce to his son, prince Philip — recently appointed governor of Spain during his absence—his safe arrival in the Italian Peninsula, and, moreover, that a few days later, on the 9th of June, he should again write informing him in detail of his political plans for the future, as well as of the overtures first made by Gasto at Genoa, and afterwards confirmed by Pier Luigi Farnese, and his son the Cardinal, concerning the most coveted investiture of the duchy of Milan on Ottavio duke of Camerino, for which investiture two millions of gold were offered.

Nor could the Emperor do less than consult his son on these and other important affairs closely connected with Spanish politics, for a few weeks before prince Philip, who in 1542 was publicly proclaimed heir to the kingdom at the Cortes of Toledo, had been appointed governor of Spain, at the head of a Council composed of cardinal Loaysa, Francisco de los Cobos, and the duke of Alba. From that time ambassadors in foreign parts were ordered to communicate with him directly. That is why so many letters addressed to him by Chapuys and the three Perrenot, that is Nicholas, sieur de Granvelle, Antoine, bishop of Arras, and Thomas, sieur de Chantonnay, will be found in this and the subsequent volumes to the end of Henry VIII.'s reign.

p. 402, *at the end.* "Nienove (Ninove), le XVII. de Juing 1543." Such is the date of the Emperor's Instructions to Mr. de Chantonnay, No. 160, p. 397, but there must be an error in the date, for the Emperor, as it has been frequently stated, left Genoa for Cremona, Pavia, and Parma, on the 14th of June, and stayed at Cremona until the 20th. During the Emperor's stay there the Papal Legate, cardinal Santa Croce, arrived and was received by him within the precincts of the cathedral, and on the 21st both together (the Emperor and the Cardinal) went to Bussetto, on one of the branches of the Po, nineteen miles north-west of the city of Parma, where pope Paul had arrived that very morning. Both Bradford and Gachard agree in this particular case as to these dates in their respective editions of Vandenesse's *Itinerary,* though it must be observed that as the former of those writers took for guide a clumsy German translation, which he turned into English, whereas the latter published Vandenesse's original in French with notes, there is occasionally some discrepancy between the two.

However this may be, immediately after the Emperor's Instructions to Chantonnay, bearing the date of Ninove, 17 June 1543, which are not in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, but in those of Brussels, follows a letter from the Emperor to Chapuys in London, also dated the 17th June, from Cremona (not from Ninove), in which letter Chantonnay's appointment is announced, and the Instructions for his mission are more fully explained "that the resident ambassador in England might act in concert with him." Both the Instructions and the letter agree as to the subjects treated in them. The interview with pope Paul at Bussetto had already taken place; frequent allusions are made therein to the affairs discussed at Genoa, to Paul's pressing requests for an interview, which is at last fixed for Parma or its immediate neighbourhood, and above all to the treaty of alliance with England, which at that time was exceedingly distasteful to the Pope; of the interview not a word is said. There can be no doubt that both documents issued from the Imperial Chancery on the 17th of June 1543, at the time that the Emperor, before holding his interview with Paul, was preparing to march against the duke of Clèves and wished to inform king Henry, his ally, of all his movements. But how to reconcile the letter to Chapuys from Cremona in Lombardy, and the Instructions to Chantonnay from Ninove in East Flanders? The only plausible conjecture is that both the Instructions and the letter were drawn at Cremona, and these latter again re-issued, or perhaps altered at Ninove in Flanders, for in his letter to Chapuys (p. 403) the Emperor says distinctly: "Mr. de Chantonnay is to go first to Our sister, the queen of Hungary, and exhibit his Instructions, in order that if in view of the condition of affairs at his arrival she thinks that anything in them ought to be added to, retrenched, or changed, she may, after communicating with the English ambassadors in Brussels, order such corrections and emendations to be made in the Instructions as she may think proper and convenient. With the Instructions thus modified or changed, as it may be, Mr. de Chantonnay shall return to Us as hastily as possible that We may send him on to England."

Again, on the 28th of June the queen regent of Flanders and the Low Countries (p. 471, No. 170) writes to Chapuys:— "Mr. de Chantonnay, gentleman of the Chamber of the Emperor, Our lord and brother, is now sent to the king of

England as special ambassador, with certain Instructions, which he will show you on his arrival. Among other charges, which We find to be wisely conceived and sufficiently well explained, he has that of acting entirely under your guidance and by your advice."

Whether Chantonnay's Instructions were or not modified in Brussels, it is difficult to say, as we have no proofs. He, himself, most likely had no occasion to return to the Emperor, for his arrival in London took place, according to Chapuys, on the 2nd of July (p. 42, No. 170). At any rate it is possible that before embarking for England he may have waited upon the Emperor at Ninove. True it is that this town does not appear in the Emperor's *Itinerary* during the month of June, but, as above said, no complete reliance is to be placed in Vandenesse's book whenever the dates assigned by him, or by his editors of the Emperor's passage to, or stay at different places, do not agree with those recorded in the original documents, and, therefore, I conclude that both the Instructions and the letter were drawn at Cremona on the 17th, and that the former document alone, modified or not, was re-written or re-issued on the 27th at Ninove in Flanders.

p. 412, par. 3, line 5. "The duke of Savoy, the Emperor's uncle." Carlo III. of Savoy had been married since 1522 to Beatrix of Portugal, daughter of king Dom Manoel, and of Doña Maria infanta of Castille, aunt of Charles, since she was the sister of Joanna, his mother.

p. 455, No. 202. "The Same to the Same" is the heading of the copy at Simancas, but on inquiry I find that the document in question is not, as described, a duplicate of prince Philip's letter to his father, the Emperor, but a fuller and more detailed account of the deliberations and votes of the councillors. To judge from its contents, it might be said that it is in contradiction with the former statement, where the offer is considered advantageous to the Emperor, provided the two millions are paid immediately, and the principal fortress of the Duchy remain in the Emperor's hands. "In short, says the Prince, it is very hard for the Council to think that under such conditions His Holiness and his family can possibly be in favour of the alienation." And so it was, for soon after the sum was reduced to one million, and then the Pope refused altogether to pay the money down unless the fortresses remained in his hands. Mendoza's letter to the Emperor may be seen in Sandoval, Book XXV., chap. XXXV.

p. 501, par. 2, line 2. "From Italy and the Mediterranean coast the intelligence is—" This account of the attempt on Nizza by the combined French and Turkish fleets, though evidently abstracted from semi-official reports sent to Spain, differs considerably from that at page 497. Nor do the French historians—who, however, own Barbarossa's complete defeat—state facts, or record the event in a manner to allow us to arrive at the truth. According to De Thou (*Histoire Universelle.* Vol. V., p. 389), Monsr. de Grignan, then governor of Marseilles, had, by means of four "Savoyard" soldiers belonging to the garrison of that town, procured intelligences with those of Nizza, who had faithfully promised that upon the arrival before that town of four French galleys under the command of Sieur de Magdalon, a brother of St. Brancard, the keys of the town would be immediately delivered. The execution of the treacherous plan was fixed for the 21st of June. It appears, however, that the prince of Piedmont, who was inside the place, having had information of the treason that was prepared, sent a message to Andrea Doria, then at Genoa, who, sailing thither with his fleet of galleys, laid in ambush behind cape St. Soupir. No sooner had captain Magdalon—whom the duke of Enghien, commander-in-chief, was following for greater security with the rest of the French fleet—anchored before Nizza, than Doria sallied out of his ambush, and a naval engagement ensued, in which Magdalon himself was killed, whilst the duke of Enghien, with the whole of the French fleet, had to fly in the direction of Marseilles. Three weeks after this Barbarossa arrived, as it is said, with one hundred and seventy four galleys, and on the 5th of August, reinforced by the French fleet under Enghien, again laid regular siege to the town, which André de Monfort, its governor, defended with great courage until the 22nd, when he abandoned it and shut himself in the castle. So stout was his defence there that Enghien and Barbarossa, being in want of powder and ammunition, and hearing of Doria's approach by sea and the simultaneous arrival of Gasto and the duke of Savoy by land with considerable forces, suddenly raised the siege of Nizza, and sailed, the former for Marseilles and the latter for Toulon.

As to the statement that four of Joannetino Doria's galleys having approached too near the coast, were cast on shore (p. 498), there is a conformity between the Spanish and French accounts, as well as respecting Barbarossa's discontent at seeing himself baffled of his prey. "Le comte d'Anguyen fut obligé d'emprunter des poudres de Barbarousse, qui chagrin de voir son entreprise prête d'echouer traita les François avec beaucoup de hauteur et de mepris." These last sentences, copied from the work of De Thou (p. 390), may perhaps help to the explanation of certain ambiguous expressions in the Spanish text as transcribed in the foot-note p. 497.

p. 515, *end of note* ‡. There is every reason to presume that Visal is an erratum for Vidal, a common name frequent enough in historical books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, unless it be a corruption of the Italian *Vitale,* also a name of frequent occurrence. At any rate, the prefix Alphonso or

Alfonso, and the charge he held at the Emperor's Court, "gentilhombre de la Boca [de Su Magestad]," are to me sufficient proofs that a Spanish officer named *Vidal* was meant by Sandoval, whose valuable and carefully composed history of the reign of Charles V., first printed at Pamplona in 1614, and which has since passed through several editions, ought to be carefully expurgated of the many errata, especially as regards names of towns and individuals, with which it swarms. Nor is that of Antwerp, 1681, 2 vols. fol., though splendidly illustrated, much better in point of orthography.

p. 537, par. 5, line 2. "You will offer Our most cordial commendations to the Queen [of Hungary], Our good sister, and also to Madame, Our Cousin, etc." The insertion [of Hungary] between brackets is entirely wrong in this instance. True is it that queen Mary, the regent of the Low Countries, was the Emperor's sister; but as the Instructions are dated from Brussels, and Gonzaga was to proceed immediately to England, at which Court he was accredited, it is evident that Charles' "commendations" were intended for Catharine Parr, sixth and last queen of Henry VIII., to whom the Emperor, according to the almost general use of the times, gave the affectionate title of "Sister." As to Madame Mary in the following line, there can be no doubt that Henry's daughter is meant, for she was really and truly Charles' first cousin. It will be observed that since the conclusion of the treaty of closer alliance with England, following a suggestion of Chapuys, in all documents and letters issued from the Imperial Chancery king Henry was no longer to be addressed as "Bel Oncle," nor was his daughter Mary to be called "Princess of England," but only "Madame Marie." *See* p. 16.

p. 540, No. 269. "Secret Instructions to Ferrante Gonzaga." Though dated from Brussels 13th December 1543, these are the same as those of the 7th (p. 527, No. 268), but meant only for the ambassador's private guidance, with this difference, that the latter contain a few remarks and directions, whilst those of the 7th were, if desired, to be exhibited in the Privy Council, a common practice, as has already been seen, in the diplomacy of the xvith century. Ferrante (or Fernando) Gonzaga was the son of Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, who died in 1519, and the brother of Frederic II., first duke of Mantua and marquis de Monferrato. He was born in 1507; served the Emperor in his Italian, French, and Hungarian wars, was made by him knight of the Golden Fleece and viceroy of Sicily from 1536 to 1545. After the death of Gasto in 1545 he was for a short time appointed governor of Milan. Ferrante Gonzaga died at Brussels on the 15th of November 1557, shortly after the celebrated battle of St. Quentin, where he commanded the Spanish cavalry. He is generally designated in history as "conte di Guastalla," and "duca di Molfetta," having married (November 1557) Isabella di Capua, daughter of Ferrante or Fernando di Capua, prince of Molfetta.

p. 543, No. 271. The second paragraph of Chapuys' despatch of the 13th of December, relating to Scotland, is not only obscure in meaning but incorrect. I here transcribe it that readers may judge:—

"Touchant des [les ?] affaires d'Escosse à ce qu' entens ilz ne sont gueres prospices en faveur de ce roy, car celluy qui se disoit grand gouverneur sest allye avec le Cardinal et aultres du parti contraire, comme aussi ont faict quelques aultres que tenoient pour le dit sr. roy. Et aulcungs des aultres ont este constituez prisonniers, entre les quelz est mylord Machuell, lune des personnes de plus dimportance du dit Escosse, gouverneur et capitaine general des frontieres, lequel a este frauduleusement prins par ung abbez frere *du dit jadis gouverneur,* nonobstant que passant par içy en retournant de France il eust este bien traicte et presenté, et quil eu (eust) promis de fere beaucoupz de choses en faveur du dit sr. roy."*

p. 545, par. 2, line 15. "The same may be said of the count of Lynns, who bears the family name and arms of the late king of Scotland [James V.]." Lynns or Lynus is evidently for Matthew Stuart earl of Lennox. The French accounts of the political troubles in Scotland after the death of king James are far from agreeing with those of the native historians. For instance, De Thou says that "Mathieu, comte de Lenox, chef de la faction ecossaise," was sent by king Francis to Scotland for the express purpose of supporting and aiding with his counsels both the Queen widow, Marie de Guise, and the Cardinal of St Andrews (Beton), both of whom (he says) were the friends of France; but that the Queen, having suspected him (Lennox) of being in correspondence with king Henry, had him recalled and replaced by Jacques de Lorges, count of Montgomery, "homme d'honneur et de resolution, mais ennemi declaré du comte." De Thou, *Hist. Univ.* Tome I. p. 70.

p. 557, No. 280. Long after the present volume was in print and the general index was in progress, a letter from Vienna came to the editor's hands announcing that four more bundles of letters and papers relating to the reign of Charles V. in connection with the history of England had been found in the Imperial Archives. One of them, under the title of *Varia* (Haus—Hof—Correspondenz), contains letters, mostly original, from the Emperor Charles V. to king Henry VIII., as well as from the latter to the former. The second has letters from king Henry to the dowager queen of Hungary, and from Ferdinand, king of the Romans, to king Henry. The third, docketed on the outside, "Papiers relatifs à la ligue offensive entre l'Empereur et le roi d'Angleterre contre France (1543)," contains chiefly papers and documents relating to the treaty of closer alliance, defensive and offensive, as well as a copy of the treaty of Cambray *avec des notes marginales relatives à certaines modifications du dit traité [de Cambray] avec Supplement—presenté par l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre en forme de mémoire.*—Copie de la ratification du traité d'alliance par l'Empereur (1543), in Latin, *beg. Carolus Quintus, Dei gratia.*—Two copies of Monsr. d'Aspremont's letter to king Francis, dated 7th June 1543 (No. 150, pp. 367–8), and another of each of Lartigue's papers, already abstracted under Nos. 151 and 152, with this difference, that the one abstracted at page 368 is at Simancas, and bears no date at all, whilst that of Vienna is dated October, and begins: "Pour avoir des nouvelles de Bretagne," which naturally indicates that either it is the commencement of Lartigue's report (No. 151, pp. 368–71), which, as the reader must have observed, begins rather abruptly with the words, "It seems to me," or else quite a different paper. I must add that in the Vienna copies the author of the report is always called "le Sieur de Lartigue."

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* The "grand gouverneur" must be the title assumed by James Hamilton, earl of Arran, and therefore *qui se disoit* is wrong, for at this time he was still at the head of affairs in Scotland; but the abbot was John Hamilton, brother of the Earl, and not, as might have been supposed, of Cardinal Beton, for the expression *jadis gouverneur* might possibly be referred to the latter. If instead of *jadis* Chapuys' secretary had written *desja dit,* that is "above mentioned," the whole paragraph would have become clearer and more intelligible.

The fourth contains the original letters of king Henry's Privy Council to Eustace Chapuys and others, as follows:—Greenwich, 1 July, 1543, *beg.*, "Mons. l'ambassadeur: Nous promisons vrement (?)."—Hampton Court, 10, 1543, *beg.*, "Monsr: La Ma^{te} du roy nous commande."—Colly Weston, 5 August 1543, *beg.*, "Par ce present porteur nous avons reçeu."—Sunning Hill,(?) 7 Aug. 1543, *beg.*, "Par ce present porteur La Ma^{te} du Roy vous envoye;" inclosing an Italian letter from the governor of Terracina about Capt. Polino and the Turk (No. 277, p. 557).—Windsor, 10, 1543, *beg.*, "Avecque la letre que nous vous avons envoyé," *orig.*—Hatfield, 22 Aug. 1543, *beg.*, "Par ce porteur nous avons reçeu la lectre de la royne d'Hongrie."—Le More, 24 Aug. 1543, *beg.*, "Nous entendons vos nouvelles."—Woodstock, Sept. 16, 1543, in Latin, *beg.*, "Oppidum Arde;" *orig.*—Ampthill, 16 Oct. 1543, *beg.*, "Nous avons reçeu vos lectres du ix^{e} de ce present mois, par lesquelles;" *orig.*—Grafton, 17 Oct. 1543, *beg.*, "Nous avons reçeu vos lectres du x^{e} ensemble celles de l'Empereur;" *orig.*—Grafton, 20 Oct. 1543, *beg.*, "Nous avons reçeuz vos lectres ensemble, et combien que ne doubtons;" *orig.*—Ampthill, 25 Oct. 1543, *beg.*, "Nous avons reçeu vos lectres du xx^{e} de ce present;" *orig.*—Hampton Court, 6 Dec. 1543, *beg.*, "Monsr., Ce present porteur, nommé Guillaume Bougins;" *orig.* (No. 265, p. 526).

As to king Henry's letters to the Emperor and to the queen of Hungary, their dates are as follows:—King Henry to Charles V., *beg.*, "J'envoy presentement ce porteur Mons. Françoys Bryant;" *orig.*, without date (in a modern hand, Oct. 1543).—Woodstock, Oct. 7, 1543, *beg.*, "Nr̄e très chier et très aimé cousin comte de Surrey;" *orig.* (No. 235, p. 494).—Dampthil (d'Ampthill), *beg.*, "Comme ainsi soit que pieça;" *orig.*—Henry VIII., à la Roine Marie de Hongrie, Westminster, *beg.*, "Comme ainsi soit que nous envoyons presentement Monsr. Thomas Saintmaur et N. Wotton;" *orig.* (No. 133, p. 523).

Lastly, the fourth packet is said to contain some more letters, chiefly official, from the King's Privy Council to Sir Francis Bryant, to the purveyors and pursers of the English army in Flanders and Picardy, as auxiliary of the Emperor, but of these I have had no list yet, and, therefore, cannot form a conjecture about their contents.

p. 562, par 2. "His Holiness and his ministers are satisfied that a marriage between his own grand-daughter and the son of Ascanio Colonna should be arranged."

Pier Luigi Farnese, duke of Castro, son of pope Paul, had only one daughter, *i.e.*, Vittoria Farnese, who in 1548 was married to Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino. Long before that time, however, in the year 1538, various princely marriages had been in contemplation or solicited by the Pope for his grand-daughter, such as that with Antoine de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, or Cosmo de' Medici, duke of Florence; the prince of Orange (Henri de Nassau); Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, son of the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.), and lastly Philip of Bavaria, or the duke of Aumale, son of Claude de Lorraine, duke of Guise. Not one of the above-mentioned suitors for the hand of Vittoria Farnese obtained his aim; and in 1543, when negotiations were again resumed at Rome for a marriage alliance between the duke of Orleans (Charles de Valois, Francis' third son) and Paul's grand-daughter, we hear of the French ambassador proposing to the Pope a great marriage in France for his grand-son Horatio Farnese, brother of Vittoria. To the proposed marriage of Vittoria Farnese with Fabricio Colonna, which never took place, did the Emperor allude in his Instructions to Vega when he wrote from Trent on the 4th of July 1543: "If that marriage is effected, of course all negotiations respecting that of the duke of Orleans must fall to the ground" (p. 562). In fact it has been asserted that, in order to bring on a peace between the Emperor and Francis, a project of marriage between Charles de Valois, duke of Orleans, third son of that monarch, and a lady of the Farnese family, had been formed as early as 1542, and that a French ambassador had gone to Rome for the purpose. Both this project of marriage, which was never accomplished, and another of

Horatio Farnese, Pier Luigi's son, with a French lady of rank, are frequently mentioned in the correspondence of the marquis de Aguilar, the ambassador at Rome † (pp. 261–3).

p. 567. *Note* * to be supplemented as follows:—This Francesco III., of the house of Gonzaga, second duke of Mantua, and marquis de Monferrato, was only seven years old when his father, Frederico II., died. In February 1549, still under the wardship of his uncle, Cardinal Hercole Gonzaga, he married Catharine of Austria, daughter of the king of the Romans, Ferdinand, brother of the emperor Charles V. Francesco III. died at the age of seventeen on the 21st of February 1550, without posterity, being succeeded by his brother Guglielmo, aged fourteen, who died in 1561, married to Elinor (Leonor), sister of emperor Maximilian II. As to Catharine, the widow of Francesco III., she married Sigismond II., king of Poland, and died in 1572. See *Généalogies Historiques.* Vol. II., p. 284.

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† Vittoria Farnese after all did not marry Fabricio Colonna, but became in 1548, as above stated, duchess of Urbino.

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* Headed by mistake: "The Same to the Queen of Hungary."

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ABBREVIATIONS.

amb. for ambassador.
abp. „ archbishop.
abpc. „ archbishopric.
art. „ article.
b. „ born.
bp. „ bishop.
capt. „ captain.
card. „ cardinal.
co. „ count and countess.
dep. „ department.
d. „ died.
do. „ dowager.
du. „ duke and duchess.
Emp. „ Emperor.
Eng. „ English.
gen. for general.
Imp. „ Imperial.
It. „ Italian.
k. „ king.
let. „ letter.
marq. „ marquis.
n. „ note.
pres. „ president.
pro. „ province.
q. „ queen.
sec. „ secretary.
Span. „ Spanish.
trea. „ treasurer.

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........., ..., Sir Thomas Cheyne to join them soon with the Eng. cavalry, 335.

...., after the landing at Calais of the 2,500, and 200 cavalry, the gov. of Guînes (Wallop) has received orders to co-operate with Du Rœulx (May 1543), 352.

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Ardres, town of Picardy (France, dep. Pas de Calais), 22, 58, 187, 207, 371, 455, 470, 476, 593.

........., the English auxiliary army wasting the country as far as, July-Aug. 1543, 455.

........., the French gov. of Boulogne-sur-Mer attempting to revictual the town of (Aug. 1543), 470.

........., ..., the English of Calais and Guînes preparing to prevent it, 476.

........., French capt. or gov. of, *v. St. Seval* and *Sevicourt.*

Aremberg (sieur d'), the castle of Amesfoort to be restituted to (Sept. 1543), 478.

Argill, Argyl, (Argyle), earl of, *v. Campbell.*

Aristino (Æstino?), 515 *n.*; *v. Este* (Francesco d', or D. Francisco de).

Arlon, town of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg (Belgium), the French marching towards (Aug. 1542), 123.

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........., ..., which being found defenceless is easily taken, *ibid.*

Armour, harness, &c., petition of an Eng. merchant for permission to buy and export, from the Low Countries (Oct. 1542), 131–2.

........., ..., refused by q. Mary owing to the great deficiency and high price of it in the Low Countries, 159.

Army, *English*, on the Borders of Scotland, said to amount to upwards of 100,000 men, exclusive of 20,000 more being recruited in the Northern Counties by the du. of Suffolk (Sept. 1542), 137.

........., ..., for the invasion of France, should land on the coast of Normandy, 274.

........., ..., k. Henry's plan of campaign for the allies in April 1543, 294.

........., ..., ..., his own, to push on towards Boulogne and Montreuil, and leaving Abbeville on one side, penetrate into Normandy and attack Rouen, whilst the Emp. would invade France by La Champagne, *ibid.*

........., ..., one of 16,000 foot, 4,000 pioneers and 4,000 cavalry may be ready to cross over on the 1st of July (said k. Henry to Chapuys, April 1543), 313.

........., ..., ..., if made to cross over to Calais, the Imp. fleet ought to keep the sea open, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., on landing the, to be furnished with as much gunpowder as wanted, as well as with carriages for the artillery, *ibid.*

........., ..., Henry quite willing to send his, across the Channel (June 1543), 387.

........., ..., ..., but he must know beforehand what provision has been made in Flanders for the food of men and horses, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., and whether it is to take artillery, for, if so, carriage horses will be wanted, 388.

........., ..., ..., the men not to be pent up in fortresses, which is a thing Eng. soldiers dislike most, but to keep the field, 387.

........., ..., provisions for the, to be procured in part at Calais, the rest to be drawn from England, 414.

........., ..., in Flanders doing great execution against the enemy, 455.

........., ..., 6,000 more men, over and above the number stipulated in the treaty, shall soon cross over to Calais (June 1543), 419.

........., ..., account of provisions (bread, lard, cheese, beer, &c.) provided for the whole force, *ibid.*

........., ..., following up the road to Picardy to join Du Rœulx, and attack the French under Vendôme (Aug. 1543), 455.

Army, *English—cont.*

........., ..., a well-appointed and disciplined band most commended by the Emp. in his let. to k. Henry, 506.

........., ..., commander-in-chief (senescal, *seneschal*) of the, *v. Seymour* (Lord Edward).

........., ..., provost-marshal, *v. Wallop.*

........., *Imperial.* One of 25,000 foot and 4,000 horse to be levied in Flanders and the Low Countries to meet the French invasion (June 1542), 19.

........., ..., great disparity observed between the help that the Emp. is bound to give to England, if assailed by the enemy, and that which Henry is prepared to give in men or money.

........., ..., ..., the Imperial ambs. to represent this to k. Henry as moderately as possible, for fear of his being offended, 152.

........., ..., in case of invasion of Eng. territory on the other side of the Channel the Emp. is bound by the treaty of alliance to help with 3,000 foot and 3,000 cavalry, 156.

........., ..., ..., which force will be more expensive to keep than the 7,000 foot with which k. Henry is to help in Flanders, *ibid.*

........., ..., 10,000 foot and 2,400 horse ready under the prince of Orange to march to the relief of Heinsberg (April 1543), 300 *n.*

........., ..., ..., enters the duchy of Juliers (21 March 1543), *ibid.*

........., ..., muster rolls of the, to be shown by Chapuys to k. Henry, 395.

........., ..., the, under Aarschot and Du Rœulx, ready to take the field against the Clèvese and the French (June 1543), 413–4.

........., ..., had not k. Henry cut off the French from their fisheries, the —— would certainly have been in serious danger (July 1543), 441.

........., *French.* One of 13,000 lanskennets and 2,000 horse under the du. of Orleans and Longueval to invade the Luxemburg (July 1542), 55.

........., ..., another of 14,000, including six or seven thousand Swiss, in Piedmont under Annebaut, 56.

........., ..., ..., besides 500 men-at-arms and seven or eight hundred light horse in case Gasto should come from Milan, *ibid.*

........., ..., the "arrière-ban" or reserve of the, amounting altogether to 70,000 and 10,000 horse, to be called forth, 56, 371.

........., ..., ..., half of that force to operate on the frontiers of Spain, the remaining half against Flanders, 57.

Army, *French—cont.*

........., ..., another "arrière ban" or reserve of French Basques and Gascons under Henri d'Albret to invade Navarre (July 1542), 56.

........., ..., report of one being collected by k. Francis at La Fère and Coussi le Château of upwards of 3,000 foot, 8,000 horse and 40 pieces of ordnance for the invasion of the Low Countries (June 1543), 364.

........., *Scotch,* about 18,000 foot, with 20 or 25 pieces of artillery, defeated at Solway-Moss (25 Nov. 1542), 221.

Arran, earl of, *v. Hamilton* (James).

Arras, town of Flanders, Notre Dame d', cathedral church of, 17, 116 *n.*, 403 *n.*

........., Our Lady of, one of the prebendary chaplainships in, to be given to Charles de Honz, 11, 17.

.. .., bp. of, *v. Perrenot* (Antoine).

Arscot, Ascott, *v. Aarschot.*

Artenay (Artenai) in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, a fief of the Empire; usurped by k. Francis, 121.

........., retained and fortified by k. Francis (1542), *ibid.*

Arthois, county of, *v. Artois.*

Artichokes (Fr. *artichaux*), present of, given by k. Henry to Chapuys, 42.

Artigo, *v. Artigue* (L'), *Add.* and *Cor.* 586, *Int.* xli.

Artigue (L'), capt. of a French privateer vessel, his rep. concerning the weak points on the coast of Britanny, 586, *Int.* xl.–ii.

Artillery, *English*, 283–6, 357.

........., ..., Chapuys' inquiries about, and whether there is enough of it for the preconcerted joint invasion of France, as well as ammunition, arms, and other implements of war (March 1543), 281.

........., ..., plenty of, and ammunition in the kingdom, but not a proportionate quantity of gunpowder (said the Master of the Ordnance to Chapuys, April 1543), 304.

........., ..., to be provided by the Low Countries as well as carriage, in which the English are deficient, *ibid.*

........., ..., if light, is to accompany the Eng. army a number of carriage horses must be provided in Flanders, 388.

........., ..., carriage for the, to be furnished by Flanders (May 1543), 357, 414.

........., *Imperial.* The privy councillors from the Eng. ambs. in Brussels enquire how many pieces of, for the field or for siege, Flanders and the Low Countries engage to furnish in case of an invasion of France (May 1543), 356.

Artillery, *Imperial—cont.*

........, ..., Du Rœulx answers that he cannot say, because he is not in direct communication with the Emp., and does not know what agreement the latter and k. Henry may have made, 357.

........, ..., Henry's privy councillors suggest that, as the French are daily increasing their forces at sea, the fleet of the Low Countries should be well manned and provided with heavy, 391.

........, ..., at the siege of Landrecy two batteries of heavy guns firing (Oct. 1543), 512.

........, ..., a large force of, both in Germany and in Flanders, 515–6.

........, ..., ..., only in the first-named country a train of heavy, upwards of 100 pieces, with plenty of gunpowder and shot, has been provided (April 1543), *ibid.*

........, ..., q. Mary proposed that, if the invasion of France by the allies is to take place separately, k. Henry should pay one-half of the expenses of the (March 1543), 285.

........, ..., one hundred pieces of heavy, shall be ready at Spires in Bavaria before the Emp.'s arrival thereat (June 1543), 398.

........, ..., train of, prepared for the invasion of France, with a wing of, 70 pieces of ordnance, guns, half-guns, culverins, and other field pieces (Dec. 1543), 70.

........, *French*, some of the, taken at Antwerp, in consequence of a sally of the garrison, 90.

........, ..., the whole of the, before Perpignan might have been carried away by the Spaniards had it not been for Montpezat (Sept. 1542), 137.

........, ..., ..., six or seven, however, of their best and largest guns spiked, *ibid.*

........, ..., *v.* also *Ordnance.*

Artois, county of, 21, 38, 346, 357–8, 352.

........, the French very strong in the (July 1542), 72.

........, ..., no danger (said Henry), for the Imp. are so strong there that there is no fear of the French being able to do much mischief, 80.

........, third invasion of the, apprehended (Aug.), 72, 90–1.

........, the French under Mr. de Vendôme penetrate into the (Aug. 1542), 90–1.

........, ..., retreating from (Sept. 1542), 125.

........, again invaded by the French (May 1543), 320.

........, ..., though they have achieved nothing very important, 321.

........, ..., ..., they will not, as reported, withdraw from the, until they have conquered the whole of it, 355.

Artois, county of—*cont.*

........, Wallop and Du Rœulx to make a diversion and attack the French in the (May 1543), 335.

........, the French becoming daily more powerful on the frontiers of Hainaut and the (June 1543), 406.

........, gov. of the, in Flanders, *v. Croy* (Adrien de).

Aspremont (sieur d'), French amb. in England (1543), 367, 371 *n.*, 373 *n.*, 420, 586, 593.

........, goes to Court to complain that his couriers are detained at Dover (7 June 1543), 367, *Int.* xxxiii.

........, leaves England (July 1543), 372.

........, let. to k. Francis, *150.*

........, ..., other lets. of, to the same intercepted in England, 431 *n.*, 436.

........, the same as Prothonotary d'Orthez(?), *Int.* xxxix.

Aste, 515 *n.*; *v. Este.*

Astenay in Lorraine, *v. Stenay.*

Asturias, prov. of Spain, coast of, 463.

Aubespine (Claude de), French sec. and amb. in England, 54, 65, *Int.* xxix–xxx.

........, k. Francis' instructions to, *23.*

........, arrival of, in London (16 Jul. 1542), 65.

........, his audience put off for two days, *ibid.*

........, and Marillac summoned to Court by the K., 79.

........, ..., arrive there on the 20th, but cannot get an audience until the 24th, *ibid.*

........, ..., had previously called at the Privy Council, where he and his colleague were treated in the rudest manner, *ibid.*

........, ..., not only was he not visited and accompanied, as before, by gentlemen courtiers, but the privy councillors themselves hardly dared look at him, *ibid.*

........, ..., so ill-treated in general that the courtiers could not fail to notice it, 87.

........, ..., ..., and yet he wrote home that he had been well received by the K., *ibid.*

........, goes to Gravesend accompanied by Marillac, 87–8.

........, ..., to look at and report upon k. Henry's naval preparations thereat, 88.

........, departs at the end of July without taking leave of any one, 89, *Int.* xxx.

Aubigné, town of France (sieur d'), marshal of, capt. of the Scotch guard in France, 332, 374.

........, ..., his nephew, *v. Stuart* (Robert).

Aubigny, *v. Aubigné.*

Aubin (Philip), sent to prison for Lutheranism (March 1543), 288.

Augsburg, city of S. Germany (Bavaria), money for k. Ferdinand to be remitted to, 360, 457.

........., bankers of, 457.

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Austria, archduchy of, in Germany, 583.

........., archdukes of, *v. Ferdinand, Philip.*

.... (Catharine of), dau. of Ferdinand, k. of the Romans.

........., ..., married to Francesco III., Gonzaga, du. of Mantua (1549), 595.

........., ..., ..., a widow of the latter married to Sigismond II., k. of Poland, 595.

.... (Elinor, Eleonor of), dau. of Ferdinand, k. of the Romans, 595.

.... (George of), abp. of Valencia in Spain, coadjutor of Liège, nat. son of Emp. Maximilian I., *Int.* i *n.*

........., ..., a prisoner of the French (1541), 121, 339 *n.*, 347, 349, 413.

........., ..., money taken from, to be restored and himself indemnified for his imprisonment and losses, 413.

........., ..., ..., Pope Paul promising to dispense, from all oaths he may have made in order to obtain his liberty, 563.

........., ..., ..., and lay his case before the College of Cardinals, *ibid.*

.... (Margarita de), nat. dau. of Emp. Charles V., *v.* under *Margaret.*

.... (Maria de), dau. of Emp. Charles V., *v.* under *Mary of Austria.*

Austrian towns (Easterlings), under the rule of Denmark, 5.

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........., gov. of Milan and vicar-general of the Emp. in Italy, 427.

Avesnes (Avênes), in Flanders, now dep. Nord in France, the French retreating from (Jan. 1543), 406.

........., the Emp. holding a conference with Wallop, Aarshot and Du Rœulx at (Oct. 1543), 512.

........., lets. from, 245–6, 248.

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Aymeries in France, dep. Nord, k. Francis fortifying, and Landresis (July 1543), 429.

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Baçan, Bazan (D. Alvaro), naval commander, Spanish admiral, 475.

........., ..., defeats the French fleet on the coast of Galicia (July 1543), 463, 473, 520.

.... (D. Alvaro II.), marq. de Santa Cruz, son of the preceding; adm. of the Western Ocean, 463 *n.*

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Balears, Balearic, Islands in the Mediterranean to be fortified and provisioned against Barbarossa (Jan. 1543), 381.

........., D. Bernaldino de Mendoza to return to the, 38.

Balnavis of Halthil, Scotch amb. in London, 50, 86.

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........., *Florentine,* v. *Guicciardini.*

........., *Genoese,* Imp. jewels pawned to certain, 313–4, 581.

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Bapaulme, Bappaulme, Bapaume, town of France (dep. Pas de Calais), Imp. gov. of, 175, 537.

........., besieged by the French (June 1543), 394.

........., siege of, raised (June 1543), 406, 419.

........., ..., with the loss of 600 men and two or three captains, *ibid.*

Bapoma, *v. Bapaulme.*

Baptosard, Milanese physician in London, *v. Guerche.*

Bar, town of France (dep. Meuse), *v. Bar-le-Duc.*

........., du. of, *v. Lorraine* (François de).

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Barbarossa (Babá Aróx), the Turkish corsair, 352, 381–383, 552.

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........., orders of the Emp. to Prince Doria to guard the Mediterranean coast against, 381, 385.

........., ..., his tactics well known to Doria, 385.

........., ..., should, sail for La Goleta, Bugia, or any other port of Africa or Spain to take in water and provisions, he is to be attacked forthwith, 386.

........., the Dauphin of France (Henri) going to Aigues-Mortes to visit, 463.

........., sailing for the Levant (1 Aug.), *ibid.*

........., ..., two days after reported to be before Nizza, 464.

........., at Marseilles with part of his fleet (July 1543), 463.

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........., ..., sails thence for Toulon and Aigues-Mortes, where he takes up 22 pieces of siege ordnance sent to him from Narbonne, *ibid.*

........., lands at Nizza, and helps in vain the French to take its citadel, 497, *Add.* and *Cor.* 599.

........., hearing of the approach of Doria by sea, and Gasto by land, raises the siege and sails away, 497.

........., highly discontented with the French, who, he says, have deceived him, *ibid.*

........., ordered by Solyman not to attack the dominions of k. Francis (June 1543), 557.

........., capt. pilot of, in negociation with Mendoza, the Imp. amb. at Venice, 196.

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........., Barbarossa's fleet sailing for the, (Jan. 1543), 552.

Barbastro in Aragon (Spain), the bp. of London (Bonner) going from, to Monçon (Sept. 1542), 135.

........., the Emp.'s Court at, 135–6.

Barcelona, cap. town of Catalonia (Spain), 91 *n.*, 131, 136 *n.*, 237, 251, 309, 382, 386 *n.*, 389 *n.*, 437, 549, 577, 583, *Int.* xvi.

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........., the Emp. quitting, and sailing for Genoa (May 1543), 251 *n.*, 354, 365 *n.*, 375, 583, *Int.* xlix.

........., counts of, Roussillon and Cerdagne belonging once to the, 191 *n.*

........., lets. dat. from, 76, *129*.

........., ..., received at, 251.

Barker (Sir Christopher), *alias* "Jarretière," herald of the Order of the Garter, 336, 340, 387, 389, 399, 415, *Int.* xvii, xxxix.

........., to Calais for the purpose of taking a challenge to k. Francis (May 1543), 336 *n.*, 366.

........., not allowed by the French gov. of Boulogne to proceed on his mission, 414–5.

........., Chapuys' advice concerning his charge and that of Fallaix, the Imp. herald, 389.

Bar-le-Duc, town of Lorraine, du. of, *v.* *Lorraine.*

.... (sur Seine), town of Champagne (France, dep. Aube), 412.

Barley, 4,000 quarters of, for brewing beer, already stored in England for the expedition against France (May 1543), 354.

Barpaumes, Baupaumes, in the Artois, *v.* *Bapaulme.*

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........., a number of, or Navarrese soldiers serving under Henri d'Albret, 56.

Basto, *v.* *Vasto, Gasto.*

Bavaria, duchy and electorate of, in S. Germany, 332.

.... (Frederick of), du., elector palatine of, his nephew Philip said to be his heir in the palatinate, 355.

.... (Otto Henrich), nephew of the preceding, *ibid.*

.... (Philip of), brother of Frederick, arrives in London (April 1543), 332, 355.

........., ..., offers his services and renews his application for the hand of the Princess, 332.

........., ..., k. Henry and his Privy Council very much astonished at his coming to England, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., and at his having remained so long in London without asking for an audience, *ibid.*

........., ..., well received at Court nevertheless, as well as a count he has in his company, *ibid.*

........., ..., pretends to have a promise from the Lutheran League that upon the death of the Palatine Elector he will be preferred to the du. Frederick, *ibid.*

........., ..., leaves England in disgust (June 4, 1543), 368.

........., ..., not to be employed as an intermediary between the Emp. and the du. of Clevès.

Bave (Joyes, Joos), sec. in Flanders, 116 *n.*, 353.

Baxpaume, town of Artois, *v.* *Bapaulme.*

Bayard, Bayart (Gilles de), k. Francis' sec. (1542–3), 63.

........., lets. countersigned by, *28*.

Bayona (Bayonne), in France, hackbutiers and other French soldiers from the garrison of, taken prisoners by D. Alvaro de Bazan on the coast of Galicia.

Bazan (D. Alvaro de), Span. admiral, *v.* *Baçan.*

........., (D. Alvaro II.), marq. de Santacruz, 363 *n.*

Beaugenoy, town of France (dep. Loiret), 372.

........., capt. of (1543), *Antibes* (?)

Beaunne (Beaune) in Burgundy, 372.

........., gov. of, *v.* *Unfe* (sieur de).

Beaurain, sieur de, co. de Rœulx, *v.* *Croy* (Adrien de).

Beauvois, in Flanders, the Emp.'s advance upon (Oct. 1543), 504.

Belgians, a victory over the English and, in Flanders (wrote the du. of Orleans to the Landgraf of Hesse) would be less satisfactory to him than his proffered assistance to the du. of Clèves, if he should ask for it (Sept. 1543), 491.

Belgium, *Int.* i.

Bellay (Guillaume du), sieur de Langey, 12 *n.*

.... (Jean du), abp. of Paris, and card., 12 *n.*, 286.

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Benarax, Benarex (Beni Arásh), African tribe, 552–3.

Bergenroth (Gustav), his collection of papers from Simancas (1516–58), quoted, 256 *n.*, 341 *n.*, 397 *n.*

........., his Span. Calendar for the reign of Henry VIII., *Int.* xlvi *n.*, xlix *n.*

........., quoted 78 *n.*, 91 *n.*, 337 *n.*, 341 *n.*, 414 *n.*, 530, 537, 553, 577 *n.*

Berghe (Berg), duchy of, the du. of Clèves trying to incorporate the —— to his own (Oct.–Nov., 1538), 62.

Bermeo, a port of Biscay, bp. Thirlby landing at (Aug. 1542), 115.

Bermolis (sieur de), capt. of 50 men-at arms (1543), 374 ; *v. Bernay* (?), *Verneuil.*

Bernal-Diaz, bp. of Calahorra, *v. Diaz de Luco.*

Bernay (sieur de), capt. of 50 men-at-arms (1543), 374.

Berteaulx (?), bay of, in *Brittany*, 368.

Berwick castle (Northumberland), 220–2, 228.

........., Lord Dudley at, *v.* under *Dudley* (Sir John), and *Lisle.*

Beton, Betoun (David), abp. of St. Andrews, and card., 222, 231, 239, 242, 291, 332, 543.

........., a thorough Frenchman, and the cause of all the troubles in Scotland (Sept. 1542), 130–1.

........., ..., has persuaded k. James to declare war to England, *ibid.*

........., Pope Paul solicits k. Francis to help him and his party in Scotland, *ibid.*

........., no one in Scotland likely to thwart Henry's plans, except, 228.

........., ..., who is all-powerful, and has hitherto governed that kingdom with great prudence, *ibid.*

........., ..., introducing reforms into the civil and military administration, *ibid.*

.... ordered raids across the Borders, and captured English vessels at sea, *ibid.*

........., and gov. Arran order that the sons, brothers, and other relatives of the Scotch prisoners at Solway Moss be arrested and confined to prison (Jan. 1543), 228.

........., ..., suspecting that either through disloyalty or treason they allowed themselves to be defeated by an inferior force, *ibid.*

Beton, Betoun (David)—*cont.*

........., ..., that being the principal reason (said the Ro. deputies to Chapuys) of the K. insisting so much on the Ecclesiastical State being particularly named in the art. of the defence, *ibid.*

........., the French ship in which —— returned to Scotland from France, captured at sea by the English, 235.

........., imprisoned at Blackness, 242, 291.

........., ..., on the charge of being in intelligence with M. de Guise and the French, 242.

........., the earl of Arran his sworn enemy, 231.

........., ..., causes of that enmity, 231–2.

........., confined to prison by order of Arran (Jan.–Feb. 1543), 242–3, 308.

........., ..., on the charge of having forged the late K.'s will, and appropriated money coming from France, 279.

........., ..., besides having suggested to k. James to put to death upwards of 250 Scotch noblemen suspected of Lutheranism, *ibid.*

........., Pope Paul's indignation on hearing of the abp.'s imprisonment, 291.

........., liberated from prison (April 1543), 332, 334.

........., trying in vain to communicate with Sir Ralph Saddler, and exculpating himself from the charge of opposing k. Henry's views with regard to Scotland, *ibid.*

........., rep. of his having formally abandoned French alliance, and embraced k. Henry's party in Scotland (Aug. 1543), 456.

........., ..., the Queen herself (Mary of Guise) having done the same, *ibid.*

........., ..., and of his having approved of and ratified the treaty made by the Scotch ambs. in England (Aug. 1543), 459.

........., ..., ..., though many think the contrary of that (writes Chapuys), *ibid.*

........., again at the head of the ecclesiastical party in Scotland, 521.

........., finds the means of depriving Arran of the government, and placing it into the hands of the K.'s widow, and into his own (Nov. 1543), 521.

........., retires and crosses over to France (Oct. 1543), 516.

........., said again to be in league with the earl of Arran (Dec. 1543), 543.

Bevres (Beveren ?), town of E. Flanders (sieur de), admiral of the Low Countries, *v. Bourgogne* (Adolph or Maximilian de).

Biez, Byez, Mons. de, *v. Oudard de Biez.*

Bilbao, town of the Basque provinces, seaport of Spain, 502.

Binche, Bins (Bink), a small and insignificant town in Hainaut, incapable of defence, the French unable to take (July 1543), 456.

........., the Emp. quitting, for Mons (Oct. 1543), 504.

........., let. dat. from, *230, 236, 242*.

Biscay (Viscaya), in Spain, the coast of, 115, 202, 262, 398, 481.

........., 3,000 Spaniards from, to march to the defence of Hainaut, invaded by the French, 432.

........., hackbuttiers from, to be sent to Britanny, 371.

........., ..., to the Low Countries, 398.

Bishops, *English*, newly created by Henry VIII., said to have encouraged Anne Boleyn in her excesses by persuading her that there was no need of confession, 121.

........., *Irish*, 64.

........., *Spanish*, complain of injuries done to them by the Holy See, 474.

Blackness castle (Linlithgow, Scotland), card. Beton a prisoner in, 245.

Blanc Sablons, on the coast of Britanny, 368.

Blanche Rose, surname of Richard de la Pole, *v. Pole*.

Blaye (Blaie), town of France (dep. Gironde), 372.

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........., (Nicole de), nat. dau. of the preceding, married to François du Fallaix, the herald of the Golden Fleece, *Int.* xvi *n.*

Champagne, prov. of France, the legions (militia) of, Normandy, and Picardy, in all about 16,000 foot, to be raised by Francis on his declaration of war to the Emp. (July 1542), 55.

........., France to be invaded by the Imperialists on the side of, 294, 298.

........., a prov. (said Henry to Chapuys), comparatively open and fertile, *ibid.*

........., ..., and nearer for the Spaniards and Italians in Germany, *ibid.*

........., ..., the proposal objected to on account of its inhabitants possibly claiming neutrality, *ibid.*

........., the French intending to march towards it (April 1543), 312.

Chancery, *Imperial*, 243.

........., *English*, 323 *n.*

........., *Neapolitan*, 208.

Channel, the *British*, 9, 45, 48, 58–9, 76, 138, 205, 269, 276, 282, 285, 298, 304, 308, 329, 340, 360, 385, 387, 409, 418–9, 478, 496, 504.

........., ..., the Eng. auxiliary force beginning to cross the (July 1543), 430.

........., *Irish*, for fear of the French naval armaments at Dieppe, bp. Thirlby is ordered to return to England by the (1542), 144.

Chantonay, Chantonnay, sieur de, *v. Perrenot* (Thomas).

Chapuys (Eustace), Master of Requests and Councillor in Flanders, Imp. amb. in England (1531–44), 1–4, 11, 24, 40–1, 44–6, 112, 122, 133, 152, 163, 167, 173 *n.*, 177 *n.*, 181, 183–5, 187, 200, 230, 239, 263 *n.*, 270–5, 301 *n.*, 350, 357, 399 *n.*, 401, 417, 425, 432, 453, 462, 474, 507–11, 519, 582–3, 585–6, 588, *Int.* i, iii, iv *n.*, vii, xxv, xxviii, xxx.

........., The Emp.'s powers to, to negociate the treaty of alliance, 1.

........., instructions to (3 May 1542), 2–7, 13.

........., commissioners or deputies appointed to treat with, 9.

........., advises q. Mary not to address k. Henry as "Bel Oncle" in the superscription of her official lets. to him (June 1543), 15–6.

........., ..., as all occasions of re-opening old wounds should be carefully avoided, *ibid.*

........., ..., neither is the K.'s dau. to be called "Princess of England," for in reality she is not such, since there is a male heir to the Crown, *ibid.*

........., ..., her secretaries to be warned not to use those titles in future, as it was settled when he himself was at Mons, *ibid.*

........., goes to Court and has several audiences from k. Henry, 13, 122, 139.

........., complains of not having yet received private instructions either from the Emp. or from q. Mary, 13–4.

Chapuys (Eustace)—*cont.*

........., ..., owing to which not a step, he says, has been advanced in the negociation, 15.

........., again to Court (June 1542), 19, 122, 139.

........., is, on his return from Greenwich, seized by gout in his right hand, 19, 44.

........., Gardiner calls at the Imp. embassy and discusses with, the preliminaries of the projected treaty, 22–3.

........., ... advised by him as to the manner of addressing the K. on the subject, 23–4.

........., waits on the K. on Ascension day, and is received with greater cordiality than usual, 24.

........., ..., avoids as much as possible touching on the K's. susceptibilities, *ibid.*

...., the preliminaries of the treaty discussed, and apparently settled, 24–32.

........., political advice of k. Henry to, concerning the Emp.'s affairs, 28–9.

........., k. Henry complains to, of the negociations not having been kept secret, since the French have already alluded to them (June 1542), 30.

........., ..., the information (he answers) did certainly not come from the Emp.'s side, who regrets it the more that the French are now trying to raise the Pope's indignation against him, *ibid.*

........., again summoned to Court, together with the Royal deputies, 32.

........., ..., meets with a reception that baffles all description, *ibid.*

........., ..., lays down the preliminaries of the treaty as the Emp. wishes it to be, 33.

........., ..., after a long audience, at which, without any formal engagement in the Emp's. name. agrees to every one of the K.'s overtures, he leaves Court and returns to London, 32.

........., special commissioners again appointed by k. Henry to negociate with, 32.

........., offers to go to Brussels to promote the conclusion of the treaty (June 1542), 33.

........., ..., the offer being accepted, a sedan chair, and a vessel for his passage to Calais, are prepared by the K.'s orders, *ibid.*

........., leaves London, 35.

........., to Brussels and back in a few days, 121, 128–9.

........., meets Mr. du Rœulx at St. Omer, 38, 45.

........., ..., and listens to certain military plans of that general in case of a war with the French, 35.

........., returns to his post in London and is equally well received, 33.

Chapuys (Eustace)—*cont.*

........., ..., though at first k. Henry seemed to be rather displeased, having heard in the meanwhile that the Imp. amb. had not yet quitted France, 33, 129.

........., thanks Granvelle for the care he takes of his own private affairs, and begs again for the full payment of arrears due, 40.

........., ..., without which (he says) he is sure to remain in a state of shameful misery and perplexity, *ibid.*

........., ..., informs him that the negociations in England have already terminated, and that bp. Thirlby has been appointed to go to Spain with a draft of the treaty, *ibid.*

...., had the privy councillors been more pliant and docile to his suggestions, the work would have been accomplished much sooner, *ibid.*

........., ..., were further negociations to fail in Spain, the Emp.'s subjects both there and in Flanders would be put to great inconvenience (June 1542), 41.

........., ..., ..., no merchant ships from those countries could approach the coast of England or enter the Channel, defended, as it is now, by castles and bulwarks, 42.

........., proposes that presents of money or annual pensions be distributed among k. Henry's ministers and privy councillors (30 June 1542), 42.

........., ..., being in that respect of the same advice as D. Iñigo de Mendoza, and Praët, *ibid.*

........., ..., as to himself, he declares on oath that he has received no present from k. Henry, *ibid.*

........., ..., the Emp. agreeing to presents being given, but not annual pensions granted, 110.

........., ..., the case referred to q. Mary and to Praët, *ibid.*

........., ..., again consulted on the subject, answers that there is no immediate need of it, but that a gracious present to the sec. of the Privy Council (Wriothesley) would not be amiss, 175.

........., ..., ..., as a gift of that kind would be well employed, and more beneficial for the issue of the affairs in hand, *ibid.*

........., sends to Granvelle a rough draft of the treaty (June 1542), 43.

........., ..., confidentially, and under reserve, for fear of the Roy. deputies accusing him of unfaithfulness, *ibid.*

........., writes to Granvelle about the labour and toil, both physical and mental, which the negociations on the treaty have entailed upon him, 43.

........., ..., considers himself worthy of reward, 44.

Chapuys (Eustace)—*cont.*

........., writes again to q. Mary that the appellative "Bel Oncle" given to k. Henry is most distasteful in England, and that Madame Marie can no longer be entitled "Princess of England," 43.

........., ..., even supposing the K.'s marriage with q. Katharine to have been legitimate (the privy councillors said), his son by Jane Seymour, prince Edward, has been recognized as such, *ibid.*

........., again troubled with gout and unable to use his right hand (June 1542), 44.

...., not only has the disease affected him corporally; it has also impaired his mental faculties (wrote he, to Granvelle), *ibid.*

........., on good terms with the bps. of Winchester (Gardiner) and Westminster (Thirlby), and other mins. of k. Henry, 44–5.

........., negociates the revocation of the Navigation edict, 45.

........., thanked and complimented by k. Henry for the successful termination of the negociations in England (July 1542), 46.

........., fears that when all the arts. of the treaty pass in Spain, some difficulty will necessarily be raised respecting the titles lately assumed by k. Henry, 50.

........., q. Mary's instructions to, and to his colleague, Jehan de Le Sauch, to solicit help and assistance from England (July 1542), 69–71.

........., ..., the application refused on the plea that the Emp. had not yet approved the draft of the treaty, 73.

........., summoned to Windsor together with the French amb. to hear from the lips of the privy councillors certain resolutions of k. Henry (7 Aug. 1542), 82–3.

........., ..., should there be war by sea between the Emp. and k. Francis, k. Henry will also arm to protect his own subjects, *ibid.*

........., how the K.'s declaration was answered by, 82–4.

........., ..., and by the French amb., 84–5.

........., memorandum of business transacted by, in England, up to Aug. 1542, concerning the treaty of alliance, 91.

........., sends one of his secs. to Flanders with another copy of the draft, 92–3, 96.

.... , instructed by q. Mary to go on negociating the alliance without stopping at the new titles assumed by k. Henry, 112.

........., helps Fallaix in his mission to k. Henry (Aug. 1542), 123–5, 132.

........., again reminds q. Mary of the appellative "Bel Oncle" given to Henry in her official lets. to him, 126.

Chapuys (Eustace)—*cont.*

........., ..., had he not been able to mitigate and excuse that odious title, she would have received a very curt and unsatisfactory reply to her last letter, 126.

........., goes to Court (13 Sept. 1542), 134.

........., meets the K. going [to Enfield?] to visit the Prince, his son, 134.

........., ..., has a long conference with him (12 Sept. 1543), *ibid.*

........., ..., not a word was said about the treaty, only about the last news from Germany and Flanders, 134.

........., again in Greenwich (Sept. 1542), to solicit assistance in men or money for the Low Countries, 138–9.

........., and Montmorency before Henry's Privy Council (16 Oct. 1542), 147, 159.

........., ..., their reception meagre enough when compared with that of other times, 160.

........., ..., the Emp.'s objections to the draft of the proposed treaty warmly supported by, and his colleague, in the King's presence, 160–70.

........., and Montmorency propose that the negociations on certain arts. of the treaty be transferred to Brussels (Oct. 1542), 148–9, 153.

........., ..., q. Mary not being of that opinion, and stating her reasons for it, 153.

........., frequently authorized by q. Mary to yield on many points for fear of the negociations being suspended, or altogether broken off, 157.

........., three of the Roy. deputies, Gardiner, Thirlby, and Wriothesley, call on, at the Embassy, and dine with him (17 Oct. 1542), 161.

........., assists Montmorency in his extraordinary mission from the Emp., 162–76, 236–7.

........., is summoned with him to attend a meeting of the Roy. deputies at the lodgings of the bp. of Winchester (26 Oct. 1542), 165.

........., ..., ..., goes thither alone, his colleague feeling indisposed, *ibid.*

........., the Emp.'s objections to the draft of the treaty again discussed in the K.'s presence, 165–7.

........., professing to be a good servant of k. Henry, 165.

........., and his colleague, Montmorency, draw up a report of the Emp.'s objections to the draft of the treaty, 169.

........., ..., discuss personally with the K. the art of the "Defence," 169.

........., tries in vain to persuade k. Henry that the Emp.'s demands are just and reasonable, 171.

........., ..., the K. finally declaring that he will rather remain neutral than sign a treaty which he considers faulty and deficient, *ibid.*

Chapuys (Eustace)—*cont.*

........., applying again for arrears of pay (Nov. 1542), 175.

........., ..., and for money advanced to George, and other Imp. couriers, *ibid.*

........., ..., sends one of his secretaries to Brussels for the purpose, 177.

........., knows well Henry's character and temper, 181.

........., seized with intermittent fever, which prevents him from resuming the suspended negociations (19 Nov. 1542), 182.

........., should the Emp.'s answer not come in time, is instructed by q. Mary to proceed at once to the conclusion of the treaty (Nov. 1542), 183.

........., ..., especially if there is any fear of k. Henry being discontented or offended at this delay, *ibid.*

........., summary account of his negociations up to Jan. 1543, 214–9.

........., begins to doubt of success (Jan. 1543), 219.

........., ..., really believes that k. Henry will temporize until he sees how the Emp.'s affairs in Flanders, and his own in Scotland, will turn out, *ibid.*

........., has no hope of the treaty being concluded and signed, nor of the invasion of France being definitively settled before next summer, 217, 219.

........., ..., French intrigues being meanwhile rifer than ever, 215, 217, 220.

........., unable to see the K. in consequence of a fresh attack of gout (Jan. 1543), 232.

........., sec. Wriothesley goes to visit him in the King's name, and to offer his own physician, etc., as if he were a principal officer of his Royal household, *ibid.*

........., ..., all owing to, having said in public that he feared death, and that another amb. should come for the conclusion of the treaty, *ibid.*

........., Gardiner and Thirlby call on, and propose that the amended articles pass without waiting for the Emp.'s answer, 225.

........., ..., which proposition —— refuses to admit, *ibid.*

........., ..., long conference with the Roy. deputies on the subject, 225–7.

........., preparing to wait on the K. is suddenly seized with a fit of gout (13 Jan. 1543), 229.

........., sec. Wriothesley visiting, with messages from the K., 230, 238.

........., how the last difficulty about k. Henry's titles in the preamble to the treaty was got over by (12 Feb. 1543), 239–40.

........., desists from his purpose of having the k. of the Romans included or expressly mentioned in the treaty with England, 245.

........., ..., his reasons for doing so, *ibid.*

Chapuys (Eustace)—*cont.*
........., sends to Granvelle two copies of the draft of the treaty, 262.
........., having been of late much troubled by gout, asks for leave of absence (March 1543), 262.
........., ..., must, however, fight against it as well as he can, and pass next winter in England, where his presence is more wanted than ever (writes Granvelle to him), *ibid.*
........., the time and season for the invasion of France discussed by, with the Roy. deputies (2 March 1543), 271–3.
........., ..., ought to take place almost immediately, he alleges, owing to the disturbed state of that country, *ibid.*
........., still unwell in consequence of the change of weather in the season (March 1543), 272.
........., his conversation with bp. Thirlby and the K.'s treasurer concerning the 1 per cent. duty, *ibid.*
........., knows well the K.'s character and temper, as well as that of his ministers, 264, 284.
........., ..., must therefore try to persuade him to invade France before winter (March 1543), *ibid.*
........., has gained great credit by the conclusion of the treaty, *ibid.*
........., ..., cannot fail to be amply rewarded by the Emp. for his success, *ibid.*
........., the time and season for the invasion of France discussed, *ibid.*
........., ..., the matter again brought before the Privy Council, 273.
........., ..., some of k. Henry's privy councillors, and among them the treasurer of the Roy. Household, voting for its postponement, 273–4.
........., Granvelle's memorandum to, *119*.
........., knowing better than any man living k. Henry's nature and condition, 284.
........., ..., is therefore to use all possible means of convincing the K. that the invasion of France by the allied armies ought to take place as soon as possible (March 1543), *ibid.*
........., to Court on three different occasions for the purpose of inducing k. Henry to invade France in the summer of 1543, 293.
........., boasts of having rendered great service to the Emp. by the conclusion of the treaty, *ibid.*
........., has audience from k. Henry (April 1543), 310–5.
........., ..., the invasion of France, and the 1 per cent. tax imposed by q. Mary, being the principal subjects discussed, 315–16.
........., asks for an audience at Hampton Court (April 1543), after Easter Day, 328.

Chapuys (Eustace)—*cont.*
........., ..., prevented by a violent cold from going thither (17 May), 328.
........., meets k. Henry at the gates of the Palace (May 1543), 334.
........., ..., has a long audience, during which the affairs of Clèves are discussed, *ibid.*
........., applies to the Emp. for some acknowledgment of his services in the shape of a grant or pension, 334 *n.*
........., asked by q. Mary whether certain words alleged to be uttered by him concerning the invasion of France by the Emp. are true or not, answers that they have been misconstructed by the K.'s privy councillors, 343.
........., Granvelle's memorandum to, respecting the declaration of war to France (May 1543), *144*.
........., ..., let. and instructions of the same to, 345–8, 352–3.
........., generally in bad health, and frequently unable to attend to business, 348, 520.
........., owing to a slight indisposition of, the ceremony of swearing to the treaty postponed (26 May 1543), 354.
........., applies again for substantial proofs of the Emp.'s favour according to promise (June 1543), 390.
........., ..., the Emp. has no doubt forgotten his own individual case, or he may perhaps think that he himself had derived some profit or gain by the conclusion of the treaty, *ibid.*
........., ..., but he shall be able to prove that, far from having derived any benefit through it, he is actually 200 ducs. out of pocket, not having received from the k. of England one single farthing, nor any present of value, *ibid.*
........., assists Mr. de Chantonnay in his mission (June 1543), 397–8, 421–4, 431.
........., sends one of his secretaries to Brussels to solicit payment of arrears, &c. (July 1543), 427, 431.
........., ..., besides the sums he has from time to time advanced to Jean de Honz, 427.
........., again begging q. Mary for payment of his salary (July 1543), 431.
........., again complaining of want of health (Aug. 1543), 462.
........., changes entirely the cipher of his despatches to the Emp. (Sept. 1543), 476.
........., still indisposed, assists Mr. de Chantonnay in his extraordinary mission from the Emp., 485–6, 488–9, 493.
........., ..., cannot always accompany him to Greenwich from want of health, 462.

Chapuys (Eustace)—*cont.*

........., instructed together with his colleague Chantonnay to ask Henry for a sum of money gratuitously to carry on the war against France, 488.

........., ..., should they not obtain it, to ask for a loan with interest, to be repaid in 4 or 5 months (Sept. 1543), 489.

........., writes in commendation of Briant and Bonner, sent to the Emp. on a special mission (Oct. 1543), 506.

........., in correspondence with Prince Philip of Spain, 519 *n.*, *Int.* xlix.

........., still suffering from his last fit of gout (Nov. 1543), 520.

........., assists the viceroy of Sicily (Gonzaga) in his extraordinary mission to k. Henry (Dec. 1543), 527–38.

........., his powers to be renewed, 549 *n.*, *Int.* ii.

........., ..., those previously sent by q. Mary being considered insufficient, *ibid.*

........., instructions to, in March 1542, *ibid.*

........., ... remodelled and more detailed (3 May 1542), *3*.

........., His informers; a personage from the K.'s Privy Council (Aug. 1542), 85.

........., ..., confidential friends at Court (Dec. 1542), 192.

........., ..., a personage who showed him a copy of k. Francis' let. to Marillac (Dec. 1542), 191.

...., another who had just been dining with the French amb. (21 Feb, 1543), 233.

........., ..., one of the ushers of the Privy Council (Jan. 1543), 218.

........., ..., a friend who frequents the French Embassy (Sept. 1543), 131.

........., ..., one of Marillac's familiar friends, 218.

........., ..., another who had been dining with him (Feb. 21, 1543), 233.

........., ..., a personage who dines frequently at the French Embassy, *ibid.*

........., ..., a clerk or secretary of amb. Marillac, *v. Honz* (Jean de).

........., ..., from an authentic and most reliable quarter, 461, 464, 466.

........., his colleagues in the Imp. embassy, *v. Le Sauche*, *Fallaix*, *Montmorency*, *Perronot*, *Gonzaga*.

........., his son (?) sent by him to Scotland to gather information respecting political affairs there (1542), 516 *n.*

........., his secretaries, 76–9, 91, 114, 173, 177, 182–3, 185–6, 201 *n.*, 217, 224, 282, 367, 386–7, 397–8, 474–6, 483, 514.

........., ..., one of them sent to the Privy Council to urge the conclusion of the treaty, 224.

........., ..., another with Du Rœulx' let. (Aug. 1542), 79, 114.

Chapuys (Eustace)—*cont.*

........., ..., another to Brussels to solicit payment of arrears (Sept. 1543), 177 *n.*, 224, 334–5, 451, 472.

........., ..., his clerks at the Embassy, *7* *n.*, 234, 250, 520.

........., his servants, 438.

........., the Emp.'s powers to (May 1542), *1*.

........., lets. to the Emp. (1542) *2*, *4*, *10*, *13*, *21*, *31*, *43*, *48*, *55*, *59*, *74*, *76*, *81*, (1543) *94*, *97*, *98*, *101*, *105*, *115*, *129*, *140–1*. *147*B, *154*, *156*, *161*, *172*, *179*, *182*, *187*, *188*, *200*, *205*, *212*, *217*, *225*, *230*, *236*A, *237*, *243*, *246*, *248–9*, *254*, *263*, *271*.

........., ..., from the Emp. to, (1542) *2*, *10*, *48*, *55*, *76*, (1543) *98*, *129*, *147*B, *161*, *172*, *179*, *187*, *200*, *212*, *220*, *227*, *248–9*, *257*, *260*, *266*.

........., ..., to the Queen of Hungary (1542), *5*, *9*, *12*, *17*, *18*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *30*, *32*, *37*, *41*, *47*, *52–3*, *57–8*, *60–1*, *63–4*, *66–7*, *67*, *68–9*, *70–1*, *75*, *77*, *79*, *80*, *82*, *84–5*, *87*, *89*.

........., ..., to the Same (1543), *90*, *95*, *96*, *99*, *100*, *103*, *104*, *113*, *114*, *116*, *120*, *124*, *127*, *130*, *134*, *135*, *137*, *139*, *146*, *148*A, *148*B, *155*, *158*, *163*, *167*, *168*, *174*, *180*, *185*, *185*A, *189*, *199*, *206*, *209*, *213*, *214*, *215*, *216*, *222*, *233*, *234*, *236*B, *238*, *252*, *253*, *255*, *264*, *270*, *272*.

........., ..., from q. Mary of Hungary to (1542), *8*, *11*, *15*, *20*, *35*, *51*, *72*, *73*, *75*, *78*, *86*, *117–8*, *121*, *125*, *136*, *138*, *143*, *145*, *159*, *162*, *170*, *171*, *178*, *204*, *App.* *273–4*.

........., ..., to Mgr. de Granvelle, (1542) *6*, *14*, *20*, *33*, *44–6*, (1543) *157*, *166*, *190*, *207*, *210–11*, *218*, *226*, *239*, *240*, *269*, *269*A.

........., ..., from Mgr. de Granvelle to (1543), *109–10*, *119*, *123*, *131*, *144*, *242*.

........., ..., to Prince Philip of Spain (1543), *183*, 203, *258*.

........., ..., from the Prince to, *208*, 241.

........., ..., to High Commander Cobos, *184*.

........., ..., from the Emp's. sec. (Cobos ?) to, *62*.

........., his name written also *Capuis*, *Capucio*, *Chappuis*, and *Chappuys*, 410.

........., references to (1542–3) *Int.* i–v, vii–ix, xi–xii, xiv, xvi–xx, xxiii–xxiv, xxxii, xxxiv–xxxviii, xl–xli, xliii, *Add.* and *Cor.* 577–9, 582, 584, 586–8, 593.

Charles V., Emp. of Germany, k. of Spain, 1, 2, 5–8, 13–17, 24, 28, 33–4, 40–1, 45, 46–8, 50, 59, 66–9, 73, 76, 79, 81–3, 92–7, 105, 109, 112–7, 120, 128–9, 143, 148–9, 150, 156–9, 164–5, 167–70, 172, 177, 179, 180–8, 190–5, 197–9, 204, 206, 225–7, 230, 238, 241, 243, 246–7, 262, 264–5, 270, 272–3, 275, 282–4, 289, 290–1, 304–5, 306–7, 309–10, 319,

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325, 329, 337–8, 340–1, 351, 353, 355, 356–8, 365, 397, 399, 408, 410–7, 421–5, 426, 448–9, 452–5, 458, 461–2, 465–6, 468–71, 474, 475–6, 481, 490, 493, 496, 501, 509, 515, 517–8, 524–7, 528–37, 540–2, 543–4, 547–8, 556–8, 559, 574–5, 577–9, 581–5, 588–9, 595.
........., objects to become security for Francis' debt to k. Henry (May 1542), 6.
........., ..., refuses altogether on the plea that the greater part of it was contracted when both kings were allied against him, *ibid.*
........., objects also to several articles of the proposed treaty of alliance, as in the rough draft taken by bp. Thirlby to Spain (Aug. 1542), 92–100.
........., sends Montmorency to England to explain his views on the whole, 145, 160–1, 165, 167–71.
........., on the proposal that negociations for the treaty of alliance be kept secret, and that the term during which one of the allies cannot treat with France to the prejudice of the other be prolonged, 110.
........., ..., answers that he engages to keep the matter secret till the end of October, but that should, in the meantime, honourable conditions come from the Pope or from Francis, he must listen to them, *ibid.*
........., at Monzon, in Aragon, holding the Cortes of the kingdom (Aug. 1542), 111 *n.*, 136.
........., his let. to Pope Paul concerning the revocation of the Gen. Council (28 Aug. 1542), 116–22.
........., ..., copy of it sent to Chapuys to exhibit in Henry's Privy Council, 173.
........., ..., much praised by the councillors, and especially so by k. Henry, 173.
........., censured by Henry for not having provided in time for the defence of the Low Countries (Sept. 1542), 129.
........., ..., the fault, if any (answered Chapuys), could not be his, for he could never believe that whilst waging war against the Turk another Christian prince would invade his dominions, *ibid.*
........., accused by Henry's privy councillors of having once offered to assist Pope Paul in an attack upon England, 164.
........., ..., which statement Chapuys denies, saying that although the Emp. was solicited, he never would listen to Francis' overtures on the subject, *ibid.*
........., his passage through France in 1541 alluded to, 117.
........., at Monçon holding the Cortes (Parliament of Aragon) (Oct. 1542), 122.
.... , ..., an imprudent act, for which he was blamed at the time, since the rumours then current have since been verified, that there was a question of retaining him prisoner, *ibid.*
Charles V.—*cont.*
........., confidential friends of, inform him of Francis' warlike preparations, 137.
........., in very good health, and intending to pay the French a visit next year, attacking them both in Guienne and in Languedoc (Oct. 1542), 145.
........., rumours of his projected voyage to Italy and journey to Germany, 248.
........., ..., Henry's privy councillors in England wondering why bp. Bonner does not mention the fact in his despatches, *ibid.*
........., decides to quit Spain and go to Flanders by way of Italy (March 1543), 262, 264.
........., ..., will soon embark at Barcelona and sail for Genoa, *ibid.*
........., ..., not remain long in Italy, but proceed at once to Flanders, and make war against Francis and his confederates, *ibid.*
........., departs from Madrid, 264.
........., at Barcelona waiting for Doria's galleys (April 1543), 309 *n.*
........., sails for Italy (1st of May), *ibid.*
........., his voyage to Italy finally decided upon (writes Granvelle to Chapuys) (March 1543), 292.
...., will make no stay there, but proceed at once to Flanders, *ibid.*
........., if he has to meet the Pope in Italy, it will be without going at all out of his way and losing precious time, *ibid.*
........., ..., will not speak to him on matters other than his own help and assistance against the Turk, *ibid.*
........., ..., in all other, the Imp. amb. at Rome is instructed to treat with him, *ibid.*
........., decides to quit Spain for Italy (March 1543), 264.
........., starts from Madrid, 236 *n.*, 264.
........., should he go to Flanders by the bay of Biscay, k. Henry's wish is that both may have an interview at Calais, 308.
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………, ……, had he not been a good and faithful servant of k. Henry, one might have suspected him to be in favour of France, *ibid.*

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........., ..., k. Henry offers his mediation, 508.

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........., ..., ..., if the du. sends his ambassadors, and says beforehand on what terms and conditions he intends to treat, they shall be received, not otherwise, *ibid.*

........., ..., finally recognised as k. of Denmark in 1545, 579.

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........., ..., ..., which according to estimation will amount to three or four times the sum sent by Henry to the king of the Romans, *ibid.*

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........., ..., until news of his acceptance of the treaty come to hand nothing will be done by the, in the matter of assistance in men or money to the Low Countries (wrote Chapuys to q. Mary, 14 Sept. 1542), 134.

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........., ..., their time so taken up with the affairs of Scotland that they have scarcely leisure to eat their meals (said Wriothesley to Chapuys), Dec. 1542, 186.

........., ..., Two of k. Henry's, call on Chapuys, and tell him that according to information received from Venice, Pope Paul is trying to get the duchy of Milan for one of his grandsons (Feb. 1543), 242

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........., ..., for want of an available, in London, one, a Spaniard, engaged to sail for Spain with despatches for the Emp. (2 Oct., 1542), 142.

........., ..., from London to Brussels, with Chapuys' despatches (Feb. 1543), 247, 329.

........., ..., from Chapuys, to the Emp. in Italy, announcing the conclusion of the treaty (22 Feb. 1543), 248.

........., ..., of Chapuys to q. Mary, to urge the provision of material of war for the English army (June 1543), 360.

........., ..., of q. Mary to Chapuys, with instructions for Toison d'Or (Jan. 1543), 361.

........., ..., two, in London (23 June 1543), 415.

........., ..., ..., one of them despatched by Chapuys to Brussels with a copy of the declaration of war to France, 415–6.

........., ..., Belgian or Spanish, in London, frequently not supplied with funds (July 1543), 451.

........., ..., one from Spain to Italy, with despatches for Granvelle, arrested in France (March, April 1542), 549.

........., ..., another to Genoa, *ibid.*

........., *French*, two or three, despatched by Marillac (Jan. 1543), 35.

........., ..., one despatched by D'Orthez with the declaration of war to France by the allies, returns to London (31 May 1543), 360.

........., ..., ..., k. Francis asking for a prorogation of the term fixed in the challenge that he may reply to the demands made in it, *ibid.*

........., *Papal*, one from Pope Paul to Spain, with a "breve" to the Emp., proposing an interview at Bologna, 207.

Courrières, sieur de, *v. Montmorency* (Philippe de).

Court, Henry's, usually, *v. Greenwich, Hampton Court, Westminster.*

........., the Emp.'s, in Spain, 270; *v. Toledo, Valladolid, Barcelona.*

........., k. Francis', 240; *v. Paris.*

........., Belgian, of the q. dowager of Hungary, Mary, *v. Brussels.*

........., Papal and or Roman, *v. Rome.*

Court Master (Consul) of the Eng. merchants at Antwerp, 61, 289, 547–8, *v. Gresham* (William).

Court Master (Consul), &c.—*cont.*

........., arrested by order of k. Henry (4 Aug. 1542), 78, 86.

........., another one appointed in his room, 61, 289, 490–1, 494, 547.

Coussy (Coucy, le Château) in France (dep. Aisne), k. Francis marching with his army towards (June 1543), 364.

Covos, *v. Cobos* (Francisco de los).

Cowbridge, a place between Calais and Guînes, a fort being erected by order of k. Henry at (Feb. 1543), 250.

........., the French massing troops in the neighbourhood of, *ibid.*

Crandon, Old, in Brittany, 369.

Cranmer (Thomas), abp. of Canterbury, privy councillor, 87 *n.*

........., sent with a message to Chapuys (May 1543), 335.

Cremona, city of Lombardy, 386, 587–8.

........., projected interview of Pope Paul and the Emp. Charles at Parma or, 374.

........., ..., takes place at Bussetto, between Piacenza and (Jan. 1543), 425, 453, 588.

........., the Emp. at (14–24 June 1543), 376, 402 *n.*

........., let. dated from, *153.*

........., ... received at, *333.*

Croy (Adrian de), seigneur de Beaurain and co. de Rœulx, Grand Master of Flanders, gov. of Artois, and capt.-gen. in the Low Countries (d. 1553), 18, 45, 59, 78–80, 90, 125, 128, 249, 280, 287, 344, 352, 362, 406, 413, 416, 419, 474.

........., ..., meets Chapuys at St. Omer, 35.

........., ..., suggests in conversation that with 2,000 English from Calais and such cavalry as he himself could suddenly raise, he might surprise Montreuil, 45.

........., ..., the plan submitted to q. Mary, who writes to the Emp. about it, 53.

........., ..., ..., also to k. Henry, who approves of it (July 1542), 54.

........., ..., enters into communication with Wallop, the gov. of Guînes (Aug.–Sept. 1542), 82, 91, 114, 335.

........., ..., will do his best to relieve Tournehem, though he is not so strong in cavalry as the French are (Aug. 1542), 82.

........., ..., in the Artois meditating some hazardous enterprise or other against the French (Sept. 1542), 128.

........., ..., holds an interview with Wallop at Bourbourg (18 March 1543), 280.

........., ..., prepares to attack the French, 286-7.

........., ..., said not to be on friendly terms with the du. of Aarshot, 287.

........., ..., ..., a foolish report of the French, as if those two generals were conjointly in command of the Flemish army (March 1543), *ibid.*

Croy (Adrian de)—*cont.*

........., ..., a man-at-arms and an archer of his army reported to be in secret intelligence with the French (April 1543), 302.

........., ..., his successful attempt in the Boullonais (April–May 1543), 344.

........., ..., raises his camp on the frontier and retires into the interior (May 1543), 348.

........., ..., only waiting for the French to lay siege to some important town of Flanders, that he himself may attack Montreuil (June 1543), 406, 419.

........., ..., interrogatory addressed by the Eng. ambs. at Brussels, respecting an invasion of French territory by the allies, 356–7.

........., ..., ..., answer of, to each of the seven points contained in it, 357–9.

........., ..., quite ready to make an attempt on Montreuil, provided an Eng. auxiliary force under Wallop helps to the undertaking, 406, 419.

........., ..., ..., but he cannot abandon the frontiers of Haynaut until he gets positive information of the movements of the French, *ibid.*

........., ..., will he be inclined to invade some part of France? the privy councillors ask Chapuys (June 1543), 416.

........., ..., ..., he will, provided the attack be on Montreuil and k. Henry sends an additional force to co-operate with him, *ibid.*

........., ..., let. to the Eng. gov. of Guînes (Wallop), *40.*

........., ..., answer to an interrogatory of the Eng. amb. at Brussels, *147.*

.... (Ferry de), co. de Rœulx the Emp.'s High Lord Chamberlain, 213 *n.*

.... (Philippe de), du. of Aarschot, the Emp.'s Lord High Steward in Flanders, Field Marshal of the Imp. army, 207, 213 *n*, 413, 474.

........., ..., sent to defend Antwerp (Aug. 1542), 78.

........., ..., ordered to march against the du. of Clèves (March 1543), 281.

........., ..., to be sent with co. du Rœulx to recover Landrecy (Aug. 1543), 467.

........., ..., in command of the Imp. army in the Low Countries, 474.

........., ..., sent to take possession of the duchy of Gelders and county of Zutphen, *ibid.*

.... (Robert de), bp. of Cambray (1519–56), 513.

Crusade, Holy (Santa Cruzada), against the Infidel. Bull granted to the Catholic Sovereigns of Spain and their descendants on the throne, 572.

........., a Papal bull, promised by Paul, not forthcoming (Aug. 1543), 455.

........., the proceeds of it reserved by Paul, and applied to the building of St. Peter, 573.

Cueva (D. Beltran de la) II., du. of Albuquerque, at Rome with a secret mission from the Emp. (Jan. 1543), 201–2, 213, 365, 581.

………, ……, Pope Paul inquiring what his business there could be, 213.

………, ……, the Imp. amb.'s answer to that question, *ibid.*

………, no one at Rome believes that his mission is of a political nature, *ibid.*

Cuevas (Alonso de), Span. lawyer at Rome, 473.

Culverins, four long, for battery, will be provided for the Imp. army of invasion, 533.

………, ……, so as to be able to reduce any fortified place on the road to Paris, without the army suffering delay in its march, *ibid.*

Curton (?), baron de, capt. of men-at-arms in France (1543), 374.

Çustoms, officers of the, in England, imprisoned for unduly laying an embargo on merchant vessels of the Low Countries (July 1543), 451–2.

………, of Flanders and the Low Countries, 362.

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Cymay in Hainault, *v. Chimay.*

D

Dalbourgh, in Yorkshire, *v. Aldborough.*

Dallebrecht, *v. Albrecht, Albret.*

Dalmatia, one of k. Francis' agents in Turkey said to have been murdered in 204–5.

Damizelle, *v. Amizelle* (Guillaume d').

Dampvillers (Danvilliers), in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg; a small town incapable of defence, taken by the du. of Orleans, 72.

………, the French exaggerate its importance beyond measure, as well as that of Hooghstraten, which they took at the same time, 80.

………, carried by assault, 24 July 1542, 90.

………, the towns of, Ivoix, and their respective territories to be restored to the Emp., 413.

Damsell (William), Eng. army agent in the Low Countries (Oct. 1542), sent from England to procure shafts for spears, 147.

………, *v. Amizelle* (Guillaume d').

Danes, k. Henry warning q. Mary against the (June–July 1542), 47.

………, should the du. of Holstein and the, get possession of the islands off the Amsterdam Channel, it would be very difficult to expel them therefrom (July 1542), *ibid.*

Danes—*cont.*

………, fears entertained of the, landing in Zeeland (July), 73.

………, the, and the Swedes already arming, and about to send to Scotland 1,000 Italian hackbutiers on pretence of favouring the Pope's interests in that country (Jan. 1543), 226.

………, were the Emp. and k. Henry to become masters of the Northern Seas, neither the, nor the Swedes would dare go to Scotland (said Chapuys to the Roy. deputies in March 1543), 271.

………, the, and Swedes confederated with France might easily defeat k. Henry's plans in Scotland (Jan. 1543), 226.

………, the fleet of the Low Countries to be fitted out against the, 275.

Dania, the country of the Danes, or *Denmark, q.v.*

Daniel (Fath. Gabriel), the Jesuit, French hist. quoted, 584.

Danvilliers, *v. Dampvillers.*

Datary, Paul's (March 1543), 268.

Dauphiné, Dauphinois, prov. of France, said to be, as well as Provence, a fief of the Holy Roman Empire, 339.

………, both to be restored to the Emp., to whom they belong, together with other countries usurped by kings of France, 345, 410, 413.

Davalos d'Aquino (Alfonso), marq. del Gasto (Vasto ?) and Pescara, gov. of Milan, 12 *n*, 119, 205, 334, 340, *Int.* i.

………, ……, master of the field against the French in Piedmont (Oct. 1542), 151.

………, ……, the Emp.'s vicar-general in Italy, visits the Emp. on his landing at Genoa (June 1543), 387.

………, ……, intercedes in favour of the du. of Camarino (Ottavio Farnese), 454.

………, ……, sent to the relief of Nizza, 497–8.

……… (D. Fernando), marq. de Pescara (d. 152), alluded to, 12 *n*.

Davesnes, *v. Avesnes.*

Debitis (Deputy) of Calais, 387; *v. Maltravers.*

Debt, French, to England, already amounting to a very considerable sum, 7, 30, 408.

………, so far acknowledged by k. Francis that he offers to pay it out of his conquests in the Low Countries, 32.

………, the French quite ready to pay their, by instalments (said k. Henry to Chapuys), 31.

………, ……, which statement the latter contradicts, 32.

………, should k. Henry ask the Emp. to stand security for the, and be indemnified for his loss of money, Chapuys is to refuse unconditionally, 6.

………, ……, for that, or the greater part of it, was contracted for the sole purpose of carrying out war against him, *ibid.*

Debt—*cont.*

........., no fear of k. Henry or his successors on the throne ever consenting to treat with the French unless they pay first the arrears of pension they owe to England (Aug. 1542), 106.

........., the payment of the, (already amounting to 102,108 crs. of the Sun, including nine years' arrears of pension and the interests thereof), constituting one of the chief articles of the challenge and intimation of war to Francis (22 June 1542), 408.

Defence, Art. VIII. of the treaty respecting the mutual, in case of invasion by the French, warmly discussed, 135–7, 236.

........., ..., q. Mary's objections to the number of men stipulated on each side, 156.

........., ..., ..., which she says in either case is not equal, *ibid.*

........., ..., amb. Chapuys instructed to yield to the demands of the Roy. deputies rather than cause a rupture of the negociations, *ibid.*

........., the Roy. deputies deliberately refusing to include in the art. of the, the dukes of Clèves and Holstein, 162–5.

........., ..., while they insist upon the Pope being declared common enemy of the allies, and therefore being expressly named in the art., 164, 169.

........., various amendments proposed to the art. of the, as worded by the Roy. deputies, 172.

........., ..., one accepted at last by Chapuys with q. Mary's consent, 179.

........., the art. itself submitted to the deliberations of the Emp.'s Council in Spain, 236.

........., Chapuys tries in vain to have a clause introduced in the, relating to the wars of France (Feb. 1543), 240.

Dehons, *v. Honç* (Jean de).

Denmark, kingdom of, 34, 66, 126, 140–150, 315, 579, 582.

........., the people of, 24; *v.* also under *Danes.*

........., k. of, *v. Christian II.* "the Cruel" (1513–23).

........., titular kings of, *v. Frederich* and *Christian III.*, dukes of Holstein.

........., princesses of, *v. Christina* and *Dorothea.*

........., Henry's agent in, *v. Watson* (William).

........., Francis' envoy to, *v. Richer* (Christophe).

........., fleet of, *v. Fleet.*

........., sec. of k. Francis to, on a mission (Oct. 1542), 150.

........., Christina of, dau. of k. Christian II., and wife of Francesco Maria Sforza, du. of Milani; married to François de Lorraine, du. de Bar, 40 *n.*, 97 *n.*, 579,

Denmark—*cont.*

.... (Dorothea), princess of, dau. of Christian II., the dethroned K., and of Isabella, the Emp.'s sister; married to the co. Palatine Frederick, 40 *n.*, 97, 579.

Deputies, or royal Commissioners, for the treaty of alliance; appointed by k. Henry to negociate with Chapuys (1542), 9 *n.*, 23.

........., ..., their names *Gardiner*, *Tunstall*, *Fitz William*, *Sadler*, and *Wriothesley*, q. v.

........., ..., powers to be made out for three of them in particular [Gardiner, Tunstall, and Thirlby], to discuss with Chapuys the preliminaries of the treaty (30 June 1542), 30.

........., ..., their imperfect knowledge of the French language, or else the wish of consulting k. Henry during the discussion of the articles, is perhaps the cause of their raising objections to many already settled (observes Chapuys, end of Jan. 1542), 33.

........., ..., the negociations proceeding at first slowly and with some difficulty, 36–7, 40–4.

........., ..., the defensive league and its duration discussed between Chapuys and the, 35.

........., ..., difference of opinion among the parties, the, wishing it to last as long as the offensive, while the Imp. amb. is of opinion that if so, it would be an intolerable burden for the Emp., *ibid.*

........., ..., the offensive league against France very popular, and much desired by the (July 1542), 49.

........., ..., ..., hoping that in the event of a war with that country, k. Henry will be easily relieved from the payment of capital and interest on the money borrowed from his subjects, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., especially if the war be under pretence of checking Francis' propensities to, and alliance with, the Turk, *ibid.*

........., ..., all differences being amicably adjusted, two separate drafts of the treaty are sent to Spain, one by the, the other by Chapuys (30 June), 43.

........., ..., ..., bp. Thirlby is to be the bearer of one of them, 45.

........., ..., though being found to disagree on many points, and otherwise not meeting with the Emp.'s approval, both drafts are returned to Chapuys, for him to resume negociations with the, 148, 236–7.

........., ..., suggest to Chapuys that in the event of a war with France, k. Henry should like to exchange his own rights to Guienne and Gascony, for those which the Emp. claims on Abbeville, Amiens, and other towns of Picardy (Oct. 1542), 50.

Deputies, or royal Commissioners—*cont.*

........., ..., getting every day colder and less accommodating in the matter of the negociation (Oct. 1542), 151–2, 163.

........., ..., do not propose a meeting until the 26th of Oct., when the Imp. ambs. are summoned to attend one at Gardiner's house, 151–2.

........., ..., three of the (Gardiner, Thirlby, and Wriothesley), dine at the Imp. embassy, and have a conference with Chapuys and Montmorency (17 Oct. 1542), 161.

........., ..., call again on the 21st, and propose various amendments to the art. of the common defence, 162–4.

........., ..., hold another conference with the, at the house of the bp. of Winchester (Gardiner), on the 26th, 165.

........., ..., ..., which conference Montmorency, feeling indisposed, does not attend, thus giving his colleague (Chapuys) an opportunity for speaking more freely to the, *ibid.*

........., ..., fresh and warm discussions, chiefly on the art of the "Defence" and the clause relating to the "spirituality" and the Ecclesiastical State, the, consenting at last to accept an amendment proposed by Chapuys (Jan. 1543), 214–5.

........., ..., Chapuys' account of the negociations with the, from the arrival of Montmorency in London until his departure for Flanders (Nov. 1542), 182–3.

........., ..., had not one of the (Gardiner), sent him a message that the K. could not, owing to pressure of business, give a definite answer, the treaty would have been concluded and signed, 189.

........., ..., ..., k. Henry being then so much engaged with the affairs of Scotland, that he had no time to think of his, and their negociation with the Imp. amb., *ibid.*

........., ..., after an amendment of various arts. proposed by Chapuys, and accepted by the, the negociation for the treaty is considered at an end until the Emp.'s approval (15 Jan. 1543), 224–5.

........., ..., call again at the Imp. embassy, and dine with Chapuys (5 Feb. 1543), 239.

........., ..., after a long conversation, the chief points of the treaty are ultimately settled, *ibid.*

........., ..., nothing wanted but k. Henry's final approval, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., which is unavoidably delayed (the, inform Chapuys) and owing to the unexpected news from Scotland, and k. Henry's engagements, the conclusion of the treaty must be put off for a few days, *ibid.*

Deputies, or royal Commissioners—*cont.*

........., ..., all Chapuys' attempts to have the two dukes of Clèves and Holstein included in the art. of the Defence, as rebels to the Empire, baffled by the, 240.

........., ..., ...; who allege that there is no need of naming them, since both are already declared to be "common enemies" of the allies, *ibid.*

........., ..., an amendment proposed by Chapuys to the art. of the "Defence" is rejected by the, as unnecessary and superfluous, 241.

........., ..., two of the (Gardiner and Thirlby), call again on Chapuys, and inform him of the K.'s wish respecting the treaty (12 Feb. 1543), *ibid.*

........., ..., the proposed amendment having been unconditionally accepted on both sides, there is no need of further consulting the Emp. about it, and waiting for an answer, *ibid.*

........., ..., call again at the Imp. embassy, and deliver a message from the K. (March 1543), 270.

........., ..., treat with him of the projected invasion of France, which k. Henry (they said) is willing to undertake, 271.

........., ..., ask Chapuys whether the Emp. is willing and ready to invade France, 272.

........., ..., ..., "the Emp. is quite ready," was the amb.'s answer, at which the, were delighted, *ibid.*

........., ..., should the Emp. help with his fleet (the —— added), and both these and the k. of England become masters of the N. Seas, neither the French nor the Danes could stir in favour of the Scots (March 1543), *ibid.*

........., *Papal* at Bossa, 558–63.

........., *Imperial*, at the conference of Bussetto with Paul's cardinals.

........., *Spanish*, at the Cortes of Valladolid.

Desmond, earl of, the chief lord of Ireland; comes to London to do homage to k. Henry (29 June 1542), 22.

........., still at Court (29 June 1542), *ibid.*

........., he and three more Irish lords take leave of the K. on their knees (July 1542), 50.

Destrea, Destres, sieur, *v. Estrees.*

D'houglas, D'ouglas, 243 *n.*; *v. Douglas.*

Diamond ring and other rich jewels of the Emp., *v. Jewels.*

Diaz de Luco or Lugo (Juan Bernal), bp. of Calahorra (1544), 575 *n.*

Dieppe, in Normandy (dep. Seine Inférieure). French naval armaments at (Oct. 1542), 145, 147.

........., ..., destined, as reported, against the Low Countries, *ibid*, 147.

........., ..., or perhaps to succour the Scots in time of war, 145.

Dieppe, in Normandy—*cont.*
........., a Scotch priest, in k. Henry's service, accused of being mixed up with certain intrigues at Rouen and, 302; *v. Penven.*
........., gov. of (1543), *v. Argo.*
Diers, islands close to Marseilles, 487; *v. Hières.*
Diet. That of Worms in 1521, alluded to, 197.
........., that of Ratisbon, *ibid.*
........., of Spires, in Bavaria, 12, 52, 282, 509, 528; *v.* also *Spires.*
Dispensation, Papal bull and breve of, for the marriage of Prince Philip and Maria of Portugal, defective and full of mistakes (1543), 574.
........., ... returned to Rome for amendment and corrections, *ibid.*
Dodelot, 182; *v. Dudley.*
Dolphin, a fish believed to be a, presented by k. Henry to Chapuys, 42.
Dolst (d'Olst, de Holstein), 20; *v. Christian III., du. of.*
Donato, Venetian agent in Constantinople, 194; *v. Salvi.*
Doria (Andrea), prince of Melphi, naval commander in the Imp. service, 308–9, 381–4, 497–8, 501.
........., ..., his galleys, 5, 238, 308–9 *n.*, 381, 581.
........., ..., consulted as to the best manner of defending the coasts of Naples and Sicily against Barbarossa, 380–6, 389.
........., ..., ordered by the Emp. to be at Barcelona with his galleys before the end of March 1543 (23 Jan.), 238, 262.
........., ..., in sight of Rosas, on the Catalonian coast (April 1543), 509 *n.*
........., ..., silver plate belonging to, pawned to Genoese bankers in (1526), 581–2.
.... (Antonio, Antoniotto), nephew of Andrea; his galleys, 381.
.... (Joannetino), to the relief of Nizza, with his galleys, 495.
Dorisa, small island off the W. coast of France, *v. Ré.*
Dorlens, *v. Doulens*, in Picardy.
Dormer (Michiol), chief (*maire*) of the Staple of Calais (1543), 472 *n.*
Dorthez, *v. Orthez, d'.*
Dotelet; Dutelet, *v. Dudley.*
Douglas, family of Scotland, their great influence over the Governor (earl of Arran), 303.
........., reinstated in their property by the States General or Scotch Parliament, *ibid.*
........., greatly attached to k. Henry's party, and likely to favour his views in Scotland, *ibid.*
Douglas (Archibald), earl of Angus, 222, 235, 242–3, 243 *n.*, 322.
........., ..., k. James, some time before his death, ordered that, should be reinstated in all his property, 235.
Douglas (Archibald), earl of Angus—*cont.*
........., ..., one of his nephews released from prison, *ibid.*
........., ..., goes back to Scotland and retakes possession of his confiscated estates (Jan. 1543), 189, 222.
........., ..., two of his nephews in the regency of Scotland, 235.
........., ..., at the head of the English party there (Feb. 1542–3), 243.
.... (George), bro. of the preceding, 222, 235, 242.
........., ..., amb. in England; expected in London with a good resolution in favour of k. Henry (May 1543), 355.
Douglasses (the), of Scotland, following k. Henry's party, 303.
Doullens, in Picardy (France, dep. Somme), 61, 368–9,
........., the French garrison of Picardy concentrated at (Sept. 1542), 139.
Dover, 9, 131, 312, 361, 363, *Int.* xxxiii.
........., k. Henry at (May 1542), 9 *n.*
... ., five Flemish ships at, 474.
Downs, the, 312.
........., the fleet of the Low Countries touching at the, 474.
Drapers and clothiers in England much annoyed, as well as the weavers, at the statute enforced in 1539, respecting the weaving and selling abroad of woollen cloths (May 1542), 10.
Drem, 460; *v. Duren.*
Dudley (Sir John), lord Lisle, in command of the Royal forces at Berwick, 182, 220.
........., ordered not to make raids into Scotland, 222.
Dufou, a village of Brittany (?), 368.
Dumfries Castle, in Scotland, Somerset herald killed near (Dec. 1542), 185.
Dunkerke (Dunkirk), town of E. Flanders, 311, 321.
.... permission granted to the people of, to export wood from England, 451.
Duren (Deuren), in the duchy of Juliers, 174.
........., taking of (14 Aug. 1543), 475, 484, 485 *n.*, 490.
........., the Emp.'s proclamation to the inhabitants of, 473, 484.
........., Henry's congratulations on the taking of, 508.
........., let. received at (21 Aug. 1543), 205.
Durham, bp. of, *v. Tunstall.*
Dutelet, *v. Dudley* (Sir John).
Duties, Custom-house, in Flanders and the Low Countries. One of 1 per cent. *ad valorem* upon all goods imported in, or exported from, the Low Countries, imposed by q. Mary (Feb. 1543), 254.
........., ..., not to be permanent, but to last only one year, and be exclusively spent in the defence of the country against the French, 254, 272–3, 290.

Duties, Custom-house, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., much objected to by k. Henry's privy councillors, 272, 314.

........., ..., ... and also by the Eng. merchants, who protest against it, alleging that it is an infraction of the commercial treaties between the two nations, 272–3, 314.

........., ..., long altercations on the subject of the, 272–3, 314–5, 331.

........., ..., Chapuys' arguments in proof of its convenience and necessity, 272–3.

........., ..., no art. (he alleges) in the old commercial treaties between the Low Countries and England prevents the contracting parties from laying, in case of need, 273.

........., ..., under cover of the privilege claimed by the Eng., foreign merchants might easily import in, or export from, the Low Countries any goods they pleased, and carry on a fraudulent trade, *ibid.*

........., ..., besides which, German and Italian merchants would claim a similar exemption, *ibid.*

........., ..., ... and the collection of the tax become very difficult, if not altogether impossible, *ibid.*

........., ..., the tax (he argued) is not only convenient and necessary for the Low Countries, it is harmless to the Eng., since, after all, the inhabitants of the Low Countries will ultimately have to pay the, *ibid.*

........., ..., ... and the money coming from it to be spent exclusively in the war against the Turk number 2 (*i.e.*, k. Francis), the common enemy of the allies, *ibid.*

........., ..., the King's deputies not daring to contradict the above arguments, and owning that Chapuys was right (March 1543), *ibid.*

........., ..., the new Court-Master of the English merchants at Antwerp asking also for the exemption from the (March 1543), 289.

........., ..., ..., q. Mary's answer to him, 290.

........., ..., ..., orders Chapuys to hold to the last; the, must be levied anyhow, if the Low Countries are to be defended against the common enemy, *ibid.*

........., ..., k. Henry's discontent on hearing by Chapuys of q. Mary's fiscal measure, which he attributes solely to the ill-advice of her councillors, 314.

........., ..., ..., who, he says, do not attend sufficiently to her interests, *ibid.*

........., ..., k. Henry calls it an infraction of the treaties, and orders his Privy Council to report upon it, *ibid.*

Duties, Custom-house, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., though it is natural (report the privy councillors) that English merchants trading with the Low Countries should pay, on the goods they import, they do not feel at all disposed to do so, *ibid.*

........., ..., the K. (his privy councillors assert) will not hear of it; he cannot allow his subjects to be thus taxed, *ibid.*

........., ..., all are claiming to be exempted from it, and the K. cannot help to intercede for them, *ibid.*

........., ..., they would much prefer giving q. Mary a sum of money, larger perhaps than that which the, is calculated to yield in one year, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., and should she want funds for the defence of the countries under her government, lend her money at a lower rate of interest than any other Italian or German bankers, *ibid.*

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........., ..., the privy councillors formally declaring to Chapuys that, should Eng. merchants be exempted from the payment of the, a sum of money larger than the one likely to be collected in one year will be placed at the disposal of q. Mary, *ibid.*

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...., (D. Martin Alonso de), I. co. de Alcaudete, gov. of Oran and Mazanquivir, in N. Africa, 550.

........., ..., ..., takes Tlemsén and re-establishes on the throne Muley Abu Abdillah, 551–6.

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........., the French preparing to invade, for the third time (July 1542), 72–3, 78.

........., invaded at the same time as the Artois and the Luxemburg, 135, 380.

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........., should the Emp. go to, by way of Biscay, k. Henry solicits an interview with him at Calais (April 1543), 308.

........., ..., which the Emp. declines, intending to go first to Italy, *ibid.*

........., the new invasion of, by the French, and the revictualling of Theronen, said to have been fixed for the 18th of April 1543, 311.

........., French forces collected against, *ibid.*

........., the most fertile provinces of, having been wasted by the enemy in 1542, the Eng. cannot expect that provisions will be very abundant there (May 1543), 319.

........., ..., q. Mary, however, will do her best for the Eng. to be furnished with them, and also with carriage, *ibid.*

........., though the French have achieved nothing of importance in the Artois and other provinces of, yet the assistance of England is urgently solicited by q. Mary (May 1543), 321.

........., should the French invade, by the Artois or Hainaut, Wallop is to help Du Rœulx (May 1543), 352.

........., the Emp. announces to Pope Paul his determination to visit (9 June 1543), 376.

........., ..., cannot on that account stop long in Italy, and hold a conference with him as desired, *ibid.*

........., ..., pressing business requiring his presence in, as well as in Germany, *ibid.*

........., the French still on the frontiers of, making occasional inroads, though with little or no success at all, and gaining no ground (June 1543), 381.

........., ..., the Emp. going thither in person, *ibid.*

........., the Emp. approaching, 386.

........., should, be invaded before the term stipulated in the treaty, k. Henry would send help; but he wished to know beforehand what measures had been taken there to supply his men with provisions (June 1543), 387.

........., the Emp.'s arrival in, 482.

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........., the Privy Council's orders to the Eng. Commissaries with the army in, to get ready a number of waggons and draft horses as well as carriages for their artillery (1 July 1543), 557.

........., ..., the whole train to be at Guînes for the 16th of July, *ibid.*

........., news from (1542), 86, 89 *n.*, 113, 125, 135–6, 174, 293, 393, 321, 348, 357, 473–4, 512–3.

........., the Council of, 46.

........., ..., pres. of the, *v. Schore.*

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.... and Burgundy, all ecclesiastical business of, at Rome, to be placed in the hands of the Imp. amb. (1543), 571.

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........., ..., the ports of, again to be opened to Eng. merchants and traders, 59.

........., ..., the Imp. edict forbidding the intercourse of trade with England and the, repealed, 60.

........., ..., military preparations of q. Mary in, to resist the French invasion (July 1542), 68.

........., ..., k. Francis' preparations to invade (March 1543), 287.

........., ..., ... massing troops on the frontiers of, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., has nothing to fear from his enemies, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., unless the Emp. sends thither his Spaniards and Italians, or q. Mary gets the assistance of England, he (Francis) is sure to gain his end, *ibid.*

........., ..., the Regent's administration in, much commended and praised by k. Henry and his mins., 293, 474.

........., ..., ports of, all war-ships in the, to be fitted out by q. Mary's order (June 1543), 406.

........., ..., ..., ..., to join the Eng. fleet in the Channel and do all possible harm to the French, *ibid.*

........., ..., no fear, wrote Chapuys, of k. Henry recalling the men he has in, until the expiration of the four months stipulated in the treaty (Sept. 1543), 473–4.

........., ..., news from, 133, 135, 174, 344.

........., ..., fleet of, *v.* under *Fleet, Dutch, Flemish.*

........., ..., ..., vice-admiral of, in London (9 April 1543), 301.

........., ..., merchants of, *v. Merchants of the Low Countries.*

........., ..., Regent of, *v. Mary q. of Hungary.*

Flandre (Louis de), sieur de Praët, Imp. amb. in England (1523), in France (1534), at Rome (1539), councillor of state (1542–3); to be consulted on Eng.'s affairs, 4, 110.

Fleet, *English Royal*, 22, 126, 133, 295, 301, 316, 368, 443, 452, 474, 498, 513, 517, 536.

........., ..., doing wonders in the Channel whenever it meets French vessels (Sept. 1542), 126.

........., ..., one of twenty war-ships to the coast of Scotland, 220.

........., ..., cruisers in the Channel (Jan. 1543) capture a ship belonging to the Admiral of Flanders, 250.

........., ..., the war-ships of the, being larger, stronger, and better manned than those of the Low Countries, the sea captains and commanders of the Flemish and Dutch apply for some code of naval discipline to be observed when the two fleets sail together (Feb. 1543), 255.

........., ..., consisting in March 1543 of no less than 30 war-ships well equipped and manned, 271.

........., ..., should k. Henry decide to invade France, the Emp. should send his, and both together master the Northern seas, so that neither the French nor the Danes would dare go to Scotland, *ibid.*

........., ..., should the, meet the French in the Channel, an engagement is sure to follow (March 1543), 276.

........., ..., the whole of the, to assemble at Harwich, and then put out to sea (June 1543), 368.

........., ..., the remainder of the, being equipped for war purposes (July 1543), 443.

........., ..., twelve war-ships, the finest and most gallant that ever furrowed the sea, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., to which k. Henry has added six or seven large ships bought or chartered from merchants (writes Chapuys to q. Mary, 27 July 1543), 445.

........., ..., ..., the intelligence lately received that the du. of Holstein and the k. of Sweden are arming is perhaps the cause of k. Henry's wonderful activity (July 1543), 452.

........., ..., the "King Henry" and the "Marie Rose" the two largest war-ships of the, *ibid.*

........., ..., were not at the Downs when the Flemish admiral sailed thither, 474.

........., ..., 12 war-ships of the, to be armed and fitted out for sea (Oct. 1543), 498.

........., *Imperial*, of *Flanders* and *Low Countries*, 12, 143, 181, 209, 226, 250, 274, 282, 295–6, 299, 312, 320, 323, 406, 433, 446, 461, 473, 512, 517, 523, 535.

Fleet, *Imperial, of Flanders—cont.*

........., ..., that of the Emp. much stronger than the French, as they themselves own (Oct. 1542), 143.

........., ..., the idea of the, helping to the defence of England, if attacked, abandoned for a time during the discussion of the treaty of alliance (Nov. 1542), 181.

........., ..., ..., q. Mary glad of it, as otherwise the Low Countries could not in case of war with the French, help at the same time by land and by sea, *ibid.*

........., ..., to be fitted out against the Danes and Swedes confederated with France (Jan. 1543), 226.

........., ..., a ship belonging to adm. Bèvres captured in the Channel by Eng. cruisers (Jan. 1543), 250.

........., ..., ..., with perfect reason and right (said k. Henry to Chapuys), for she was armed and provisioned by the Scots, some of whom were on board when she was taken, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., orders for the ship to be released, and her crew set at liberty, *ibid.*

........., ..., should the English invade France by way of Normandy the, being stronger than the French, might easily furnish the Eng. with provisions (March 1543), 274.

........., ..., the Emp. bound by treaty to man the, with 2,000 infantry (March 1543), 282.

........., ..., q. Mary wishing to know what number of ships is required, and of what tonnage, before she decides how the landing force is to be distributed, *ibid.*

........., ..., Eng. war-ships being generally large and heavy, with powerful artillery, it is natural enough that k. Henry's ministers should wish for them to be of equal size and tonnage, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., and yet middle-sized and lighter vessels would be more useful for the defence of the coasts of Holland and England, *ibid.*

........., ..., code of regulations for the, when sailing, or acting in concert with that of England, 295, 299.

........., ..., ..., some of its articles slightly amended by k. Henry's privy councillors, 299, 323.

........., ..., that of Flanders under vice-admiral Bèvres ought to sail first to the Downs or to Dover (April 1543), 312.

........., ..., ..., that the Flemish and Dutch sailors may become acquainted with the Eng., *ibid.*

........., ..., k. Henry wondering how the, does not put to sea in view of the French naval armaments on the coast of Normandy (April 1543), *ibid.*

Fleet, *Imperial, of Flanders—cont.*

........., ..., ..., Chapuys' answer being that Bèvres, the vice-admiral, could not possibly sail without his own ship, still detained in England, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., besides which nothing has yet been decided as to signalling, &c., nor as to the place where the, is to join that of Eng., *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., but since Bèvres' ship has already left Eng. waters there is no difficulty for the, sailing shortly to whichever point was deemed most convenient, *ibid.*

........., ..., q. Mary does not consider herself obliged by treaty to send the, to the Channel before k. Henry has actually challenged Francis (April 1543), 320.

........., ..., ..., since after all, to judge from the language he held to amb. Marillac, Henry does not yet hold k. Francis as his enemy, *ibid.*

........., orders sent to all the ports of Flanders and Zeeland to arm the war-ships they have, and join the Eng. in the Channel (June 1543), 406.

........., ..., to be kept in readiness to help and assist the Eng. in a maritime expedition which k. Henry is now meditating (July 1543), 433.

........., ..., only two war-ships of the, and three more vessels, hardly deserving the name of ships, had entered the ports of Eng. in July 1543 (wrote the privy councillors to Chapuys), 446.

........., ..., to join the Eng. at Dover or in the Downs for some secret enterprise against the coast of France (Aug. 1543), 459.

........., ..., ..., what sort of enterprise is meant no one can tell, but as only two big war-ships with very powerful artillery and a landing force are being prepared in England, it must be an important one, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., perhaps one against La Rochelle or some other point on the coast of Brittany is meant, as suggested by Capt. Lartigue some time ago, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., though on the other hand this King's ministers declare that they will not hear of it until next year, *ibid.*

...., ought to sail at once for England and join the English against the French in Scotland (Aug. 1543), 461.

........., ..., report of their having joined the Eng. in order to chase the French, 457.

........., ..., the fitting out of the, and especially of those of Holland and Zeeland, highly recommended by k. Henry's mins. (Sept. 1543), 473.

........., ..., the King's privy councillors again insisting upon the, being fitted out (Oct. 1543), 513, 517.

........., ..., ..., q. Mary's reply to the demands of the councillors, 535.

Fleet, *Imperial, of Flanders—cont.*

........., ..., during the year 1542 the, under Admiral Bèvres, did its duty in every respect (Dec. 1543), *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., if fault there was, it was entirely due to the bad weather and contrary winds, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., such a provision, however, shall be made for the year 1544, that there will be no fault on the part of the Emp. or of q. Mary, 536.

........., *Imperial Italian, v.* under *Galleys, Doria, Cigala, Terranova.*

........., *Flemish, v. Flanders and the Low Countries.*

.... of *Holland* and *Zeeland, v. Flanders and the Low Countries.*

........., *Imperial Spanish* in the Mediterranean, principally employed against the Turks and Barbarossa, 363, 381.

........., ..., that of D. Alvaro de Bazan, 463.

........., ..., that of D. Bernardino de Mendoza, 381–2.

........., *French,* one of 80 or 100 small fishing craft, returning from Newfoundland, captured by the Spaniards off the coast of Holland (Sept. 1542), 138.

........., ..., two vessels, one French, the other Scotch, laden with artillery, and harness of all kinds, captured by the English (22 Sept.), *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., two more by the Flemings, *ibid.*

........., ..., report of a, of 14 or 16 ships, being armed at Dieppe (Oct. 1542), 143–4.

........., ..., destined, as rumoured, to help k. James in Scotland, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., Chapuys informing k. Henry of it, *ibid.*

........., ..., the French evidently looking out for some excuse or other to send their, with a landing force to Scotland (March 1542), 276.

........., ..., report of great naval armaments at Dieppe and other ports of Normandy (April 1543), 311–12.

........., ..., ..., its destination unknown, though it is supposed that it is meant against Scotland, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., k. Henry attaching no faith to the report, for his own warships keep so close a watch upon the coast of Normandy that the Scots cannot possibly receive intelligence from France, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., if intended for Scotland, there is no landing force in readiness (said k. Henry to Chapuys), *ibid.*

........., ..., one of 60 sail said to be ready to put out to sea (April 1543), 311.

........., ..., ..., k. Francis daily trying to increase that number, *ibid.*

Fleet, *French—cont.*

........., ..., ..., the news of such considerable armament reaches England (18 April), *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., discussion about it in the Privy Council, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., perhaps for Dunkirk or Gravelines, in order to push thence into Lower Flanders, 312.

........., ..., ..., or to help and assist their own army in case of their invading Flanders, 321.

........., ..., in the Mediterranean, 384.

........., ..., 16 war-ships from Dieppe, having on board infantry and men-at-arms, sent to Scotland in help of Lennox and the party opposed to k. Henry (July 1543), 434, 436.

........., ..., ..., some of the Eng. in pursuit of them, *ibid.*

........., ..., one of about 20 war-ships sent by k. Francis to the coast of Scotland (July 1543), 436, 459.

........., ..., ..., not meeting with the reception the French expected, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., detained at Leith under some pretence or other so as to give k. Henry time to send thither some of his own, 459.

........., ..., ..., four or five of them captured by the Eng. at sea, and two more by the Flemings, *ibid.*

........., ..., ten Eng. ships, wonderfully well provided with artillery and most efficient crews, sailing against them, 460.

........., ..., one consisting, as reported, of thirty galleys, three "galeasses" or galleons, and twenty-one more vessels, joins Barbarossa's fleet in the Levant (Aug. 1543), 463.

........., ..., one of thirty sail between war-ships and galleys, defeated by D. Alvaro de Bazan off the coast of Galicia (July 1543), 463, 520.

........., ..., ..., since then the French have not shown themselves on that coast, 463.

........., ..., according to reliable information from Gasto in Milan and Figueroa in Genoa, the, consisting of a number of sailing ships and "galeases," and having on board a landing force, has joined the Turkish, and anchored off Villafranca, near Nizza (Sept. 1543), 468.

...., in combination with the Turkish, attack Nizza, 501, 589–90.

........., *Danish,* of the du. of Holstein. In combination with the Swedish, said to be sailing to the coasts of Holland and Zeland, 125–6.

........., ..., k. Henry's order to the Eng. merchants in the Low Countries to return to England with their goods, 439.

Fleet, *Danish—cont.*

........, ..., the French boasting that a powerful, of the du. of Holstein, will soon go to Scotland (March 1542), 277.

........, ..., ..., an Eng. agent sent to inquire into the truth of the report, *v. Watson.*

.... *Dutch, v. Low Countries.*

........, of the *Easterlings.* Rumours of the, in combination with the French, threatening the coast of Holland and Zeeland, 125–6.

........, ..., the rumour contradicted by k. Henry, 126.

........, ..., ..., as the du. of Holstein (he says) has only seven wretched ships for the defence of Denmark, *ibid.*

...., ..., and as to the French, they have no wish to sail in that direction, for fear of his own powerful fleet, *ibid.*

........, *Flemish,* 312, 474, 535–6.

........, ..., vice-admiral of, *v. Bèvres.*

........, of *Holland, v. Fleet, Dutch.*

........, of *L'Ecluse* (Schluys), 474.

........, *Scotch;* some, and French war-ships capture on the coast of Brittany certain Eng. merchant vessels laden with wine from Bordeaux (Jan. 1543), 233.

........, *Swedish;* that of Gustav Vasa in combination with the Danish, threatening the coast of Flanders, 125–6.

........, *Turkish,* 65, 99, 239, 381, 383–4, 406, 414, 464, 560.

........, ..., 14 galleys of the, said to have been promised by Solyman to k. Francis, to help him in case of an attack by the Emp., 53 *n.*

........, ..., report afloat of the, being armed to sail for the coast of Roussillon, and help the French there (Aug. 1542), 99.

........, ..., one of 80 galleys being fitted out for the spring of 1543, 239.

........, ..., ..., for the purpose, as reported, of going to Provence and assisting the French (Jan. 1543), *ibid.*

........, ..., the ports of Antibes and Toulon said to have been prepared for the reception of the, 268, 459.

........, ..., ..., k. Francis declaring that to be a false report, *ibid.*

........, ..., should the, invade the coast of Sicily, 2,000 Span. infantry are to be transported thither, 384.

........, ..., under Barbarossa at Lepanto, *ibid.*

........, ..., the Grand Turk's powerful, 560.

........, ..., Barbarossa's, on the coast of Italy, 406.

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Flemish fleet, *v. Fleet.*

.... merchants, 15, 101, 174; *v.* also under *Merchants, Dutch* and *Flemish.*

.... vessels. K. Henry willing to grant safe-conducts to, provided their cargoes do not proceed from the ports of France, 291.

Flessings, Flissinge, *v. Flushing.*

Fleurus, battle of, alluded to, 1 *n.*

Florence (Firenza), in Tuscany, 212, 260, 556 *n.*

........, Aguilar thinking of going to, and Siena to warn the inhabitants of those cities against French designs (Feb. 1543), 260.

........, dukes of, *v. Medici* (Alessandro de', Cosmo de').

Florentine, a native of Florence, agent of the Guicciardini, recommended by Chapuys to the q. of Hungary (2 May 1543), 324.

.... banker, the story of the, who preached a sermon against usury that he himself might practise it without competition, 30.

Flushing, town of Holland, in the island of Walcheren. A spy of the du. of Holstein at (July 1542), 73.

........, bailli and custom-house officers of (Dec. 1542), 188–9.

........, ..., Eng. merchant vessel seized by them at, 188–9.

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Fogeres (Fougères), fortified town of France (dep. Ille et Villaine), capt. or gov. of, *v. Chasteau-Briant* (Sieur de).

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Fontarrabia, in Biscay (Spain); k. Francis' military preparations at the frontier of (Jan. 1543), 238.

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Formes (Jean des), Marillac's cousin, returns from France (2 July 1542), 46, 50.

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Fragoso (Cesare), Francis' agent at Constantinople; murder of, in 1541, alluded to, 62, 119, 204 *Int.* i.

........, ..., one of the chief causes for the breaking of the truce of Nizza, 119, 204.

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........, the alliance against, to be not only defensive but offensive also (May 1542), 5.

........, the invasion of, first talked of (7 June 1542), 15, 32–3, 36.

France, the invasion of—*cont.*

........., ..., k. Henry offering to contribute towards it with 3,000 foot from the garrisons of Calais and Guînes, and 3,000 horse besides, *ibid.*

........., some enterprise or other against, first suggested by Chapuys to k. Henry (30 June 1542), 38.

........., ..., of which the latter highly approves, promising to bear it in mind, *ibid.*

........., offensive league against, first proposed by Chapuys in the Emp.'s name (30 June 1542), 36, 38.

........., ..., very popular in England (July 1542), 49.

........., ..., Henry's ministers much inclined to it, and to the war against, *ibid.*

........., should the offensive league against be stipulated, k. Henry should wish that the Emp. made over to him his rights to certain towns of Picardy in exchange for those he himself has to Guienne and Gascony, 50–1.

........., the militia ("Legions") of, quite ready to invade the Emp.'s dominions (July 1542), 55.

........., war against, to be the principal object of the alliance between k. Henry and the Emp., 100, 106–10.

........., ..., an early day to be fixed for the intimation of it, 107.

........., help and assistance against France urgently claimed by q. Mary, 156–7.

........., a sudden attack on Montreuil in, suggested by Du Rœulx and highly approved of by k. Henry, 106.

........., no decided step has yet been taken about the invasion of (wrote Chapuys, 17 Dec. 1542), 185.

........., ..., on the contrary, the king's deputies, who formerly insisted upon its taking place before July 1543, now refuse to fix the precise time for it, *ibid.*

........., the Emp.'s confidential agents and spies in (Sept. 1542), 137.

........., the defensive league against, agreed upon, 156–7.

........., ..., q. Mary wishing that in case of the Low Countries being invaded by, the assistance of England should be in money rather than in men, 156.

........., war against, discussed, 220, 262, 271, 280.

........., ..., the Emp. much intent upon it, 262–3.

........., the invasion of, readily accepted in principle by k. Henry's privy councillors, though no positive engagements are taken, 185.

........., it will be very difficult (wrote Chapuys to q. Mary, Dec. 1542) to persuade k. Henry to make war against, next spring, *ibid.*

France, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., the whole being due to the Scotch war, and to the Eng. waiting to see how the Emp.'s affairs in, and Germany will turn out, *ibid.*

........., abbeys and monasteries in, 187.

........., ..., amb. Marillac said to have promised k. Henry that the Most Christian king of, would deal with them, as he, himself, had done in England, *ibid.*

........., no persuasions of ours (wrote Chapuys, 15 Jan. 1543) will induce k. Henry's ministers to move this year one step against, 216.

........., ..., the results of the war with Scotland and the death of k. James being the chief causes of his irresolution, 217.

........., the war with, much desired by the Emp., 262, 284.

........., ..., Chapuys to try and persuade k. Henry to join in it, 262.

........., ..., every preparation should be made to invade, before the summer of 1543, *ibid.*

........., war against, decided upon, 284, 407–10, 412–3.

........., ..., the Emp. leaving Spain for Flanders, in order to invade (March 1543), *ibid.*

........., ..., Chapuys is to use all efforts to persuade k. Henry to commence war in the spring, *ibid.*

........., bp. Bonner (Chapuys suspects) had no commission to treat in Spain of the form or mode of the invasion of (March 1543), 270–1.

........., ..., k. Henry's privy councillors delaying as much as possible a categorical answer in the matter, 272, 275.

........., the mode and time for the invasion of, again discussed, some of the privy councillors voting for its taking place at once, 273.

........., ..., whilst others, and among them Sir Thomas Cheyne, vote for the postponement of it, 273–4.

........., the frontier towns of, are so strongly fortified that it will take a whole year to reduce them, 273.

........., ..., was Cheyne's argument for the postponement of the joint invasion (March 1543), *ibid.*

........., Eng. subjects in, to be protected in the event of a war with that country (March 1543), 276.

........., six merchant vessels of, captured on purpose to indemnify the Eng. of their losses, *ibid.*

........., after much reflection and thought the two French ambs., Marillac and D'Orthez, come to the conclusion that k. Henry's armaments are not intended against, 279.

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........., ..., but are only meant to render k. Francis jealous, and prevent his invasion of Flanders, 280.

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........., ..., the concentration of troops ordered by his ministers is only meant for the defence of France, *ibid.*

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........., his ordinary revenue so much increased of late that he will be able to carry on war against the Emp., 56.

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........., ..., the "Grand Signor" having rejected their overtures of peace, they gave out that he was the cause of it, *ibid.*

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........., ..., that is all he can say in answer to the calumnious reports of his enemies, *ibid.*

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........., sporting and hunting between Carcassone and Narbonne while his army is laying siege to Perpignan in the Roussillon (Sept. 1542), 137.

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........., ..., not he, as his enemies have calumniously stated, *ibid.*

........., marching at the head of his army to the frontier of Spain, 205.

........., greatly offended at the Emp. not considering his word of honour a sufficient guarantee for the security of Italy, 206.

........., if Milan be given to, the Apostolic See and the Venetians will be securities (Paul alleged) for the peace of Italy, 206.

........., the report of, having prepared the ports of Toulon and Antibes for the reception of the Turkish fleet in 1542, quite untrue (said Pope Paul, March 1543), 208.

........., as his own subjects had cast on him the imputation of having sent for the Turks, he wished to let them know that he could very well without their assistance make war on the Emp., *ibid.*

........., ..., which assertion Aguilar contradicts by saying that from a prince unaccustomed to keep his promises, however solemn, not even an oath could be accepted, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., and that neither the Apostolic See nor the Venetians could be substantial securities in the case, *ibid.*

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........., ..., ..., the excuse being that it would be shown to Paget in Paris, *ibid.*

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........., ..., his letter to that effect copied for Chapuys by a familiar friend of the French amb., *ibid.*

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........., ..., or invading the Emp.'s dominions, 242.

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........., ..., two more will go to Trent for the purpose of protesting against the Council being held thereat, *ibid.*

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........., ..., and wandering about the streets of Paris (wrote Paget), *ibid.*

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........., ..., and at once, for fear he should molest k. Henry in Scotland and elsewhere, 284.

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Francis I., king of France—*cont.*

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........., said to have intelligences in Burgundy (March 1543), 287.

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........., feigning to be as mild and courteous as possible with the Emp. that he may escape this next spring from ruin and destruction (Nov. 1542), 292.

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Francis I., king of France—*cont.*

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Francis I., king of France—*cont.*

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………, ……, if attacked now in their own country they would no longer have the means of making new discourses, or inventing new and incredible stories, and mixing themselves up with other people's affairs, *ibid.*

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Habarts (Charles), *v. Howard.*

Hableneuf (Havre Neuf) in Normandy, *v. Havre de Grace.*

Hakbuts (arquebus); a number of, sent by the French to Scotland (Nov. 1543), 521.

Hakbutiers (arquebusiers), *English.* No less than 4,000 leave London to cross the Channel (14 June 1543), 392.

........., *French*; 1,000 about to be sent to Scotland with a view to damage k. Henry's interests in that country (Jan. 1543), 226.

........., ..., and help the ecclesiastical party therein, *ibid.*

........., *Imperial*; k. Henry applies to q. Mary for 300, from Flanders to operate against the French (Aug. 1543), 470.

........., *Spanish*; 1,000 to serve for three months on the Borders; 600 of them to be paid by the Emp., and the remaining 400 by Henry, 545.

........., ..., from Biscay in Spain (June or July 1543); the Emp., might easily send a number of them to co-operate with the Eng. in an attack against La Bretagne, 371.

Hainault, Hainaut (Hennewagen, Hennegan), prov. of Belgium.

........., a large force of Imperialists marching to occupy the (Sept. 1542), 140.

........., according to merchants' lets. received in Spain, the French had made two or three raids into, and the Artois, but had been repulsed with considerable loss (Oct. 1542), 174.

........., frequent invasions of the French in the, and the Artois, 466.

Hainsberge, Hainsbergh, Hainsbourg, *v. Heinsberg.*

Halabarda (halbert), in Span. wood; 4,000, and 10,000 spears sent by the French to Scotland, 521.

Halison (Godfrey van), Dutch merchant in London, 131–2.

Hamburg, city of, N. Germany, 277, 288, 315.

Hamilton (James), first earl of Arran; nat. son of k. James IV. of Scotland, 543 *n.*

.... (James), second earl of Arran; son of the preceding, 192, 231, 244, 326, 430, 543 *n.*

........., ..., first cousin of k. James V. and guardian of his dau. (Mary), 231, 543 *n.*

........., ..., the only relative of the late k. James of Scotland, 192.

........., ..., a half-witted nobleman incapable of governing, 192.

........., ..., a great enemy of Card. Beton, 231.

Hamilton (James), second earl of Arran—*cont.*

........., ..., ..., chief cause of that enmity, *ibid.*

........., ..., brother of, his departure from France solicited by Penven, the Scotch priest, secret agent of k. Henry (April 1543), 303.

........., ..., cousin of, sent on an embassy to k. Henry (April 1543), 303.

........., ..., intitles himself "Grand Governor" of Scotland, 543.

........., ..., makes again alliance with Beton, *ibid.*

.... (John), abbot of Paisley, nat. son of James, first earl of Arran, 543 *n.*

.... (Sir William), Scotch amb. in London, 303.

Hampton Court (Midd.), 13, 32, 58, 110, 190, 215, 326–8, 331, 428, 534, 558.

........., k. Henry at (Dec. 1542), 34, 190, 361.

........., Mary (the Princess) at (Jan. 1543), 223.

........., the French amb. (Marillac) at, 215.

........., Chapuys at, 32–3, 334.

.... Palace; workmen day and night employed, by order of k. Henry, in preparing the rooms of, for the reception of Princess Mary and the ladies of the Court (17 Dec. 1542), 186.

........., Chapuys meeting k. Henry at the gate of the Palace of (19 May 1543), 334.

........., lets. dated from, *14*, *173*, *177*, *251*.

Hannawaynes, Hannewaynes; Hanaway's bulwark, in Picardy, to be guarded against an attack of the French, 492.

........., k. Henry offering to undertake the defence of, lest the French should invade his own territory of Guînes and Calais (18 Sept. 1543), 493.

Hannebault, Hannebaut (Claude d'), marshal of France, *v. Annebault.*

Hartford, *v. Hertford* and *Seymour.*

Harness (armour), steel, for foot soldiers, applied for to Flanders, 132.

........., ..., q. Mary answering that there is great scarcity of it, and that permission to export any quantity of it cannot be granted, 159.

Harran, Harren, 60, 242; *v. Arran* (earl of).

Harvel (Edmund), Eng. diplomatic agent in Venice; reports news (1542–3), 242, 248, 557 *n.*

Harwich in Essex; k. Henry leaving for (7 June 1543), 368.

........., the whole of the Eng. fleet to collect at, *ibid.*

Hatfield, in Essex; let. from, 593.

Havre (Le), port of Normandy; capt. of, *v. Mouy.*

Haynault, Haynaut, *v. Hainaut* and *Henau.*

Hesdin (Hêdin) in the Artois (now dep. Pas de Calais, France); kept by the French after the war of 1529, 153.

Hesdin (Hêdin)—*cont.*

........., k. Francis challenged to restore it to the Emp., 413.

........., gov. of, *v. Helly* (sieur de).

Heinsberg, town of the duchy of Juliers (Prussia), besieged by the du. of Clèves, 300–1, 401, 422.

........., in want of provisions, 288.

.... relieved by the prince of Orange, 300, 422, 424.

........., cavalry engagement close to, 288–9, 300, 424–5.

........., contradictory reports of the battle fought at Sittaërt circulated by the agent of Clèves and the French amb. in England, 301.

........., ..., k. Henry rather inclined to believe in them, 318.

........., ..., official account of the battle forwarded by q. Mary to Eng. for k. Henry's inspection, *171*.

........., ..., the Imperialists having subsequently withdrawn from, 430.

........., ..., ..., and the du. of Clèves intending to invade Brabant (March 1543), *ibid.*

Helly (Hêilli), sieur de, gov. of Hêdin, 371.

Henne (Elne), in the Roussillon (dep. E. Pyrennées); k. Francis attempting the seige of (Oct. 1542), 143.

Hennin (Jean de), sieur de Bossu; the Emp.'s Master of the Horse, 397.

Henri, son of Robert, du. of Normandy, k. of France, (1031–60), alluded to, 41.

Henrich IV., du. of Brunswick and Luneburg, *Int.* xix.

........., his differences with the Landgraf of Hesse-Cassel, 53.

........., his state invaded by the du. of Saxony, 58.

........., intercedes in favour of the du. of Clèves (Sept. 1543), 477.

Henriquez de Guzman (D. Diego), third co. of Alba de Aliste, 382 *n.*

Henry VII., k. of England (1485–1509).

........., alluded to as having assisted k. Philip I. of Spain, father of Charles V. of Germany, with money, 29.

Henry VIII., k. of England (1509–46), 1, 2, 4,–6, 9, 17–8, 24–6, 28–9, 32–5, 41, 45–6, 47–9, 54–7, 69–70, 73, 78, 83, 91–4, 97–9, 100, 107, 109, 114, 126–9, 134–9, 140, 156–9, 160–5, 167–9, 170–3, 177 *n.*, 178, 181–3, 185–7, 190–3, 215, 230–4, 237–9, 241, 248, 251, 262–5, 270–8, 284–6, 287 *n.*, 290–4, 296 *n.*, 298, 300, 308–16, 318–9, 320–1, 327–30, 332, 334–7, 341, 344–6, 348, 351–8, 360–2, 366, 371–80, 386–9, 391–4, 396–401, 405–10, 413–4, 416–7, 421–5, 432–3, 446, 458–9, 465–9, 470, 475, 493–6, 508, 515–7, 520, 549, 578, 584, 593, *Int.* i.

........., will not go beyond a defensive league with the Emp. for England and the Low Countries (May 1542), 3.

Henry VIII., k. of England—*cont.*

........., ..., will, however, do in that affair whatever is just and reasonable, as well as compatible with his honour, *ibid.*

........., should, stipulate for the Emp.'s security in case of the French debt not being paid, Chapuys has instructions to say that the proposition is quite inadmissible, 6.

........., his help and assistance against the Turk applied for, 7.

........., the Eng. ambs. in Spain assure Granvelle that k., intends to proceed frankly and sincerely in the negociation of the treaty of alliance (3 May 1542), 7.

........., returning to town from Dover; no longer a talk of his going over to Calais (7 May 1542), 9.

........., ..., to hold there an interview with k. Francis, *ibid.*

........., whenever he takes a fancy for a person or a thing, there is no limit to his affection, and he goes deliberately on to work; such is his condition, 15.

........., ought not to be addressed as "bel oncle" (wrote Chapuys to q. Mary), 15–6, 591.

.... gives Chapuys audience at Greenwich on Ascension day (June 1542), 23–4.

........., ..., receives him with great cordiality, and invites him to dinner, 25.

........., ..., explains to him his views about the proposed alliance, 26.

........., ..., gives advice respecting the Emp.'s political affairs, 26.

........., ..., ..., about Milan and Italy, 27.

........., ..., ..., about Ghelders, 26.

........., Chapuys' answer to, 27–30.

........., complains to Chapuys of the negociations for the treaty not having been kept secret (June 1542), 30.

........., ..., the information, if any, has not come from the Emp.'s side, was Chapuys' reply, *ibid.*

........., really in earnest to judge from the affectionate and valuable admonitions he offered respecting the government of the Low Countries (30 June 1543), 30.

........., much flattered by Chapuys, who tells him, among other things, that should the treaty of alliance be signed, the whole of it will be due to his consummate skill and experience of political affairs, *ibid.*

........., tells Chapuys that the French are continually presenting him ladies to marry, 31.

........., ..., no wonder (was the amb.'s remark) when he, himself, was once the suitor of Marie de Guise, the q. of Scotland, *ibid.*

........., gives audience to Chapuys at Hampton Court (3 June 1542), 33.

Henry VIII., k. of England—*cont.*

........., discontented to hear that the Imp. amb. in France has not yet quitted that country, but has on the contrary made offers of peace, *ibid.*

........., though not inclined at first to send an extraordinary amb. to the Emp., yet appoints Thirlby (3 June 1542), 37.

........., his nature and character according to Chapuys, *ibid.*

........., if he takes a fancy for a person he will do all that is desired, and there will be no limit to his good wishes (wrote Chapuys to q. Mary, June 1542), *ibid.*

........., is ready to throw himself into difficulties, and, therefore, his terms ought to be accepted at any risk, *ibid.*

........., better inclined to help against the Turk in Hungary (June 1542), 39.

........., on the point (as Fitz William informs Chapuys) of remitting to k. Ferdinand 50,000 crs., *ibid.*

........., well disposed to join in a good enterprise against France (June 1542), *ibid.*

........., this being the proper time and season to gain —— completely over to the Emp.'s side, *ibid.*

........., had, according to Chapuys' authentic information, made separate treaties with the dukes of Clèves and Holstein (July 1542), 43.

........., ..., a sufficient reason for his objecting to their inclusion in the treaty as rebels to the Empire, and common enemies of the allies, *ibid.*

........., in the event of a war with France, k. —— should wish that the Emp. made over to him all his rights and claims over certain towns of Picardy in exchange for those which he himself has in Guienne and Normandy (July 1542), 50.

........., at Hampton Court (10 July 1542), 58.

........., again solicited by the Emp. and k. Ferdinand to give help against the Turks in Hungary, refuses under various excuses, 58–9.

........., words addressed by Paget to the admiral of France in the name of, 63, 70–1.

........., ..., k. Francis asking for an explanation of them, 70–1.

........., sporting and taking his usual recreation in the country (Aug. 1542), 77.

........., 25 miles from London, 79.

........., no substantial help to Flanders can be obtained from, unless an answer comes from the Emp. in Spain (wrote Chapuys to q. Mary, Aug. 1542), 79.

........., tells Chapuys that he has so provided for the defence of his towns and castles on the frontier of Artois that there is no fear of the French attacking Flanders on that side (Aug. 1543), 80.

Henry VIII., k. of England—*cont.*

........, at Windsor (Aug. 1542), 82–3.

........, Chapuys and Marillac summoned to the Privy Council to hear a communication of, 83–4.

........, ..., declares to them that he is determined to arm by sea, and protect his own subjects, 82–4.

........, ..., and also clear the Channel of privateers and marauders, whether French or Imperial, *ibid.*

........, ..., the ambs. reply to it, *ibid.*

........, refuses to take any engagements respecting the affairs of the Empire, 106.

........, ..., or respecting Germany, Italy and other dominions of the Emp., save Spain and the Low Countries, *ibid.*

........, his new title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England" objected to, 110.

........, q. Mary instructing Chapuys to go on negociating the treaty until the Emp. signifies his will in the matter, 112.

........, not quite determined to declare war to the French (2 Sept. 1543), 124.

........, will (wrote Chapuys) keep up a sort of neutrality; send money to the Emp., and perhaps, too, allow some of his own courtiers to take service under him, *ibid.*

........, ..., but as to helping Flanders, as the Emp. wishes, there is very little chance of it as long as he is at war with Scotland, *ibid.*

........, ..., his intention being to invade Scotland and make the Scots feel all the horrors of war (2 Sept. 1542), *ibid.*

........, exceedingly annoyed at not receiving an answer from Spain (Sept. 1542), 125.

........, as to treating with him in conformity with the Emp.'s wishes it is out of the question at present, as his ministers take quite a different view of the affair (Sept. 1542), *ibid.*

........, his powerful fleet has already cleared the coast of England from French privateers (Sept. 1542), 125, 138.

........, One French vessel, and another Scotch, both laden with artillery and armour of all kinds, captured, 138.

........, ready to give the help applied for, provided it be in the form stipulated by the Cambray treaty (Sept. 1542), 134.

........, visiting his son Edward at Enfield, *ibid.*

........, a gentleman of his Royal Chamber dismissed from the service, owing to his frequenting Marillac's house (Sept. 1542), 134.

........, ..., another (Lord Granade) dismissed for the same reason, 135; *v. Granade.*

........, hearing by lets. from Antwerp that his amb. in Spain is returning to England in company with certain personages of the Emp.'s Court, and that the French are hastily arming at Dieppe a fleet to intercept and capture the vessel, sends the best and fastest vessel in the Eng. navy to tell the bp. to come by the Irish Channel (Oct. 1542), 143–4.

........, though at one time very much in favour of the du. of Clèves, he now seems to be glad of the Emp.'s success against him (Oct. 1543), 149.

........, gives audience to Chapuys and Montmorency (16 Nov., 1542), 160.

........, ..., complains to them of the inobservance of his treaties both with Charles and Francis (Nov. 1542), 161.

........, ..., accuses the Emp. of having, in concert with k. Francis, prepared in 1539 a fleet to invade England, *ibid.*

........, ..., ..., which accusations the Imp. amb. flatly contradicts, declaring it untrue and without foundation, 164.

........, ..., ..., the Emp. (he said) had often been solicited by k. Francis to do so, but had constantly refused, *ibid.*

........, ..., ..., as long as his plans on Scotland do not succeed, nothing more can be expected of him, *ibid.*

........, ..., ..., should he be unable to gain his aim this year, he might perhaps be induced to send his army across the Channel, *ibid.*

........, receives Chapuys and Montmorency at Court (end of Oct. 1542), 167.

........, the art. of the defence discussed in the Privy Council, 168.

........, if the Emp. (argued k. Henry) is trying to procure Paul's friendship, why does he insist so much upon my declaring k. Francis and his ally, the du. of Clèves, my enemies, 169.

........, were, to listen to French overtures now, he would get anything he wanted from them (Nov. 1542), 177.

........, rather sad and dejected ever since his late queen's misdemeanour, 185.

........, his late successes against the Scotch have considerably raised his spirits (17 Dec. 1542), *ibid.*

........, at Hampton Court having lodgings prepared for his daughter and for certain ladies of the Court (17 Dec. 1542), 186.

........, might perhaps be tempted to marry again, though at present (writes Chapuys) there is no rumour of that, *ibid.*

........, might undoubtedly listen now to French overtures, especially if Francis promises to deal with the abbeys and monasteries of France, as he himself has done in England (21 Dec. 1542), 187.

........, about to send a gentleman of his Privy Chamber to the Emp. (Dec. 1542), 187.

Henry VIII., k. of England—*cont.*

........., ..., for what purpose or on what mission Chapuys could not say, *ibid.*

........., ..., desists from the idea, *ibid.*

........., so very proud and vain glorious of his late victory over the Scots that he will easily believe he has no need of his neighbours' help (wrote Chapuys, 15 Jan. 1543), 216.

........., ..., has, however, made no capital of his victory, attributing it solely to God, and ordering that no public rejoicings take place on the occasion, *ibid.*

........., restored to his usual good humour and high spirits by the news from Scotland (Jan. 1543), 223.

........., had been sad and dejected ever since his last queen's misconduct, *ibid.*

........., showing again an inclination for carousals and pageants, and paying his court to ladies, *ibid.*

........., invites and entertains ladies at his Court, *ibid.*

........., ..., sends for his daughter Mary to receive them, *ibid.*

........., might easily get the crown of Scotland by marrying the q. widow, Marie de Guise, whose hand he sued for before she became the wife of k. James (Jan. 1543), 223.

........., many think that in the midst of that feasting and carousing he may take a fancy to some lady of his Court, 224.

........., returns to London (13 Jan. 1543), 229.

........., orders Parliament to meet in eight days' time (15 Jan.), *ibid.*

........., sends the sec. of the Privy Council to impart to Chapuys the news received from Paget, 229–30.

........., Chapuys' vain efforts to make, delay for a time his plans in Scotland, and declare war to the French (Jan. 1543), 235.

........., should he be attacked, the Emp. offers to procure him as many Germans, horse and foot, as he may possibly want, *ibid.*

........., wishing the treaty to remain secret until its final ratification (Feb. 1543), 241.

........., ..., that his subjects may have time to dispose of their property and goods in France, *ibid.*

........., very anxious for the ratification of the treaty (Feb. 1543), 241.

........., intending to send to Spain two express messengers to that effect, one by way of Germany, another through Italy, *ibid.*

........., his principal aim in his negociations with the Scotch has hitherto been to make sure of the nobles attached to France and get the little queen into his power (Feb. 1543), 245.

........., ..., has now a greater chance of accomplishing his aim by proposing to have her married to some personage or other on whom he can rely, 246.

........., professing great affection for the Emp. (Feb. 1543), 249.

........., ..., much dissatisfied just now (writes Chapuys) at his being unable to give better proof of it, *ibid.*

........., his affection will greatly increase provided the Emp. shows a corresponding sentiment, *ibid.*

........., should the Emp. go to Flanders by sea, wishes to hold a conference with him, and, if not, with Granvelle, 250.

........., ratifies the treaty of closer alliance, 262.

........., his advice about Clèves (March 1542), 275.

........., the duchy of Ghelders to remain in the hands of William of La Mark for life, and after his death to revert to the Emp., *ibid.*

........., sends one of his secs. to Denmark for the purpose of ascertaining what the duke of Holstein's plans and intentions are (March 1543), *v. Watson* (William).

........., desiring to hold an interview with q. Mary (March 1543), 277.

........., ..., dissuaded by his privy councillors, *ibid.*

........., hearing that Mr. de Granvelle is in Brussels, shows a desire to have a conference with him and invites him to come over (March 1543), 290.

........., so fond of his money that it will grieve him to lay his hands on his treasury at the present moment, on the eve of a war with Scotland (March 1543), 284.

........., ..., must, however, be induced to make war to France this very year, lest French intrigues should influence him to forget his obligations, *ibid.*

........., quite prepared and willing, as his privy councillors assert, to invade France personally (2 April 1543), 293, 297.

........., in his opinion, a prince like the Emp. ought not to expose his person to the dangers and fatigue of such an undertaking, 293.

........., orders levies of men throughout England, 294.

........., ..., of infantry only, for the cavalry he intends to get from Germany, *ibid.*

........., advises the Emp. as to the war with France, and by which frontier it had better begin (April 1543), 294.

Henry VIII., k. of England—*cont.*
........., with a slight access of fever, 295.
........., urgently requested by the Emp. to invade France by the Calais frontier (April 1543), 309.
........., leaves his usual residence (Greenwich?) and goes to another (5 April 1543), 310.
........., receives Chapuys, and shows him the copy of a letter from the duke of Clèves to k. Francis (18 April 1543), 310–5.
........., slightly indisposed (April 1543), 309, 313.
........., interrogated by Chapuys as to his real intentions respecting an invasion of France, declines at first to give a categorical answer, 313.
........., ..., yet admits that it ought to be made in the first days of July 1543, *ibid.*
........., secret agents or informers in Normandy and Brittany, 311; *v. Penven.*
........., Marillac's interpellation in the Privy Council on the subject, and the King's answer to it, 312.
........., asked by Chapuys (on the 17th of April 1543) with what force he was prepared to co-operate with the Emp. to the invasion of France, 313.
........., ..., refused at first to answer the question, saying that he found it very strange that the Imp. ambs. should always want him to speak first on such matters, *ibid.*
........., quite ready (as he declared to Chapuys) to make war on France in the summer (April 1543), 316.
........., ..., q. Mary expressing her doubts about it, for judging from his words to amb. Marillac it must be concluded that, does not yet consider him his enemy, 320.
........., wishes the Emp. to hold an interview with him at Calais, 308.
........., invites Granvelle to England (April 1543), 316.
........., asked by Chapuys in the Emp.'s name to declare at once against Clèves, Holstein, and France, 321.
........., ..., and to expel from England the subjects of those countries, *ibid.*
........., appoints Seymour and Wotton to represent him at Brussels (2 May 1543), 323.
........., ..., and explain to q. Mary his wishes and intentions respecting the invasion of France, 323–4, 333–4.
.... will readily join in an undertaking against France, provided there be a chance of success, *ibid.*
........., urgently requested by q. Mary to ratify the treaty as the Emp. has done in Spain (May 1543), 325.
........., to be persuaded (if possible) not to carry out his warlike plans against the Scots (17 April 1543), 331.

Henry VIII., k. of England—*cont.*
........., ..., should he still persevere in them Chapuys is to ask him to contribute half the Emp.'s expenses in the war with France, *ibid.*
........., receives Chapuys at Hampton Court (20 May 1543), 334.
........., hearing that the du. of Clèves has refused to ratify the truce made with the Emp.'s ministers, inveighs against him, and offers to summon his agent to his presence, 334–5.
........., sends an express to Sir John Wallop with orders to help and assist Du Rœulx in case of the French invading Flanders on the side of the English frontier at Guînes (May 1543) 336.
........., asks to be paid in cash of all arrears of pension owing to him by France, 337, 410.
........., ..., as well as of all debts, and to deliver as a security and pledge for the future the towns of Ardres, Montreuil, Therouanne, 410.
........., disinclined to begin hostilities against France (says Chapuys, May 1543), 354.
........., ..., though both he and his privy councillors keep saying that it will not be their fault if the invasion of France does not take place in the summer of 1543, *ibid.*
........., suggests that a truce be made with the du. of Clèves, 366.
........., leaves for Harwich, where the English fleet is ready to put to sea (July 1543), 368.
........., delighted to hear of Du Rœulx's overtures respecting Montreuil (June 1542), 38.
........., ..., as a prudent and wise prince, well versed in such matters, approves of that general's military plans, *ibid.*
........., goes to work fairly and without dissimulation (writes Chapuys to the Emp., 11 June 1543), 385.
........., ..., his privy councillors being exceedingly displeased at bp. Bonner's writing that the Emp. on receiving intelligence of the conclusion of the treaty of alliance had shown little satisfaction, *ibid.*
........., strongly objecting to grant safe conducts at sea (June 1543), 394.
........., the worst possible war to be made to the French is to prevent them from disposing of their goods and merchandise, *ibid.*
........., to be apprised by Chapuys of Francis' intrigues with the Pope, 401.
........., an intercepted let. of the French amb. at Rome to be shown to, *ibid.*
........., to be urgently requested not to delay the preconcerted invasion of France, 401–2.
........., at Hampton Court (4 July 1543), 426.

Henry VIII., k. of England—*cont.*

........., recalls Sir Thomas Seymour from Brussels, *ibid.*

........., informs q. Mary that he has at her disposal 40,000 duc. towards the war against the Turk (10 July 1543), 428.

........., ..., which he intends as a loan to the Emp., *ibid.*

........., marries Catherine Parr (July 1543), 436.

........., orders the arrest and imprisonment of certain customs officers for having unduly laid an embargo on vessels of the Low Countries (July 1543), 451.

........., displays great activity in the fitting out of the fleet, 452.

........., more determined than ever to wage war on the French, 452–3.

........., his good will and inclination towards the Emp. increasing every day, 457.

........., has caused a clause to be added to the declaration of war to k. Francis implying that all enemies of the Empire are also comprised in it (13 Aug. 1543), 458.

........., the Emp. to give, every chance of persevering in his present mood and temper by showing confidence in him and in his military plans (wrote Chapuys on the 13th of Aug. 1543), 458.

........., ..., for otherwise, suspicious and arrogant as he is, he might become tired at the expense of the war, and suddenly change his present disposition, *ibid.*

........., sporting and hunting from place to place, 33 leagues from London (13 Aug. 1543), 460.

........., remits to q. Mary £8,000 in bills of exchange on Calais, *ibid.*

........., ..., to be spent by k. Ferdinand at war with the Turks in Hungary, 461–2.

........., k. Francis challenged to restitute to, all the countries, provinces, and estates which he unduly retains (June 1543), 412.

........., ..., also the duchies of Normandy, Gascogne, and Guienne, 411.

........., his challenge and intimation of war to k. Francis, 411–3.

........., very fond of being petted and made much of, wrote Chapuys to Granvelle in Aug. 1543, 465.

........., ..., if such means be employed, we may get out of him anything we want, *ibid.*

........., complains of not having been treated with frankness respecting the Emp.'s plans of campaign against the French, 465.

........., complains bitterly in the presence of several gentlemen of his Privy Chamber of Chapuys not having read to him certain passages of one of the Emp.'s letters (Aug. 1543), 466.

Henry VIII., k. of England—*cont.*

........., writes to q. Mary in demand of 300 hackbutiers, and of such other forces as the govs. of St. Omer and Bourbourg can dispose of, to prevent, if possible, the revictualling of Ardres by the French (Aug. 1543), 470.

........., complains to Chapuys that the force sent by the Emp. to co-operate with the English in Flanders is insufficient (Sept. 1543), 474.

........., ..., no fear, however (writes Chapuys), of his recalling the men he has in Flanders and the Low Countries (Sept. 1543), 474.

........., ..., at least, not before the expiration of the four months agreed in the treaty, *ibid.*

........., ..., or in case of the Imperialists themselves withdrawing from the field, *ibid.*

........., 60 miles from London, hunting (6 Sept. 1543), 476.

........., arming by sea, and desirous that something or other should be done against France, *ibid.*

........., wishes to know what are the Emp.'s plans for the next campaign against France, 505.

........., sends Sir Francis Briant and Edmund Bonner to the Emp. on a mission consisting of five points (25 Oct. 1543), 506.

........., his affection for the Emp. always on the increase (wrote Chapuys, 27 Oct. 1543), 514.

........., no fear of his refusing to send over 15,000 English whenever required for the invasion of France, even if he had to give them four times the usual pay, *ibid.*

........., sends Sir Francis Briant to the Imp. camp, 514.

........., proposes to the Emp. to suspend hostilities against France until the spring of 1544, 514–5.

........., ..., and let his army go into winter quarters unless he is so provoked by k. Francis that he cannot do so without injury to his honour and reputation, *ibid.*

........., refuses to grant safe conducts for French wines, 515.

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.........., capital of the Duchy, a town quite incapable of defence; taken by the French (Oct. 1543), 497.

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Lyons, city of France; should the Emp. proceed to Italy k. Francis intends going to (Oct. 1542), 150.

.........., let. from, *57.*

Lyt, Lyte, milord, *v.* under *L'Isle* (lord).

M

Machovel, Machuel, *v. Maxwell.*

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.... (Jacopo), bp. of, *v. Sadoletto.*

Maconnais, dist. of Burgundy (France); to be restored with others to the Emp. to whom it belongs by right, 339.

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………, the du. of Aarschot at (March 1543), 281 *n.*

………, the Landgraf of Hesse-Cassel and the Prince-Electors of the Rhine at, trying for a truce between q. Mary and the du. of Clèves, 280.

………, q. Mary's deputies at, to discuss the terms of the truce (May 1543), 327.

………, lets. dated from, *127*.

Magdalen (Madelene), of France, dau. of Francis I., married to James V. of Scotland, 31.

Magdalon, sieur de, French naval officer, bro. of St. Brancard, slain at the siege of Nizza (1543), *Add.* and *Cor.* 590.

Magdolon (?), sieur de, capt. of Toulon (1543), 372.

Maiere (?), capt., Imp. officer; predatory incursion made by, in the duchy of Juliers (?), 472.

Maillet (Anthoine), sec. and "valet de chambre" to the du. of Orleans; envoy to the Protestant princes of Germany (Sept. 1543), 479, 481 *n.*

………, Instructions to, 221.

Majorca, one of the Balearic islands, *v. Mallorca.*

Maleo, Cape; the Turkish fleet will not pass (Jan. 1543), 196.

Malines, in Belgium (prov. Antwerp), *v. Mechlin.*

Mallorca, island of, one of the Balears, 381.

………, provision to be made for, for fear of Barbarossa's fleet, 381, 385.

Maltravers (Lord), deputy of Calais, 493.

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Manours, Royal, in England; k. Henry often visiting some of his (Jan. 1543), 216.

Manrique (D. Francisco), bp. of Orense, 1542–6; Imp. amb. to France, 119 *n.*, *Int.* xliv.

……… (D. Juan Fernandez), marq. de Aguilar, Imp. amb. at Rome, 71, 103, 122 *n.*, 200–1, 242, 384, 528, 558, 574.

………, ……, appointed viceroy of Catalonia, 382.

………, ……, embarks at Genoa for Spain, 384, 574.

………, ……, Doria to provide two armed galleys to escort, 384.

………, ……, one of his dispatches to the Emp. intercepted at sea, 200.

………, ……, suffering from a fit of gout (Feb. 1543), 260.

………, ……, intending to go to Florence and Siena for the purpose of warning the people there of French intrigues (Feb. 1543), *ibid.*

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Manrique (D. Juan Fernandez)—*cont.*

………, ……, lets. to the Emp., *93*, *108*.

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………, ……, …… from the bp. of Aquila to, *92*.

……… (D. Luis Fernandez), co. de Castañeda; father of D. Juan, marq. de Aguilar, *Int.* xliv. *n.*

……… (D. Pedro), bp. of Cordoba and cardinal, bro. of protector at Rome of the churches of Germany (d. 7 Oct. 1540); succeeded by card. Cibo, 572.

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Mantua, in Italy, 196, 203, 209, 213, 359, 375.

………, the marquisate of, erected by Charles V. into a duchy, *Int.* xxi.

……… city, Granvelle going to, 212–3, 359.

………, Chantonnay leaving Rome for (2 Jan. 1543), 209.

………, proposed interview of the Pope and the Emp. at, 359.

………, dukes of, *v. Gonzaga* (Francesco and Frederico).

………, card. of, *v. Gonzaga* (Hercole).

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Map or coloured chart of the islands at the mouth of the channel of Amsterdam; one sent by k. Henry to q. Mary, that she might guard against an attack of the Danes (July 1543), 439.

………, another of the country between Calais and Gravelines (Sept. 1543), 493.

………, ……, sent also by the privy councillors to q. Mary for fear of a sudden attack from the French army at Ardres, *ibid.*

Maran, Marano, in Friuli (N. Italy); treacherously taken, and made over to k. Francis (1541), 119, 244, 582, *Int.* i.

………, the du. of Ferrara (Hercole d'Este) promising to send artillery and ammunition to (Oct. 1542), 150.

………, the recovery of, expressly stipulated in the treaty of alliance, 244, 412, 582–3.

Marbonne (?), sieur de, capt. of Caen in Normandy (1543), 471.

Marennes, town of France (dep. Charente Inférieure), 370 *n.*

Margaret of Austria, du. of Camarino, the Emp.'s natural dau.; married to Ottavio Farnese (1542), 202.

………, ……, slightly indisposed (Jan. 1543), 213.

………, ……, the bp. of Aquila speaks to Pope Paul on business of, 213.

………, ……, said to be in great favour with the Pope, 269.

………, ……, ……, who consults her on political affairs, *ibid.*

………, ……, her portrait given by Pier Luigi Farnese to the bp. of Aquila, *ibid.*

Margaret of Austria, du. of Camarino—*cont.*

........., ..., steward of her household, *v. Guzman* (Lope de).

........., dau. of Maximilian I., *v. Margaret of Savoy.*

.... (Marguerite) of France, dau. of Francis I., king of France; (b. 5 June 1523), 257.

........., ..., a marriage of, with prince Philip of Spain proposed by Pope Paul (1542), 257.

........., ..., married in 1559 to Emmanuel Philibert, prince of Piedmont, and du. of Savoy, *ibid. n.*, *v.* also under *Valois* (Marguerite de).

.... (Marguerite) of Savoy, dau. of Emp. Maximilian I., and aunt of Charles V.; regent of Flanders and the Low Countries (d. 1530), alluded to, *Int.* xxiv.

Marguerite, *v. Margaret.*

Marguerites, sieur de; capt. or gov. of Leocate in the French Roussillon (1543), 372.

Maria, Infanta of Castille, dau. of Fernando do Aragon and Isabel of Castille (Catholic sovereigns of Spain), and wife of Dom Manoel, k. of Portugal, *Add.* and *Cor.*

........., Infanta of Spain, dau. of Emp. Charles V. (b. 21 June 1528), 12.

........., ..., Paul recommends her marriage to Charles, du. of Orleans, *ibid.*

........., Infanta of Portugal, dau. of k. Joaõ III. and Catalina; married to prince Philip, son of Charles V., 75, 342 *n.*, 474, *Int.*, xlviii.

Marie Fortunée (La), name of a merchant vessel from Aldborough in Yorkshire, 421.

...., master of, *v. Howell* (?).

...., owner of, *v. Hawkins* (?).

Marie de Guise, dau. of Claude de Lorraine, du. de Guise, and widow of Louis II. D'Orleans, du. de Longueville, afterwards married to James V., king of Scotland, 592.

........., ..., grief and lamentations of, when she heard of the imprisonment of card. Beton, 242.

Marie Rose, war ship of the royal English navy (1543); to carry six double guns, 432.

Marillac (Charles de), French amb. in England 1542–3, 8 *n.*, 9–11, 16, 39, 47, 48 *n.*, 50, 54–5, 64–6, 68–82, 92, 110, 114–5, 129, 131, 190–1, 216, 232–4, 250–1, 320, *Int.* xix, xxiv–xxxii.

.... has not seen the King since the Holy Week (June 1542), 39.

........., ordered by k. Francis to apply for his passports (July 1542), 48 *n.*

........., ..., and to ask for an explanation of certain words said by Paget to adm. Brion-Chabot, *ibid.*

.... asks for his congé (July 1542), 50.

.... particularly ordered by k. Francis to inquire in the ports of England what may be the object of the military preparations there being made, *ibid.*

Marillac (Charles de)—*cont.*

........., ..., goes for that purpose to a seaport town, 20 miles from London, accompanied by L'Aubespine, 79, 87.

........., summoned to Windsor together with Chapuys (1 Aug. 1542), 82.

........., ..., to hear the King's declaration to arm by sea and protect his subjects, 82–3, 112.

........., ..., his answer on the occasion, 84.

........., accompanies L'Aubespine to Greenwich (Aug. 1542), 87.

........., ..., and to Gravesend afterwards, not so much out of respect or compliment for the person of his colleague, as to inspect and report upon the King's armaments in that port, *ibid.*

.... goes to Hampton Court (20 Aug.), 114.

.... warns the French merchants in England, and advises them to get rid of their goods as soon as possible for fear of war (Aug. 1542), 115.

........., complains that four French merchant vessels have been captured in the Channel by Eng. cruisers, 131.

........., ..., and that no French war-vessel is allowed to remain 24 hours in English ports, *ibid.*

........., ..., whereas those of Flanders and Spain are permitted to stay as long as their commanders like, *ibid.*

........., a gentleman of Henry's chamber dismissed from the royal service owing to his having visited —— with too great familiarity (Sept. 1542), 134.

........., ..., another (Lord Granade) also dismissed for the same reason, 135.

........., his sec. soliciting at Court something of importance, which Chapuys cannot at first find out, though he suspects it to be some secret negociation of k. Francis (Dec. 1542), 185, 187.

........., sends his sec. to the Privy Council to solicit an affair of great importance for his master (Dec. 1542), 185, 187.

........., ..., Chapuys sends an emissary to spy his movements and ascertain the object of his calling, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., as he suspects that the French and the English are negociating about Scotland, *ibid.*

........., expecting his recall from day to day (15 Jan. 1543), 192.

........., to be succeeded by Morvilliers, *ibid.*, 219, *Int.* xxxv–vii.

........., to Hampton Court on the 24th of Dec. 1542, 190, 218.

........., ..., does not see the K., but communicates with the privy councillors, *ibid.*

........., ..., is coldly received, 191, 219.

........., goes to Court again and sees the King, 192.

Marillac (Charles de)—*cont.*

........., ..., the ostensible object of his calling being to show a letter of k. Francis from Cognac, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., contradicting the false reports circulated about him by the Emp.'s ministers, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., the letter itself copied for Chapuys by one of the French amb.'s familiar servants, *ibid.*

........., great strife between, and the privy councillors, 218–9.

........., ..., after which, in a towering rage, he suddenly leaves the Council room, and goes to the King, 219.

........., k. Henry's message to (Jan. 1543), 219.

........., is not admitted to the Royal presence, but receives a message thus worded: "No harm intended to k. Francis, but should the latter cause him any annoyance in Scotland, he will find him to be his sworn enemy," *ibid.*

........., cannot go back to France as soon as he expects owing to his successor having fallen ill on the road (Jan. 1543), 232, 249 *n.*

........., calls twice in the week upon Gardiner, and meets there the bp. of Westminster, 232.

........., ..., nothing known as yet of the purpose and object of their conference, *ibid.*

........., applies again for an audience (17 Jan. 1543), 233–4.

........., two or three couriers from France sent to, with dispatches, *ibid.*

........., ..., a personage who has just dined with, revealing their contracts to Chapuys, *ibid.*

.... not gone to Court since Easter Eve (21 Jan. 1543), 233.

........., ..., has, however, dispatched two or three couriers to France, *ibid.*

........., ..., and received also two lets. from home, which is a sign that he expects to be recalled soon, *ibid.*

........., ..., one of the lets. from the gov. of Boulogne announcing the safe arrival of Van Rosson at Juliers, 234.

........., ..., ..., the other from k. Francis describing his entry into La Rochelle, *ibid.*

........., one of his familiar servants gives information to Chapuys respecting the contents of the K.'s lets. to, *ibid.*

... ., whilst loudly demanding the restitution of a French ship captured at sea by Eng. privateers—the one in which card. Beton returned from France to Scotland—makes use of threatening language against k. Henry's privy councillors (Jan. 1543), 234–5.

........., alleges that at Dover and Rye inquiries are daily instituted whether there are French ships in port in order that the Imperialist may attack the crews thereof, *ibid.*

........., would willingly return home, but k. Henry will not grant him a passport (March 1543), 276.

........., ..., and would rather let his own amb. die in prison at Boulogne than let, go back, *ibid.*

........., summoned to court together with his colleague Dorthez, 277.

........., ..., accompanied on their return to the French embassy by Charles Howard and another gentleman of the King's chamber, *ibid.*

........., ..., with instructions to watch their movements and prevent their departure for France, *ibid.*

.... and his colleague believe and publish that Henry's armaments are not intended against France, but only to make Francis jealous (March 1543), 279.

.... and Protonotary d'Ortez ask permission to quit and go to Calais, there to remain until Paget is released (19 March 1543), 287.

........., ..., which petition the king obstinately refuses to grant, 288.

.... leaves London (4 April 1543), but will be detained in Calais until Paget returns to England, 296, *Int.* xxv.

.... still at Calais (9 April 1543), 302.

........., if allowed to proceed on his journey, Francis will set Sir William Paget free, *ibid.*

........., ..., arrangements made for their exchange at a place equidistant from Calais and Boulogne, *Int.* xxxii.

........., his cousin, *v. Formes.*

........., his familiar servant, 218 *n.*, 232.

........., his sec. or clerk, *v. Honz* (Jean de).

.... lets. to, from k. Francis, *19.*

........., ..., from the High Admiral of France (Brion-Chabot), *22.*

........., a personage friend of, 233.

Marino de San Magno, a Venetian amb. in Turkey, *v.* under *San Magno.*

Marlet, Marllet (Charles Anthoine); bearer of a let. from Charles, du. of Orleans, to the Protestant princes of Germany, 479–81, *v. Maillet* (?).

Marolles, in the Hainaut; k. Francis's camp in front of (Aug. 1543), 429, 437.

........., ..., about to raise the siege of, 457.

Marriage alliances, spoken of or effected; several proposed by the French to k. Henry, 31.

........., ..., the King himself having sued for the hand of Marie de Guise before she was married to k. James of Scotland.

........., of k. Henry with Catharine Parr effected (2 July 1543), 434.

Marriage alliances—*cont.*

........., of Mary of England with Charles, du. of Orleans, proposed by Pope Paul (May 1542), 12.

........., ..., not accepted by k. Francis, on the plea that the Pope and the Emp. are in concert to deceive him, *ibid.*

........., of Princess Mary, dau. of k. Henry and Catharine of Aragon, with the du. of Orleans, again much talked of (Jan. 1543), 5, 219.

........., ..., Marillac, the French amb., having said in public that his countrymen were not over-scrupulous, and would gladly receive Henry's dau. in France, legitimate or not, *ibid.*

........., of Elizabeth, dau. of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, with the prince of Piedmont (Emmanuele Philibert of Savoy), proposed (July 1542), 51, 58.

........., of Prince Philip of Spain, with Marguerite, dau. of Francis I.; proposed by Pope Paul, 257.

........., between prince Edward and Mary Stuart said to be one of the conditions of the treaty with Scotland (July 1543), 230, 434.

........., ..., Mary herself, when 10 years old, to be sent to England, and placed in the hands of k. Henry, or of the prince of Wales, his son, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., for the security of that and other conditions the Scotch to give certain hostages, *ibid.*

........., ..., with some noble personage or other who may reside in Scotland, or at least the sons of that marriage.

........., of Jeanne d'Albret, dau. of Henri II. D'Albret, titular k. of Navarre, with the du. of Clèves, 26 *n.*, 29.

........., ..., k. Francis's excuses for not having been able to send to the Duke his betrothed wife, *ibid.*

........., ..., effected by proxy, 26.

........., of Caterina de' Medici, niece of Pope Clement, with Henry de Valois (1533), alluded to, 31.

........., Charles, du. of Orleans, and the Emp.'s dau. Maria, 12.

........., ..., Pope Paul in favour of it, *ibid.*

........., question at Rome of a marriage between Horatio Farnese, Paul's nephew (grandson), and a French lady (Feb. 1543), 248, 261 *n.*

........., ..., the proposed alliance not approved of by Pier Luigi Farnese, 261.

........., ..., ..., nor by card. Carpi, *ibid.*

Marriage, &c., of Vittoria Farnese with Antoine de Bourbon, du. of Vendôme talked of, 594.

........., with Cosmo de' Medici, du. of Florence, *ibid.*

........., with the Prince of Orange (Henri de Nassau), *ibid.*

Marriage, &c., of Vittoria Farnese—*cont.*

........., with Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, *ibid.*

........., with Philip of Bavaria, *ibid.*

........., with the du. of Aumale, son of Claude de Lorraine, du. de Guise, *ibid.*

........., with Charles, du. of Orleans, son of Francis I., proposed by Paul, 562, 594–5.

........., with Fabricio Colonna, son of Ascanio, 562, 594.

........., ultimately married to Guidobaldo della Rovere, du. of Urbino, in 1548, 594.

Marseilles in France (dep. Bouche du Rhône); Charles with his fleet in front of, 587.

........., gov. of, v. *Grignan.*

Marvol (Philippe), Imp. amb. in France (1542), 16 *n.*, 17–8, 33, 72, 74, *Int.* vii, xlii–iv.

........., his sudden return to France arouses k. Henry's suspicions, 129.

Mary *of Austria*, dau. of Emp. Maximilian and aunt of Charles (b. 14—, d. 1530), regent of the Low Countries (1506–30), alluded to, 348.

Mary *of Flanders*, *v.* under *Mary of Hungary.*

Mary, q. dowager of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries; dau. of Philip, archdu. of Austria, and sister of Charles V., the Emp., 2, 3, 16, 19, 27, 32–3, 36–9, 42, 46 *n.*, 48, 56, 59, 68–9, 83, 87, 91, 105–6, 108–9, 122–3, 126–9, 139, 148–9, 167, 171–4, 178, 181, 186, 190–2, 196, 214–5, 224, 230, 235, 237, 243–8, 272–6, 290, 293, 309, 314, 316, 222, 330, 334, 352, 386, 388, 397–9, 403, 422, 424–6, 430–4, 435 *n.*, 436, 451, 453, 456, 460–1, 465, 471, 474–5, 514, 519, 528, 577–8, 581, 584–5, *Int.* ii, v, ix, xiv–v, xx–i, xxiv, xxx *n.*, xxxii, xxxv.

........., to be consulted by the Emp.'s orders on all matters relating to the treaty with England, 7, 16.

........., sends a present of wine to k. Henry (July 1542), 47.

........., warned to keep a vigilant eye on certain islands at the mouth of the Amsterdam Canal, *ibid.*

........., ..., threatened, as reported, by the du. of Holstein, *ibid.*

........., ..., and which k. Henry himself thought of occupying once, when at war with the Emp., *ibid.*

........., military preparations for the defence of the Low Countries, 51.

........., ..., and especially of the Artois, which Mons. de Vendôme threatens at the head of a considerable force, *ibid.*

........., sends Le Sauch to England to ask for help and assistance against the French (July 1542), 70.

Mary, q. Dowager of Hungary—*cont.*

........., ..., should k. Henry make any difficulty in assisting with men, let him lend her money on suitable securities (July 1542), 71.

........., ..., for he did so to the French when he was their ally, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., and it is but just that he should do the same now that the Emp. is his friend, *ibid.*

........., begs k. Henry to interfere and obtain from Francis the prorogation of the truce, *ibid.*

........., ..., in hope that during that time a peace between the Empire and France may be concluded, *ibid.*

........., doing her best for the defence of Flanders (Aug. 1542), 90.

........., ..., and of the Artois, which the French have invaded, 91.

........., frequently consulted by Montmorency and Chapuys during the negociations for the treaty of closer alliance, 153.

........., ..., her objections to some of the articles proposed by the Royal deputies (Oct. 1542), 153–158.

........., ..., her final advice to Chapuys and Montmorency respecting the amendments proposed by the King's deputies (Nov. 1542), 177–181.

........., ..., glad to hear that the Roy. deputies no longer insist upon the Low Countries helping to the defence of England by sea, 181.

........., ..., writes to Chapuys that if he cannot persuade the Roy. deputies to wait for the Emp.'s final answer he may at once proceed to the conclusion of the treaty (Nov. 1542), 183.

........., ..., ..., lest k. Henry should be offended, and the negociation delayed, *ibid.*

........., her amb. at Constantinople lodging in the same house as Polino, 196.

........., again consulted by Chapuys as to the art. of the defence as amended by the K.'s deputies, answers that he may agree to it in the Emp.'s name, and without waiting for his answer (Jan. 1543), 227.

........., her deputies at Maëstricht treating about a truce with the du. of Clèves (Feb. 1543), 252.

........., ..., ordered to return home after three months' deliberation, *ibid.*

........., in order to attend to the expenses of the war against the French, is obliged to impose and levy custom-house duties (Feb. 1543), 254.

........., ministers, 275.

........., though the conclusion of the treaty ought to remain secret, Chapuys thinks that it might without danger be communicated to, and to her ministers, as that would add to the Emp.'s reputation, and help her in her negociations with Holstein and Clèves (March 1543), 275.

Mary, q. Dowager of Hungary—*cont.*

........., her councillors in Flanders accused by Henry of misrepresenting facts and spreading falsehoods, 310.

........., ..., their report on the battle of Sittaërt is evidently exaggerated (said k. Henry to Chapuys), and differs much from that sent by the du. of Clèves to k. Francis, *ibid.*

........., ..., it was not the fault of, whom k. Henry believed incapable of saying one thing for another, but of her advisers and news reporters, *ibid.*

........., consults Chapuys as to the expediency of asking the help of England before the ratification of the treaty of alliance by the Emp. (May 1543), 320.

........., on the invasion of the Artois by the French (May 1543), quite prepared to oppose them as strenuously as it is in her power, 326.

........., instructs Chapuys respecting the answer he is to make if interrogated on the subject of the battle of Sittaërt, 329.

........., particularly requested not to delay the provision of material of war for the Eng. auxiliary army about to cross the Channel (June 1, 1543), 360.

........., ..., the officer appointed by k. Henry to receive it, Chapuys has reason to believe, will only ask for and take what is absolutely necessary, 361.

........., again applying urgently for Eng. aid according to art. VII. of the treaty (June 1543), 364.

........., ..., the help to be in men rather than in money, 365.

........., ..., ..., and as soon as possible, for fear of the French invading the Low Countries before the Emp.'s arrival, *ibid.*

........., to be consulted by the Emp., her brother, on the proposed sale of the investiture of Milan to Ottavio Farnese, 377, 454–5, 483–4.

........., Vega, the amb. at Rome, ordered by the Emp. to keep up epistolary correspondence with (July 1543), 570.

........., her Treasury, 471.

........., ..., the Lords of (Messieurs des Finances), 177, 248.

........., mins. and privy councillors, 36.

........., lets. to Chapuys (1542), *8*, *11*, *15*, *16*, *29*, *34–5*, *51*, *72–3*, *78*, *86*, *106*, *106**, *107*, *117–8*, *121*, *125*, *136*, *138*, *143*, *145*, (1543) *170–1*, *178*, *204*, *App.* (1541) *273*, (1542) *274*.

........., ... from Chapuys to, *v.* under *Chapuys* (lets. to q. Mary).

........., ... k. Henry to, *173*, *177*, *262*.

........., ... to Jehan de Le Sauche, *34*.

........., ... to François du Fallaix, the herald of the Golden Fleece, *56*.

Mary, q. Dowager of Hungary—*cont.*

........., lets. from her Privy Council to the Emp., *181*.

Mary of England (Mme. Marie, Lady Mary), dau. of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Aragon, 89, 190, 192, 219, 537–8.

........., her hand solicited by the du. of Orleans, 5, 6.

........., all discussion on her legitimacy, or her right to the succession, to be carefully avoided whilst the treaty of alliance is being negociated (the Emp. wrote to Chapuys 3 May 1542), 7.

........., after a long illness declared out of danger by the Roy. physicians (May 1542), 11.

........., not to be called "Princess" in q. Mary's letters, 16.

........., ..., as that title might give offence, and is no longer appropriate since k. Henry has now a son and heir to his kingdom (wrote Chapuys to q. Mary, May 1542), *ibid.*

........., continually sending to inquire after the health of the q. Regent of Flanders and the Low Countries, 89.

........., writing to the Emp. how displeased she is to hear of the French having commenced war, *ibid.*

........., feasted beyond measure by her father, the King (Sept. 1542), 138.

........., presented with rings and jewels, *ibid.*

........., recalled to Hampton Court for the Christmas festivities (17 Dec. 1542), 186, 223.

........., ..., triumphantly attended, and accompanied by ladies of the Court, 187.

........., how received by the King, her father, at the entrance of the Park (22 Dec.), 190.

........., ..., presented by him on New Year's day with rings, silver plate, and other jewels of inestimable value, 223–4.

........., her marriage with the du. of Orleans (Charles de Valois) again proposed by the French, 219.

........., ..., negociations for it being resumed as the means of paying off Francis's debt to k. Henry, *ibid.*

........., her hand solicited by Philip of Bavaria, 355.

........., kindly treated by the King, her father, and staying with the new Queen (Aug. 1543), 459.

........., prince Philip's commendations to (Aug. 1543), 463.

........., has been again very ill from colic, but is now better (Sept. 1543), 463, 485.

Mary of *Guise*, q. of Scotland, widow of k. James V. (1538); regent of Scotland after James's death (1543), 189; *v.* under *Guise*.

Mary (Maria) of *Portugal*, dau. of k. Joaõ III., 574.

Mary (Maria) of *Portugal*—*cont.*

........., married to her cousin, Philip, crown prince of Spain, 75, 342 *n.*, 474, *Int.* xlviii.

Mary Stuart, dau. of k. James V. of Scotland and Mary of Guise; her mother and she herself so ill that their lives were despaired of by the Roy. physicians (23 Dec. 1542), 189.

........., born much before the time (7 Dec. 1542), 193.

........., if still alive, as some people will have it, she cannot be an obstacle to k. Henry getting the crown of Scotland (wrote Chapuys to the Emp., Jan. 1543), 193, 223.

........., ..., for he himself could marry the widowed Q. [Marie de Guise], whose hand he solicited before she became the wife of k. James, *ibid.*

........., the little girl dau. of k. James, 243.

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........., ..., ..., that being most probably the object of the Scotch ambassadors' mission, *ibid.*

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………, ……, ……, otherwise (wrote Chapuys on the 31st) k. Henry may perhaps take the thing in bad part, and the Emp.'s affairs be endangered through it, *ibid.*

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........., ..., k. Francis threatening to invade, 108, 120.

.... *Française* (French), if invaded on the side of Spain, k. Francis is sure to march to its defence, 120.

........., ..., titular king of both the Span. and the French, *v. Albret* (Henri II. d').

Navigation, edict on, promulgated in Flanders and the Low Countries, 122–3, 347.

........., its revocation applied for by the English, 34, 38, 59, 76.

........., ..., q. Mary has no objection provided reciprocity is observed, 45.

........., ..., effected (July 1542), 45–7, 59–60, 74.

........., ..., the act to pass and have effect from its date (June 1542), to make people believe that Chapuys' frequent visits to the Privy Council had reference to commercial affairs, not to a treaty of alliance, 60.

........., statute on, promulgated in England, 25.

........., ..., repealed (June 1542), 59–60.

........., ..., act of the simultaneous revocation of both edicts, the Eng. and the Imp., 25.

........., ..., ..., forwarded by Chapuys to q. Mary, 59.

Navigators, English; harm and damage done to, by French privateers, 131.

........., ..., the French offering reparation (Sept. 1542), *ibid.*

Navy, *English;* k. Henry's doing wonders and dealing harshly with the French (Sept. 1542), 126.

........., ..., discipline and rules to be observed by the, when operating against the French in conjunction with the fleet of the Low Countries, 299.

........., *French,* 126.

........., ..., the cruisers and privateers of the, scouring the British Channel, 577.

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........, *Imperial*, in Spain and the Mediterranean, cleaning that sea of Turkish corsairs, 381–2, 463; *v. Galleys.*

........, ..., in the Low Countries, 282, 295–6, 312, 320; *v.* also under *Fleet, Imperial, of Flanders.*

........, *Danish*; no fear of the, which consists only of seven wretched war-ships (said k. Henry to Chapuys, 5 Sept. 1542), 126.

Negroponte, island of the Grecian Archipelago; Barbarossa, the corsair, at (June 1543), 381.

Neuf-Chastel, in France; receptor of, *v. Gellimard.*

Nevers, du. de, 373; *v. Gonzaga* (Luigi).

Neville (John), lord Latimer, second husband of Catharine Parr, 437, 447.

Newcastle [on-Tyne], death of Henry's lord privy seal on his way to (Oct. 1542), 149 *n.*

Newfoundland; French fleet returning from the fisheries of, defeated by the Imp. on the coast of Holland (Sept. 1542), 138.

Nicastro, episc. town of Naples; bp. of, *v. Cervini* (Marcello).

Nice, Nyce (Nizza della Paglia), town of Montferrat (Italy); truce of (1538), alluded to, 118, 307, 559.

........, Barbarossa's fleet to, 497.

........, the town of, taken by the French under Enghien, 495.

........, ..., the castle, however, making a stout resistance, *ibid.*

Nicool (capt.), bearer of despatches from Prince Philip to Chapuys, 498.

Nienove (Ninove), in Flanders, 5.

........, the Emp.'s let. to Prince Philip from (June 1543), *ibid.*

Nierenberg, *v. Nuremberg*, or *Nürnberg.*

Nieuport, in Belgium (pro. W. Flanders), 421.

Nizza della Paglia; truce of, alluded to, 559, *Int.* i.

........, taken by Barbarossa and the French, 497, 589–90.

Norfolk, du. of, *v. Howard.*

Normandy, pro. of France, 370.

........, French legions of, 55.

........, the Eng. auxiliary army to invade France by way of, 274.

........, coast of, 303.

........, French armaments in the ports of, 311–2.

........, Henry's secret agents in, *ibid* 311, 376, 382 *n.*

........, sailors from, or Brittany, to be employed by Henry and Charles to serve against France, 371.

........, strong places in, and names of their govs. (1543), *ibid.*

Norphorc, du. of, *v. Norfolk.*

North; Francis' confederates in the, 226; *v. Christian III.* and *Gustav Vasa.*

........, news from the, 443.

North of England; plague in the (Oct. 1542), 149.

........, 1,500 men from the army of the, will soon cross the Channel to Calais, 388.

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........, 20,000 men being raised in the, by the du. of Suffolk, for the war against Scotland, 137.

........, death of Sir William FitzWilliam in the, 161–2.

Northern Seas; should k. Henry and the Emp. become masters of the, neither the Danes nor the French will dare go to Scotland, 277.

Novoredo (Novaredo ?), town of Italy; the Emp. at, on his way to Trent (1 July 1543), 402–2 *n.*

Nowenar (Wilhelm), co. of, and Moerse, intercedes in favour of the du. of Clèves (Sept. 7, 1543), 477.

Noyers, town of France, in Burgundy (dep. Sonne); to be restored by France to the Emp., 339.

Noyon, town of France (dep. Oise); concentration of French troops at, for the purpose of invading Flanders (June 1543), 364.

Nuncios, Papal, in Spain, 3, 116, 184, 200, 202, 204–5, 211, 262.

........, the Emp.'s answer to the, in the matter of the peace with France, 211.

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Nuremberg (Nürnberg), in Bavaria; the diet of, 213, 263, 265, 272.

........, ..., Granvelle attending it, 292–3.

........, ..., deputies of Clèves at the, asking for a truce in the Du.'s name, 325, 327.

........, ..., speech of q. Mary's representative at the, much praised by k. Henry, who asks for a copy of it, 272.

........, Granvelle at the Diet of, 261–3.

........, truce of, not ratified by the du. of Clèves, 327.

........, lets. dated from, *109, 110, 122, 138.*

........, bankers of, 457.

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Oilleron (Oleron), island of, on the S.W. coast of France (dep. Charente), 370.

Older Kirke, Older Kyrke, in E. Flanders; to be defended against a sudden attack of the French, 492.

Olderwyke, 492; *v. Older Kyrke* (?).

Olfy, le bastard d', capt. or gov. of Mezières-sur-Meuse in Champagne (1543), 373.

Olsten, Olstein, du. of, 64, 66; *v. Schleswig-Holstein.*

O'Niel (O'Neil), a great Irish lord, arrives in London (13 Sept. 1542), 134.

Onderwyk, ecclesia de, the church of, in E. Flanders (Olderwyke ?).

........., the French of Ardres meditating an attack upon, 493.

Oostfrize (W. Friesland), brothers of, sent by the q. of Hungary to Maëstricht (March 1543), 281 *n.*

Oran, in N. Africa, 550–1.

........., 1,000 Span. from, to sail for Cartagena, and thence go to Perpignan, 381, 424.

........., ..., if not wanted there, to sail for Genoa, 382.

........., gov. of (1543), *v. Rueda* (Luis de).

Orange, Prince of, *v. Nassau* (René de).

Orders, military, in Spain; knights of, in N. Africa, 551, 553.

........., ..., Papal bull for the sale of their property and lands, 455.

Ordinances promulgated in England; one in 1542 forbidding the export of woollen cloth exceeding the value and price of 17 ducats per piece, 9.

........., ..., another of Dec. 1543 against the importation of French goods in England, 546.

........., ..., Chapuys' opinion, however, is that k. Henry only wishes to get money out of the licences applied for by merchants, *ibid.*

Ordnance, *English*, for the field, as well as for sieges of towns, 295.

........., ..., k. Henry well furnished with pieces of all sizes and calibres in good condition, 313.

........., ..., ..., glad, however, to obtain from Flanders some cast-iron guns to mount on his war-ships, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., provided they be not of the same class as the three hundred last brought from that country, which proved so bad and unserviceable that they had to be put away, *ibid.*

........., ..., master of the, to Henry, 304.

........., *French;* 40 pieces of, prepared by Francis for the invasion of the Low Countries (June 1543), 364.

........., *Imperial;* a train of 100 pieces of, prepared for the Emp. in Bavaria (April 1543), 316.

........., ..., heavy, or siege; a large quantity of, to be found both in Germany and in Flanders, 284.

........., ..., master of the, to the Emp., 317.

........., ..., how many pieces of, both for siege and for the defence of a town taken from the enemy can be procured in Flanders? asked the privy councillors (May (?) 1543), 356; *v.* also under *Artillery.*

Orense (Auria), in Galicia (Spain); bp. of, episcopus Auriensis, *v. Manrique* (Don Francisco).

Orleans, town of France (dep. Loiret); Charles Honz student at, 11, 17, 115 *n.*

........., Sir Henry Knivett detained by illness at (June 1542), 23.

........., du. of, *v. Valois* (Charles de).

........., gov. of (in 1543), *v. Lancelot du Lac.*

Ornachos (Hornachos), town of Cordoba (Spain), Knight Commander of, *v. Vega* (Juan de).

Orsini, Roman family, 570.

........., to be dealt with according to time and circumstances, wrote the Emp. to Vega, the amb. at Rome (July 1543), 570.

Orsino (Giovan Francesco), co. of Pitigliano; should war break out in Italy, his services ought to be secured, 260–1.

........., (Giovan Paolo), and another Italian capt. about to make levies for k. Francis (Sept. 1543), 150.

Orthez, town of Gascony (France, dep. Hautes Pyrénées); viscount of, *Int.* xxx–vi.

........., Prothonotary of, of the house of Grammont; French amb. in England (March–July 1543), 276, 286–7, 302, 310, 320, 406, 416–7, 431, 453, 457, 463, 487, 585, *Int.* xxx–vii.

........., ..., arrives in London to replace Marillac (March 1543), 276.

........., ..., ..., succeeds him as ambassador, *ibid.*

........., ..., goes to Court with Marillac, and asks permission for the latter to quit England, 287.

........., ..., ..., which permission k. Henry refuses to grant until Paget's return to England, *ibid.*

........., ..., in receipt of lets. from k. Francis (1 April 1543), 296.

........., ..., asks for an audience, but Chapuys going to Court first, prevents his seeing the King, *ibid.*

........., ..., goes again to Court two days running, and cannot see the King (9 April 1543), 302.

........., ..., ..., his object being, as he himself stated to the privy councillors, to declare k. Francis's willingness to let Paget proceed to England, provided Marillac is allowed to quit Calais.

........., ..., applies again for audience with persistent importunity (April 1543), 310.

........., ..., sees the K. at last, and tries to ascertain what his intentions are concerning the war against France, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., leaves the Royal presence, as irresolute and confused as before, k. Henry's answer being an evasive one, *ibid.*

Orthez, Prothonotary of—*cont.*

........., ..., complains bitterly of the capture by Eng. cruisers of certain French merchant vessels (April 1543), 332.

........., ..., would have gone to Court himself to plead his case had he not been rather unwell at the time, *ibid.*

........., ..., the courier sent by, to France to announce k. Henry's declaration of war, returns to London (31 May 1543), 360.

........., ..., ..., most likely to (as it is said) apply for a prolongation of the term of 20 days fixed in the challenge, *ibid.*

........., ..., challenge and declaration of war to France read to (22 June 1543), 407–11, 416–7.

........., ..., ..., in the Council-Room at Westminster by the du. of Norfolk, 415, 457.

........., ..., ..., by Fallaix, the Imp. herald (23 June), 411–13.

........., ..., ..., q. Mary applying for copies of the two challenges, *ibid.*

........., ..., on the challenge being read to him, makes no answer at all, save saying that it was entirely Garter's fault, 420.

........., ..., ..., had the herald proceeded on his mission everything might have been satisfactorily settled, for Garter, as King's herald, needed no safe conduct at all, *ibid.*

........., ..., being told that Garter was afraid of being treated in the same manner as Paget had been, tries to excuse and justify that amb.'s arrest, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., upon which Paget, at that time back in England, and present in the Council-Room, contradicts most openly, *ibid.*

........., ..., represents that the term of 20 days fixed for k. Francis's answer is insufficient, as most of his mins. and councillors are out of Paris (June 1543), 420.

........., ..., applies for the prorogation of the term, and asks for a safe conduct for a new amb. to be sent by k. Francis, 435.

........., ..., sends a message to the privy councillors to announce that his master's affairs are in a most prosperous state, 430.

........., ..., ..., he has a large army, and plenty of money at his command to make war to the Emp., *ibid.*

........., ..., let. of, to k. Francis intercepted, and sent by the Privy Council to Chapuys to decipher (11 July 1543), 431, 436.

........., ..., ..., copy of the deciphering sent to q. Mary, 436.

........., ..., calls at Court, on the day of Chantonnay's departure from England (July 1543), 443, 446.

Orthez, Prothonotary of—*cont.*

........., ..., states that k. Francis could not have answered the charges made in the challenge within the term fixed and already expired; and applies again for its prolongation, 444, 446.

........., ..., applies for a safe conduct for a new amb. of k. Francis to be the bearer of certain proposals of reconciliation, *ibid.*

........., ..., offers in his master's name to make k. Henry the arbiter of his differences with the Emp., *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., both applications refused by k. Henry, 443–4.

........., ..., his curt and sharp answer to, much praised by the Emp., Prince Philip, and q. Mary, 446, 452.

........., ..., dismissed and ordered to quit England immediately, 447.

........., ..., calls again on k. Henry (15 July 1543), 444–7.

........., ..., ..., quits England two or three days after, and receives on parting a present of silver-plate, *ibid.*

........., ..., his real name conjectured to be D'Aspremont, *q. v.* 585, *Int.* xxxix.

Orton, sieur d', *v. Herbois* and *Herbais.*

Osterlings (Australiens, Easterlings); the, of the Teutonic language said to have entered into an alliance with k. Francis (July 1543), 55.

Otto (Otho Heinrich), du. of Brunswick and Luneburg, of the Wolfenbuttel branch (1514–68), *v.* under *Heinrich IV.*

........., ..., of Bavaria, 355.

Oudard (Odart de Biez), gov. of Boulogne-sur-Mer, 51–2, 371.

........., has done some damage in the territory of Guînes (Sept. 1542), 139.

........., writes a let. to the Deputy of Calais, 385, 414.

........., offers to receive personally Garter's communication, but will not allow him to proceed to Francis's Court, *ibid.*

........., attempts to revictual Ardres (Aug. 1543), 470.

........., ..., k. Henry's preparations to prevent it, *ibid.*

Ouglas, le comte d', 222, 243; *v. Douglas* (Archibald, earl of Angus).

........., (George d'), *v. Douglas* (George).

P

Pacheco (D. Juan), nephew of co. de Alcaudete, 552, 554.

.........,(D. Pedro), bp. of Pamplona(1539–45) and Card. (1544), 208, 258.

Padilla (D. Garcia), high commander of the Order of Calatrava (d. Sept. 1542), 268 *n.*

Padua, University of; 28 French students going to the, said to have been taken prisoners by Gasto's orders and cast into the river Po, 12.

Paget (Sir William), amb. to France (1542–3), 9, 12, 39, 47–9, 55, 64–6, 68, 85, 143, 150, 230, 238–9, 276, 287, 302, 416–7, 420, *Int.* xxx.

………, appointed, 9 *n.*

………, his conversation with Mons. de Languais in Paris, 12.

………, with the High Admiral of France (Philippe de Brion-Chabot), 47–9.

………, k. Francis wishing to know whether what he, said in k. Henry's name was really the expression of the K.'s sentiments towards him (July 1543), 48–9.

………, amb. L'Aubespine expressly ordered by k. Francis to inquire whether the Eng. amb. was, or was not, a true interpreter of Henry's sentiments, 55.

………, no reason (wrote Chapuys) to mistrust the K. for what, said in his name, 68.

………, in Paris, reporting on k. Francis's plans of campaign against the Emp., 64–6, 129, 137, 141–2, 150, 241.

………, though purposely kept away from Court and camp, manages to procure information, which he transmits to England, 144.

………. sends a secret agent to the frontier of Roussillon, 144, 157.

………, the news of the French defeat at Perpignan brought to London by a servant of, 137, 143.

………, detained at Boulogne, and not allowed to quit France, 277, 286.

………, ……, the two French ambs., Marillac and D'Orthez, arrested in consequence, 277.

………, unless, is allowed to quit Boulogne and return to England, the French amb. (Marillac) will be detained at Calais, 302.

………, still at Boulogne, though sending home occasional information about political affairs, 286–7.

………, ultimately released, and exchanged for Marillac, 296, *Int* xxxii.

………, back in England, and in the Privy Council contradicting a statement of D'Orthez, *ibid.*

………, his servant, clerk, or secretary, frequently sent with news or reports from France, 17, 65, 137.

Pagliano, in the States of the Church; doings of Ascanio Colonna at, 258.

Palace Royal, of Hampton Court, 186, 223, 334.

………, of Westminster, 324.

………, ……, let. dated from the, *133.*

Palamos, in the coast of Catalonia (Spain); Granvelle detained by rough weather in front of (Nov. 1542), 160.

Paliano, 258; *v. Pagliano.*

Palatinate of the Rhine, 355.

………, offered to Philip, du. of Bavaria, by the Smalcaldic League, 355.

………, ……, will be preferred to his uncle Frederick, *ibid.*

………, ……, and to Otto Henrich, his elder bro., *ibid.*

Palatine co. of the Rhine, *v. Bavaria, Frederic,* and *Philip.*

………, co. elector of the Rhine, 355.

Palmer (Sir Thomas), porter under-warder of Calais; takes a message of k. Henry to Chapuys, 493.

Pamplona, cap. of Navarre; French army against (Sept. 1542), 136.

………, ……, to join that of Narbonne, and both together lay siege to Perpignan, *ibid.*

………, bp. of, *v. Pacheco* and *Sandoval.*

Papal authority in Church matters; Baptozard Guerche, the Milanese physician, imprisoned for having asserted (Dec. 1543), 538.

………, ……, Chapuys' letter to Granvelle on his behalf, *267.*

………, ……, the Chancellor of the bpric. of London arrested for the same cause, as well as three of the most familiar friends of bp. Gardiner, *ibid.*

………, commissioners at the conference of Parma (?), 558–9; *v. Deputies, Papal.*

………, bulls and breves, *v. Bulls* and *Breves.*

………, ……, for the commanders of the Military Orders in Spain, 268, 455, 574.

Paris, cap. of France, 163, 232, 312, 371, 446.

………, the allies to march at once on, 294, 533, 535.

………, foreign capts. wandering through the streets of, without getting paid (Feb. 1543), 249.

………, abp. of, *v. Bellay* (Jean du).

………, Archives Nationaux of, 241 *n.*

Parliament, *English,* 229, 328.

………, ……, a national loan promoted in the, 23.

………, ……, ……, by means of which k. Henry has already received an incalculable sum of money (30 June 1542), *ibid.*

………, ……, summoned to meet in eight days' time (15 Jan. 1543), 229.

………, ……, grant a benevolence to k. Henry consisting of one-tenth of all Eng. property, whilst foreign residents are to pay the fifth, 303.

………, ……, four or five priests confined to prison (8 April 1543), 303.

………, ……, still sitting, and about to bring in a bill for the extirpation of heresy in England, *ibid.*

………, ……, ……, the chief promoter of which in, is bp. Gardiner, to the great regret of the Lutherans and French, who hate him like poison, 304.

Parliament, *English—cont.*

........, ..., k. Henry much engaged with the closure of (May 1543), 326.

........, *Scotch ;* fears entertained of dissension breaking out among its members, 279.

........, ..., ..., and of attempts being made in Scotland to detach that kingdom from its obedience to the Holy Apostolic See (17 March 1543), *ibid.*

........, ..., one earl and the bro. of the earl of Angus expected from hour to hour in London as representatives of the (17 April 1543), 332.

........, ..., consent to the marriage of Mary Stuart with the prince of England (Edward), but refuse to send her to England before she has attained the marriageable age, 434.

........, ..., ..., certainly not until she is ten years old, and not within two years, as k. Henry demands, *ibid.*

Parma, duchy of; the investiture of the, to be given by the Emp. to Ottavio Farnese, 561.

........, du. of, *v. Farnese* (Alessandro).

Parma city, 242, 400, 587.

........, intended interview of Pope and Emp. at (1543), 387, 401.

........, Pope Paul at (14 June 1543), 587.

........, cardinals assembled at, for the business of the General Council, 560.

........, let. dated from (1543), *153.*

........, and Piacenza; an investigation to be set on foot in order to ascertain whether the cities of, belong to the Church or are fiefs of the Empire, 511.

........, ..., should the Pope be able to dispose of, they might be given as a dower to Vittoria Farnese on her marriage to Charles, du. of Orleans, 562.

........, ..., Pope Paul, however, unwilling to part with, in that manner, *ibid.*

Parr (Catharine), widow of Edward Borough (Burghe ?) and of Lord Latimer; sixth wife of Henry VIII., 447, 519, 537.

........, ..., her marriage to k. Henry (12 July 1543), 434.

........, ..., about 32 years old, and by no means so handsome as Anne of Clèves, 436, 447.

........, ..., most likely incapable of bearing children, for she had none from her former husbands, 447.

........, ..., behaving affectionately towards Mary, 459.

........, (Sir Thomas), bart., father of, 434, 447 *n.*

........, (Lord), bro. of Catharine, 434 *n.*

Pastel, the plant commonly called "dyer's woad," 296, 299, 315, 325, 585.

........, safe conducts for vessels laden with wine and, not respected by the English, 315 *n.*

Paul III. (Alessandro Farnese), Pope (1534–50), 7, 8, 12, 17, 50, 52, 57, 67–9, 87–8, 93–4, 105, 111, 116–9, 120–2, 129, 141, 163–5, 166, 168–9, 170–1, 173, 184, 186, 197–9, 200, 204, 208–9, 210, 244–5, 246–7, 256, 258, 260–1, 265–9, 359, 368–9, 370, 375–9, 401–2, 419, 425–6, 448, 454, 558–9, 560–75, 581, 587–9, 594, *Int.* vii, ix, xx, xliv–vi.

........, recommends to k. Francis the marriage of his son, the du. of Orleans, with the Emp.'s dau., Da. Maria, the Infanta of Spain, 12.

........, his intervention in the matter of peace between the Emp. and k. Francis is entirely his own doing, not, as the French and k. Henry pretend, at the Emp.'s persuasion (June 1542), 17.

........, ..., Chapuys instructed by the Emp. to make that declaration in k. Henry's presence, *ibid.*

........, has not yet sent his promised contingent in men, but will no doubt help soon with an equivalent sum of money against the Turk (said Chapuys to k. Henry, July 1542), 52–3, 58.

........, his efforts to induce the Emp. to make peace with France, 68.

........, ..., k. Henry persisting in his idea that, whatever may be said to the contrary, it is at the Emp.'s request that these efforts are made, 69.

........, considered by k. Francis to be partial to the Emp., *ibid.*

........, ..., in consequence of which the Most Christian King is deliberating to make, lose the obedience of France in religious matters (20 July 1542), *ibid.*

........, the, and the Ecclesiastic State (said the Roy. deputies to Chapuys), must therefore be expressly named in the art. of the defence, 101.

........, ..., the Emp. can in nowise consent to it, as it would be hereafter a matter of reproach to him, *ibid.*

........, whatever excuses the Emp. may give for his alliance with England, is sure to refuse his long-promised assistance against the Turk, 109.

........, invites the Emp. and k. Francis to a conference at Bologna, 111, 121, 400.

........, ..., the Emp. particularly requested to attend it, 400.

........, ..., ..., refuses at first, but consents on condition of the interview not taking place at Bologna, but in some town of Lombardy, 401.

........, still trying to bring on peace between the Emp. and k. Francis (Aug. 1542), 111.

........, ..., about to send his legates to them [Contareni to the former, Sadoletto to k. Francis], 111, 122.

........, may be able sooner or later (said k. Henry to Chapuys) to make the Emp. and k. Francis friends again, 134.

Paul III. (Alessandro Farnese)—*cont.*
........., bp. Bonner speaking disparagingly of Pope, in the Emp.'s presence at Monzon, in Spain (Sept. 1542), 136.
........., k. Francis said to have offered the kingdom of Naples to, 150, 170.
........., a very old man, might die any day, and be succeeded by another Pope belonging to the French party (argued k. Henry to Chapuys) 151.
........., a treaty was once made (said k. Henry to Chapuys) between the Emp., k. Francis, and the Pope, for the partition of his kingdom, 161.
........., ..., Henry knew that well, and also that the ships fitted out in the Low Countries in 1539 were meant for such a purpose, *ibid.*
........., should, try to make mischief in Italy, means might be found to set up the Venetians against him (said k. Henry to Chapuys), 169.
........., ..., which assertion Chapuys contradicts, 170.
........., trying more than ever to induce the Emp. to come to terms with k. Francis, owing chiefly to the former's reported alliance with England (June 1543), 172, 425.
........., ..., Chapuys particularly instructed by the Emp. to inform k. Henry of it, *ibid.*
........., still trying to persuade the Emp. to make peace with Francis, and inviting him to a conference in Italy, 184.
........., whenever he hears of the Emp. going to Italy, or increasing his army, falls in with the Venetians, and tries to please them in all things (wrote Mendoza to the Emp., 3 June 1543), 195.
........., his conversation with the bp. of Aquila, about the General Council and the peace with France (Jan. 1543), 197–200, 202.
........., ..., with Aguilar at Rome (14 Jan. 1543), 200–14, 265–8.
........., asked by Aguilar what motives he has to refuse his declaration against France (14 Jan. 1543), 200.
........., ..., answers him that his motives are well known to the Emp., who has fully approved of them, *ibid.*
........., ..., the only way of adjusting the Emp.'s and k. Francis' differences is to invite them to a conference with him, 303.
........., ..., has (he said) already signed the breves to that effect, 203.
........., ..., when the answers come, he will decide; until then he will remain neutral, *ibid.*
........., maintains that mutual conferences are the only available means of bringing about a peace between belligerents, 202–3, 221.
........., proposes an interview of the Emp. and k. Francis at Bologna, he himself being present at it, 211.

Paul III. (Alessandro Farnese)—*cont.*
........., as chief and head of the Church, pressed by Aguilar to contribute towards the war against the Turk in Hungary, 203.
........., ..., offers to do so, provided he is not more taxed than Pope Clement was at the time of the Venetian league (Jan. 1543), *ibid.*
........., ..., besides which, the Venetians having withdrawn from the league and made peace with the Turk, it is not just that he should contribute now with the third of the war expenses, 303.
........., interrogated by Aguilar on the reported new creation of Cardinals, returns a vague and unsatisfactory answer, 210–1.
........., still weak and suffering from cold in his chest, which has lasted upwards of one month (14 Jan. 1543), 211.
........., the Emp.'s answer to, in Latin, read to him by his grandson card. Alessandro Farnese, 116–21, 212.
........., glad to hear that the Emp. approves of his efforts to restore peace to Christendom, but though unsuccessful will still continue his pursuit, *ibid.*
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………, ……, asks him whether in order to quell the dissensions between the Emp. and k. Francis the duchy of Milan could not be given to a third, 266.
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………, ……, inquires from Aguilar and the bp. of Aquila what Granvelle's intentions are respecting the Diet of Nürnberg, and what he, himself, proposes doing there, *ibid.*
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........., ..., in Mantua on his way to Trent (Jan. 1543), 19, 196, 359.

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........., ..., highly praised by Gardiner and Wriothesley, 44.

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........., ..., ..., is to get full powers from q. Mary to that effect, *ibid.*

........., ..., at Palamós, ready to sail for Italy and Germany on business touching the General Council (Nov. 1542), 176.

........., ..., ..., detained there by contrary winds, *ibid.*

........., ..., preparing to attend the Nürnberg Diet in the Emp.'s name, 197,

........., ..., misgivings of Pope Paul, who suspects he is about to make concessions to the Lutherans, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., as he, did once at Ratisbon, and the German Catholic bishops assert, *ibid.*

........., ..., expected in Rome; sends his son Thomas to excuse him if his many engagements prevent him from fulfilling his promise, 200–1.

........., ..., Pope Paul complaining of, not writing nor saying what he intended doing at Rome, and why he has postponed his announced visit, 206.

........., ..., rumours of his arrival in Italy reach London, 214.

........., ..., to Mantua on business connected with the Diet, 213–4.

........., ..., ..., Pope Paul inquiring from amb. Aguilar what his object or mission there may be, *ibid.*

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........., ..., to Trent on business of the General Council (Feb. 1543)), 256, 260, 359.

........., ..., ..., his sudden appearance in that city very disagreeable to Pope Paul, 260.

........., ..., ..., ..., particularly so because the Emp. has not informed him of it, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., ..., and lest he, should do harm there, as he did at Ratisbon, and perhaps worse than he is now doing at Nürnberg, *ibid.*

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........., ..., draws out for Chapuys a Memorandum of the arguments to be used in order to persuade k. Henry to declare at once war against France (March 1543), 262–4, 283–8, 305, 319.

........., ..., ..., the Memorandum itself to be submitted for approbation to q. Mary and councillor Praët, 280, 312.

........., ..., instructs Chapuys to thank the bps of Winchester and Westminster, as well as the Lord Privy Seal, for their exertions in promoting the treaty of alliance (March 1543), 264–5.

........., ..., invited by k. Henry to visit England, 290.

........., ..., ..., has long desired it, but cannot leave Flanders just now on account of most pressing State business, 291.

........., ..., the affairs of Flanders in a fair way, and yet he, dares not leave, *ibid.*

........., ..., requests Chapuys to make his excuses and thank the K. for his very kind invitation, *ibid.*

.. .., ..., k. Henry still insisting upon, visiting England (18 April 1543), 316.

........., ..., ..., that would be (wrote Chapuys to q. Mary) very convenient to promote and hasten the invasion of France by the allies, *ibid.*

........., ..., before quitting the Nürnberg Diet arranges a truce with the du. of Clèves, to last until the arrival of the Emp. in Germany, 317, 325, 327.

........., ..., sends Chapuys a detailed account of the resolutions taken at the Nürnberg Diet (26 April 1543), 316–7

........., ..., is told on every side that he is in great favour with k. Henry (April 1543), 317.

........., ..., ..., trusts that he will continue so as long as he lives, *ibid.*

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........., ..., another Memorandum of Instructions to Chapuys respecting the heralds, 344–7, 352.

........., ..., ..., forwarded to England after its inspection by q. Mary and Councillor Praët, *ibid.*

........., ..., ordered to meet the Emp. at Mantua, 359.

........., ..., leaves Spain for Germany (Oct. 1542), 364–7, 390.

........., ..., goes back to the Emp. (17 June 1543), 397, 399.

........., ..., ordered to meet the Emp. at Cremona (17 June 1543), 403.

........., ..., in Genoa, 459.

........., ..., his answer to the five points presented to the Emp. by Bonner and Briant (Nov. 1543), 522–4.

........., ..., leaving Piedmont for Spain (April 1542), *App.* 549.

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........., ..., on a mission of his father to Rome (Jan. 1543), 200.

........., ..., has audience from the Pope, 201.

........., ..., takes leave of pope Paul to return to his father (Nicholas), 209.

........., ..., departs for Mantua (2 Jan. 1543), *ibid.*

........., ..., on a special mission to England (June 1543), 360, 397, 403, 421, 424–5.

........., ..., is to go first to Brussels and show his Instructions to q. Mary and councillor Praët, 403.

........., ..., ..., for them to make such additions and suppressions as they may consider fit and convenient, 403.

........., ..., ..., to return after that to the Emp.'s court, and proceed to England, 403, 421, 425.

........., ..., to communicate with Chapuys, and act entirely under his direction, 421, 425.

........., ..., will also be the bearer of lets. of credence for k. Henry's ministers, 403–4.

........., ..., ..., the object of his mission being to ascertain how far k. Henry is inclined to the immediate invasion of France, *ibid.*

........., ..., leaves for England (28 June 1543), 421, 425.

........., ..., arrives in London (2 July 1543), 425–7, 430–1, 589.

........., ..., ..., is most honourably received, and has audience from k. Henry (3 July), 360, 433.

........., ..., negociating almost entirely by himself, owing to Chapuys' indisposition (2–10 July 1543), 426, 431–2, 463, 475.

........., ..., his imperfect knowledge of the Castilian or Spanish language, 427, 438.

........., ..., ..., could hardly speak, much less write in it, as he himself owned, *ibid.*

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........., ..., is to return to the Emp. as soon as possible with a full account of his negociation in England (July 1543), 431.

........., ..., ..., passing through Brussels, and informing q. Mary of what he has been able to accomplish with regard to the Emp.'s mission, 432.

........., ..., received in a handsome and most courteous manner, 360.

........., ..., will soon leave for Flanders with a most favourable answer on the part of k. Henry (11 July 1543), *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., as well as to her own demands of help and assistance against the common enemy, in compliance with the treaty of closer friendship and alliance, 432–3.

........., ..., his departure from London about the middle of July, 443, 446.

........., ..., ..., the day after k. Henry's marriage with Catherine Parr (13 July ?), 448.

........., ..., meets the Emp. at Ulm, and reports verbally on the result of his English mission (20 July), 441.

........., ..., ..., the Emp. much pleased at his good success, *ibid.*

........., ..., again to England to announce the taking of Duren and Juliers (12 Sept. 1543), 485, 490, 520–1.

........., ..., the Emp.'s Instructions and let. to, 485–9.

........., ..., should k. Henry, or his ministers, wish to see the Emp.'s confidential let. of the 29th of October to, the paragraph relating to the expedition against Clèves to be withdrawn and kept back, 489.

........., ..., the Emp. very much surprised at his not receiving any news from, since his departure from England in July (4 Oct.), 498.

........., ..., leaves England and returns to Brussels, 499, 504.

........., ..., in Brussels reporting on the result of his mission (Oct. 1543), 499.

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........., ..., his brother, *v. Perrenot* (Antoine), bp. of Arrás.

........., ..., his servant in Spain; brings him lets. from High Commander Cobos, 438.

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………, ……, sworn heir to the crown of Spain, as k. of Castille and Aragon (Feb. 1543), 427 *n*., 583.
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………, report of a number of Frenchmen having landed at a port of (Oct. 1542), 151.

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………, ……, if so (wrote Chapuys), it will be difficult, if not altogether impossible, to persuade him to invade France next spring, *ibid.*

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………, ……, ……, and yet the state of political affairs in, seems at present to be favourable to his views, *ibid.*

………, ……, ……, for division is likely to spring up soon among the nobility of (Dec. 1542), *ibid.*

………, ……, ……, besides which he will most likely be helped in his purpose by the Douglases and the prisoners of Solway Moss, 192.

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………, k. Henry evidently aspiring to the crown of, 192.

………, ……, has now (wrote Chapuys) a greater chance of it than ever he had, according to the advice and help of the Scotch prisoners, *ibid.*

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………, the French sure of feeding discontent in (said Chapuys to k. Henry, Jan. 1543), *ibid.*

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........., no fear at present of an invasion of England on the side of, wrote Chapuys (Feb. 1543), 240.

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........., ..., ..., and the Eng. party, at the head of which the Douglases are, have gained the ascendant, *ibid.*

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........., ..., that purpose he has now a good chance of carrying out, provided he previously engages to have Mary Stuart married to some nobleman residing in (17 Feb. 1543), 244.

........., Mr. de Guise's contemplated expedition to, altogether abandoned (Feb. 1543), 250.

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........., one hundred and fifty gentlemen in, suspected of Lutheranism, 279.

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........., until the States General of, now assembled, are over, the ambs. from that country, who are daily expected in London, will not make their appearance (17 March 1543), 279.

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........., ..., yet as k. Henry is so fond of his money, he may perhaps dislike to have to spend it in a war with France, and at the same time with, *ibid.*

........., should k. Henry wish for help against, q. Mary offers to send from Flanders as many men, horse and foot, as he may want (March 1543), 285.

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........., the States General of, consenting, as reported, to the marriage of Mary Stuart and the prince of Wales (Edward), but refusing to send her on to England before she has attained a marriageable age (April 1543), 303.

........., ..., yet it is hoped in England that with the help of the Douglases, who have great influence in, k. Henry's demands will be finally complied with, *ibid.*

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........., ..., orders sent by Arran to the gov. [of Leith] that unless he surrenders his command within 24 hours, he will be declared traitor (May 1543), *ibid.*

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........., k. Henry to be closely interrogated as to the peace which he is said to have made with (wrote q. Mary to Chapuys, 28 June 1543), 422.

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........., Sir Francis Briant and Edmond Bonner sent by k. Henry to the Emp. to report, among other things, on the state of affairs in (Oct. 1543), 506–8, 516.

........., k. Henry trusts that in case of need the Emp. will help him against, in conformity with the treaty of alliance and the art. of the Defence, 508, 516.

........., ..., should his assistance be wanted, the art. of the treaty will be fully complied with (was the Emp.'s answer, 25 Oct. 1543), 509.

........., the Eng. ambs. (Bonner and Briant) tell the Emp. confidentially, and under reserve, that political matters in, are taking a more favourable turn, owing to several earls, lords, and barons of that country having lately embraced k. Henry's party, 516.

........., ..., and to card. Beton having crossed over to France, *ibid.*

........., the Emp. requested to interdict the trade of his own subjects with, 516.

........., a gentleman from, residing in London (Lord Glencairn), leaves for his own country with a present of 400 duc. from k. Henry (Nov. 1543), 518.

........., the Patriarch of Aquileia (Mark Grimani) and the capt. of k. Francis's Scotch bodyguard land in, with a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, besides a number of hackbutiers (Nov. 1543), 521.

........., whatever the issue of affairs in, may be, k. Henry will not be prevented from joining in a war against France (wrote Chapuys, 9 Nov. 1543), *ibid.*

........., card. Beton and the ecclesiastical party in, find the means of depriving gov. Arran, and getting the government and the administration of affairs into the hands of the queen widow, *ibid.*

........., whilst a good number of lairds and knights declare in favour of k. Henry and his party in.

........., ..., it being reported that he (the Patriarch) intends to assemble the General States of, and persuade them not to fulfil the conditions of their treaty with k. Henry, promising them complete absolution from their oath in the Pope's name, *ibid.*

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........., k. Henry agreeing to contribute towards the Emp.'s war expenses in Piedmont on condition of the latter sending to the frontiers of, 1,000 Span. hackbutiers to serve there for three months (Dec. 1543), 544–5.

........., two French ambs. arrive in, and with them the nephew of the late Sieur d'Aubigné (April 1543), 332.

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........., ..., on a very favourable footing as regards England (the privy councillors told Chapuys, 29 May 1543), 355.

........., ..., ..., George Douglas being soon expected in London with some good resolution from the parliament in, *ibid.*

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........., ..., in much better condition than they were when De Courrières came to England, or Chapuys' son went thither (was Briant's assertion to the Emp. in Oct. 1543), 506, 508.

........., ..., the, going on favourably for k. Henry, as the card. of St. Andrews has been confined to prison by order of the earl of Arran (Feb. 1543), 242.

........., ..., ..., and there is now hope of the Scotch being ultimately detached from French alliance, *ibid.*

........., ..., the privy councillors assure Chapuys that the, are going on prosperously for k. Henry (June 1543), 416.

........., ..., ..., everything having been settled there according to his wishes, 417.

........., ..., ..., nothing more to be done than to have the whole set down in writing, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., ..., one of the stipulated conditions being the marriage of Princess Mary Stuart to the Prince of Wales, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., whatever may be the issue of these negociations, k. Francis is sure to do all he can to thwart k. Henry's plans in, *ibid.*

........., ..., account of, sent by Chapuys to Prince Philip, the Emp.'s son (Nov. 1543), 521.

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........., ..., ..., it is they, as may be presumed, who have persuaded k. Francis to make war to England as soon as possible, 130.
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........., ..., ..., so strong and numerous that in order to diminish its influence the govs. have allowed preachers all over the country to speak in favour of the new sects (May 1543), 332.
........., ..., ..., ..., that is why k. Henry imagines that by entering into negociations with k. James or his delegates he shall be able to draw him to his side, or at any rate undermine the influence of the cardinal and his party, *ibid.*
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........., k. Francis's treaty with (1542), 85.

........., ..., not shown by Marillac or L'Aubespine to k. Henry, *ibid., Int.* xxxvi.

........., makes an alliance with the du. of Holstein, 445.

........., gives his subjects permission to capture any English vessels at sea, *ibid.*

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........., Basto and Gasto, marq. del, a corruption of, *ibid.*

Vaughan (Dr. Stephen), Henry's amb. at Brussels (1541–2), 69.

Vazquez de Molina (Juan), the Emp.'s secretary, countersigns a letter of Charles to his son Philip, *153.*

Vega (Juan de), Imp. amb. at Rome, 481, 558, 563, 588.

........., ..., the Emp.'s Instructions to, *282.*

........., ..., conference of, with Pope Paul's deputies, 558–9.

........., du. de, *v. Colon y Portugal.*

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.... (D. Bernaldino, Bernardino), second High Constable of Castille, D. Pedro, first du. of Frias, 75 *n.*; *v.* under *Fernandez de Velasco.*

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.... (D. Pedro de), third du. de Frias, High Constable of Castille, *v. Fernandez de Velasco* (Pedro).

Velona (La), port of Albania; two secret agents of the Emp. going to, and La Prevesa to obtain information concerning the Turk's movements (Jan. 1543), 194.

Velzers, bankers of Augsburg, *v. Welzers.*

Vendôme, du. de, *v. Bourbon* (Antoine de).

Venetians (the), 212, 582.

........., applying to k. Henry for the privilege they once had of exporting wool from England (May 1542), 11.

........., ..., the application refused; they are too great friends of the Pope for their alliance to be relied upon, *ibid.*

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........., k. Henry's authority with the, is so great that he may at any time make league with them against k. Francis (the Royal deputies said to Chapuys in Dec. 1542), 164, 169.

........., ..., nor would it be difficult to alienate them from Pope Paul, 169–70.

........., ..., well disposed, on the contrary, towards the Emp. (Jan. 1543), 193.

........., the moment Pope Paul hears of the Emp. going to Italy, his negociations with the, begin, 195.

........., ..., and he tries to gain them over to his views (Jan. 1543), *ibid.*

........., Pope Paul trying to persuade the, that the Emp.'s demands with regard to k. Francis are excessive, 206.

........., ..., and to make them declare in favour of the latter, *ibid.*

........., Pope Paul again negociating with the, 242.

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........., ships of the, in the Thames, 371.

........., ..., might be used as transports for the English infantry in case of an invasion of Brittany (suggested L'Artigue in his report), *ibid.*

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........., apparently well disposed towards the Emp., and helping the Imp. amb., D. Diego de Mendoza, to procure a truce with the Turk (Jan. 1543), 193–4.

........., Pope Paul negociating with the (Feb. 1543), 261.

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........., Henry's agent in, *v. Harvel.*

........., the Emp.'s ambs. in, *v. Mendoza* (D. Diego Hurtado de).

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Viegel (Viglia ?), in Piedmont, 56.
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........., Imp. archives of, 1 *n.*, 14 *n.*, 70 *n.*, 75 *n.*, 125 *n.*, 183 *n.*, 193 *n.*, 261 *n.*, 397 *n.*, 417 *n.*, 430 *n.*, 432 *n.*, 586–8, 592–3, 597 *n.*, *Int.* viii, xlxix–li.
........., Solyman reported to be in Hungary and intending to push as far as, 504.
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........., in command of the Eng. auxiliary force before Landresis, 458, 512.
........., the Emp. highly commending his services as provost marshal of the English auxiliary army (Oct. 1543), 504–5, 507.
........., informs the Emp. that his time of service in Flanders is up, but that he will gladly remain in arms at his expense (24 Oct. 1543), 507.
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........, ..., mutual raids across the Borders until the death of k. James (May–December 1542).
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........, ..., ..., he will not commence hostilities until he himself has been challenged by k. Francis, 279.
........, ..., ..., ..., a sort of thing the English fully expect, and without which it is a point of honour with them not to attack an enemy, *ibid.*
........, ..., q. Mary urgently requested to prepare ammunition, carriage, and material for the English army about to cross the Channel (June 1543), 360–1.
........, ..., ..., a commissary appointed by k. Henry to receive and take charge of the same, taking only what is absolutely necessary for the English force, *ibid.*
........, ..., ..., as to provisions of food for the men, a sufficient quantity to be drawn from Calais, the remainder to come from England, 414.
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........, ..., the English very active in their preparations for the, 388.
........, ..., ..., every day troops are being sent to Calais, *ibid.*
........, ..., ..., ..., they will be followed by 1,500 men from the army of the North, *ibid.*
........, ..., the challenge and intimation of, to be made to k. Francis as soon as possible, 306, 344.
........, ..., bp. Bonner asking the Emp. whether he has any other griefs and complaints to name besides those specified in the preamble to the treaty (12 April 1543), 306.
........, ..., ..., Memorandum to that effect placed into the bishop's hands by Granvelle, to be inserted in the challenge and intimation of, 306–7.
........, ..., ..., ..., a similar Memorandum of Instructions to Chapuys respecting the challenge and intimation of, to France to be made conjointly with, or separately from, that of k. Henry (22 May), 344–7.

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........, ..., declaration of, read by the du. of Norfolk to the French amb. at Westminster (23 June 1543), *167* (pp. 407–11).
........, ..., ..., by the Emp.'s herald [Fallaix] to the same, *168* (pp. 411–3).
........, ..., publicly proclaimed throughout England, 455.
........, ..., ..., a clause being added to this effect: that all the Emp.'s enemies are likewise k. Henry's enemies (May 1543), 458.
........, ..., ..., great alarm caused by it among all foreign merchants, and principally the Easterlings, *ibid.*
........, ..., Chantonnay's mission to England for the purpose of hastening the, 463–4.
........, *French*, against the Emp. in Flanders and the Low Countries; likely to be as destructive for the English merchants as for those of Flanders and the Low Countries (wrote Chapuys to q. Mary in Sept. 1542), 133.
........, ..., begins in July 1542 without any formal challenge or defiance, 337.
........, ..., the Hainaut invaded (June 1543), 422.
........, *the Emp.'s against France;* rumours of war between the Emp. and k. Francis purposely spread, 48.
........, ..., ..., a report of, having been proclaimed in Flanders (July 1542), 52.
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........, makes a treaty with k. Francis (1541–2), 54, 85.
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Waston, Wastzon, *v. Watson* (William).
Waten (?), in Belgium, let. dated from, *40*.
Watson (sec. William), well versed in the navigation of the Northern Seas, 277.
........, on a mission to Denmark (Jan. 1543), *ibid.*
........, taken prisoner by the Imperialists and confined in the castle of Utrecht, *ibid.*
........, he had written from Bremen and Hamburg, but beyond those towns he had not been heard of, *ibid.*
........, ..., the people of the latter town, however, had often written the most reassuring lets. about him, *ibid.*
........, said to have been sent to Iceland by a company of English merchants, 315.
........, ..., an agent of that company sent to make enquiries after him, *ibid.*

Watson (sec. William)—*cont.*

........., his arrest was at the Sond Straits on suspicion of his being a spy, *ibid.*

........., ..., or at Utrecht on his return, in consequence of his having no papers to establish his identity, and being about to start for Gelders, 277.

........., ..., released on k. Henry's application, 281.

Westminster; meeting of the Privy Council at the Palace of, *Int.* xxv.

........., lets. dated from, *131.*

........., the Court at, 593.

........., the declaration of war to France made at (June 1543), 415.

........., bp. of, *v. Thirlby* (Dr. Edmond).

Wheat, scarcity of, in central Spain, 154.

........., Chapuys in the Emp.'s name applying for permission to purchase and export from England (Nov. 1542), 154.

........., licence granted to a Spanish merchant residing in London to export 1,000 quarters of, 224.

........., had the scarcity of that cereal been as great as represented, k. Henry would have granted licence for a much larger quantity (said the privy councillors to Chapuys, Jan. 1543), *ibid.*

........., ..., but he suspects that it is all owing to some speculating merchant or other, who wishes to make money out of it, *ibid.*

........., interrogated by Chapuys as to the future campaign against France, and how he intends to provide food for his army, k. Henry answers that a sufficient quantity of, shall be sent to Calais (18 April 1543), 313.

........., scarce also in Flanders and in the Low Countries, 299, 388.

........., should k. Henry want it for his army on the Continent he must send it on to Calais, for in Flanders there is little of it, 299.

........., ..., so much so that q. Mary will have to apply for it, *ibid.*

Whyat, Whyatt (Master, Sir Thomas), Eng. amb. to the Emp. (1538–40), 79.

........., at Ghent (Nov. 1540), *ibid.*

........., commander of a big galley, almost ready to go out to sea, 84, 88.

........., is to become, as it is thought, vice-admiral of the whole Eng. fleet (Aug. 1542), 88.

........., sent by k. Henry to Falmouth, to receive the Imp. amb. (Montmorency), 159.

........., ..., dies on the road thither, eighty miles from London, *ibid. n.*

........., son of, sent to the Tower (April 1543), 304.

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........., intercedes in favour of the du. of Clèves (Sept. 1543), 477.

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Winchester (bp. of, Mons. de), *v. Gardiner* (Stephen).

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........., ..., Art. xxiv. of the, invoked by Chapuys (30 June, 1542), 34.

........., the Privy Council at, 82–3, 85, 393.

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........., Marillac and Chapuys summoned to (9 Aug. 1542), 82–3.

Wine, *French*; q. Mary sending to k. Henry a present of (3 July 1543), 47.

........., ..., ..., the receipt acknowledged with many thanks, *ibid.*

........., ... , English ships and vessels with a cargo of, for k. Henry's table captured on the coast of Brittany by French and Scotch privateers together (June 1543), 233.

........., ..., ..., k. Henry exceedingly angry when he heard of it, *ibid.*

........., ..., k. Henry refusing altogether to grant safe-conducts to French vessels laden with, and dyers' woad, on the plea that it is equivalent to putting money into the hands of the enemy, 315, 331.

........., ..., q. Mary renews her application for safe-conducts to vessels belonging to the Guicciardini of Florence laden with, and dyers' woad, 300.

........., ..., ..., 3,000 casks of the former article, and 10,000 bales of the latter, are already on board of 22 French vessels, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., ..., q. Mary engaging that the French vessels so laden shall go back to France without touching in any port of Scotland or elsewhere, *ibid.*

........., ..., very scarce in Germany and not easily procured, owing to the war with Clèves, and yet German soldiers cannot go without it (wrote q. Mary to Chapuys, April 1543), 300.

Wintonensis; the bp. of *Winchester, q. v.*

Woad; no safe-conducts to be granted henceforward to vessels laden with, and wine, 300.

........., ..., if any are given by q. Mary, they shall not be respected, *ibid.*

Woodstock, in Oxfordshire; k. Henry's Court at (Oct. 1542), 103.

........., the English Court at (Sept.–Oct. 1543), 492, 494, 593–4.

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Wool; the shearers and weavers of, their differences settled by a Royal ordinance (1539), 10.

Woollen-cloth; ordinance and statute forbidding the exportation of (1539), 9.
........., ..., k. Henry most likely to revoke it, for he derives great profit from the licences he grants from time to time, 10.
Worms, city in du. of Hesse-Darmstadt (Germany); Diet of, alluded to, 118, 197.
........., ..., more favour (said Pope Paul to bp. Sanchez) was there shown by the Emp.'s ministers to the reformers than to the Catholics themselves (Jan. 1543), 197.
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........., one of the deputies appointed to treat with Chapuys, 9 *n.*
........., a gentleman of great credit and authority at Court, 23.
........., particularly enjoying Henry's favour, conjointly with the Lord Privy Seal (Fitz William) and the bp. of Winchester (Gardiner), 42.
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........., calls often at the Imp. embassy, and has frequent conferences with Chapuys, 134, 229, 230, 238, 270, 582.
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Y

York, city of (England); k. James proposes to send an embassy to (Sept. 1542), 126, 130–1.
........., ..., and that a friendly interview take place there.
........., Eng. and Scotch commissioners for the peace to meet at (18 Sept. 1542), 135, 138.
........., ..., to be attended by the du. of Norfolk and other Eng. noblemen, as well as by certain grand masters (*grands maîtres*) from Scotland, *ibid.*

Ysborg, Ysbrouck (Inspruck?), in the Tyrol; Charles's arrival at (July 1543), 431.
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Ysche (Mr. de), Belgian officer, dangerously wounded at Sittaërt, 289.
........., expected to be soon out of danger (8 April 1543), 397.
Yvoyx (Ivoix), in the Luxemburg; to be fortified against a sudden attack (July 1542), 72.
........., the du. of Orleans laying siege to, 113.
........., taken by the French (Aug. 1542), 123, 125.
........., the French still in possession of (Dec. 1542), 191, 413.
........., to be restored by the Emp., 413.

Z

Zabras, zabres, pinnaces, or light fast-sailing vessels; a service of, for carrying correspondence to be established between England and the ports of Biscay, in Spain (June 1542), 39, 43, 68, 102, 109, 227.
........., ..., an English sea-captain sent to Bilbao to purchase two of them, 39, 46.
........., ..., ..., very good idea (wrote Chapuys), which originated entirely with k. Henry, 43.
........., ..., a similar service to be established in England, 39, 46, 109.
........., manager of the, at Bilbao, 302.
Zambon (Jacomo), Venetian amb. in England (1543–4), 11 *n.*
........., succeeds sec. Zuccatto, *q.v.*
........., applies for permission to export wool from England, 13.
Zapoli, Zapolski, John, waiwod of Transylvania, pretender to the crown of Hungary (1526–40), 118 *n.*, 204 *n.*
........., ..., marries Isabella, dau. of Sigismond, k. of Poland (1538), 204 *n.*
........., ..., has an amb. at Constantinople, 268.
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Zeeland, province of Holland, 75, 289, 484.
........., a warship of the du. of Holstein captured by the Imperialists on the coast of (July 1542), 73–4.
........., French and Danish war-ships on the coast of (Aug. 1542), 113.
........., the "tonlieux," or custom-houses, of, 289.
........., all the ports of, to arm any war-ships they may have, and join the English in the Channel (June 1543), 406.
........., the fleet of, to be fitted out, and to join the English (Sept. 1543), 475.
........., ..., to fight, if necessary, the Danes at sea, *ibid.*

Zitard, Zittart, in the duchy of Juliers (Westphalia), 289, 318 ; *v. Sittaërt.*

Zucoatto (Heronimo), Venetian sec., amb. in England (154 -3), 11 *n.*

………, applies in the name of the Signory of Venice for permission to export wool from England (May 1542), 11 *n.*

………, is succeeded by Zambon, *q.v.*

Zuñiga (Diego Ortiz de), historian; his "Anales Eclesiasticos y Seculares de Sevilla" quoted, 482 *n.*

Zutphen, county of, 300, 304-5, *Int.* iv.

………, usurped by the du. of Clèves, 477, 494, 304-5.

………, the Prince of Orange sent to take possession of Gelders and (Sept. 1543), 496.

Zuyderzee, gulf of the German Ocean, 47 *n.*

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Zwede, *v. Sweden.*

Zwedes, *v. Swedes.*

ERRATA.

Introduction, p. xlvi, par. 2, l. 17, *for* Janu Bey *read* Janus Bey.
p. 23, *n.*, *for* Part II., p. 464 *read* Part I.
p. 69 (No. 33), par. 2, l. 3, *for* duke of Holstein Frederic *read* Christian III.
p. 135, *n.* †, *for* Barbastre *read* Barbastro.
„ (No. 62), par. 2, l. 1, *for* ambassador *read* ambassadors.
p. 138, l. 3, *for* Nor have *read* Nor has.
p. 157, par. 2, l. 6, *after* either one *add* or the other.
p. 174, l. 6, "and that soon after Duren capitulated." There must be an error here, for the capitulation of that town took place before that of Juliers, in August.
p. 181 (No. 78). "Signed: Eustace Chapuys" to be effaced, for the letter is from q. Mary to Chapuys.
p. 183. The date of letter 81 from Chapuys to the Emperor should be 22 *November* instead of 22 December 1542.
p. 220, par. 3, last line, *for* succours from coming *read* succours from France coming to Scotland.
p. 233 (No. 97), par. 2, l. 3, *after* two or three couriers *add* to France.
p. 235 (No. 98), signature, *for* To el Bey *read* Yo el Rey (the King).
p. 262, par. 2, l. 5, *for* Ravenna and Cervia *read* Rubiera and Cervia.
p. 271, l. 34, *for* Britanny *read* Brittany.
p. 272, par. 1, at the end suppress the words "of them."
p. 274, *for* Britanny *read* Brittany.
p. 280 (No. 117), par. 3, l. 3, *before* the Prince-electors of the Rhine *prefix* the ministers of the.
p. 299, par. 1, l. 4, *for* Van Rossem *read* Van Rossen.
p. 311, par. 2, l. 25, *for* garrison *read* garrisons.
„ par. 3, last line, *after* to put on board *add* of it.
p. 312, par. 4, l. 3, *for* ambassadors *read* ambassador, *i.e.*, Bonner.
p. 320, l. 5, *for* Ambassador Marillac *read* amb. D'Orthez, for the former was no longer in England.
p. 325 (No. 136), par. 3, l. 7, *for* Campon *read* Campen.
p. 344, par. 2, l. 2, *for* captains *read* captain.
p. 347, *n.* †, *for* Stenany *read* Stenay.
p. 349, par. 4, l. 2, *for* amassed *read* massed.
p. 352, l. 5, *for* shall pay *read* shall not.
p. 354, par. 2, l. 1, owing to a slight indisposition *add* of mine.
p. 359 (No. 146), the date on the margin should be "6 June."
p. 394, last line of No. 158, *for* Brussels *read* London.
p. 395, l. 4, *for* Avernes *read* Avesnes or Avênes.
p. 415, both the references given in the notes at the foot of the page are wrong. That in *n.* * should be No. 167, p. 157, and that of *n.* † No. 168, p. 420.
p. 431 (No. 180), l. 2, *for* Your Imperial Majesty *read* His Imperial Majesty.
p. 435, par. 4, last line, *for* Your Majesty *read* His Majesty.
p. 442. Sarmiento's let. to High Commander Cobos, 187A, is almost a duplicate of that under No. 38 at p. 75.
p. 451 (No. 199), par. 2, l. 6, *for* the widow-queen [Margaret] *read* Marie de Guise.
p. 452 (No. 200), l. 14, at end, the "Cardinal of Mantua," *add* Ipollito, or Hippolito, Gonzaga, brother of Ferrante.
p. 457, *n.*, fourth line, *for* was *read* were.
p. 474, *n.*, l. 2, *for* à le regarder *read* à se regarder.
p. 478, par. 6, l. 8, *for* Scittart *read* Sittaërt.
p. 482, *n.* †, l. 1, *after* Fray Garcia de Loaysa *add* y Mendoza.
p. 486 (No. 227), par. 2, l. 2, *after* to our ambassador *add* Eustace Chapuys.
p. 491 (No. 232), l. 3, *for* Ardras *read* Ardres.

ERRATA—*cont.*

p. 495, *n.* †, *for* et s'il samble *read* semble.

p. 505 (No. 245). The letter, though differently worded from that of the 22nd of October, is evidently a duplicate.

p. 516. Chapuys' let. to the Queen of Hungary (No. 252), on the 5 points, should perhaps have come immediately after his own despatch to the Emperor, announcing the arrival of Sir Francis Briant.

p. 518, *n.* †, last line, *after* ses ambassadeurs *add* que l'on attend.

p. 527. The note at the foot of the page is badly placed, since it was intended to form part of the next.

p. 568. The note † about Guidobaldo della Rovere and his brother Giulio, duke of Sora, should be thus supplemented: Both were the sons of the celebrated Francesco Maria della Rovere, first du. of Urbino, from 1508 to 1538.

p. 572, *n.*, *for* D. Fernando Tavera *read* Don Juan.

p. 579, Frederic I., duke of Schleswig-Holstein, who, by the dethronement of Christian II., became king of Denmark, was the son of Christian I.

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